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THE HISTORY
OF THE
WESLEYAN METHODIST
MISSIONARY SOCIETY

THE HISTORY
OF THE
WESLEYAN METHODIST
MISSIONARY SOCIETY

BY
G. G. FINDLAY, D.D.
AND
W. W. HOLDSWORTH, M.A., B.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. V.

‘Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God, who created all things; to the intent, that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.’—*St. PAUL.*

‘I look upon all the world as my parish.’—*JOHN WESLEY*

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PREFACE

THIS volume describes the work of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Ceylon, India, and China. With its publication the Centenary History of that Society comes to its close.

I would now acknowledge the help so freely and generously given to me in the course of its compilation. So many have assisted and encouraged me in different ways that a full enumeration would crowd this page with names. Special mention, however, must be made of the officers of the Society and of the Rev. W. H. Thorp; and of Messrs. E. E. Genner and G. Vanner Rowe, who have read different volumes in proof. From Miss Findlay I have received *dossiers* and other compilations which have greatly lightened my labour. Without these documents it would have been impossible to complete the work within the time. The Chronological Table is the work of Miss A. B. Cooke, my greatly esteemed colleague in the Mysore District.

In view of the rapidly changing life of the East I have thought it desirable to supplement what I have written by special chapters on the Christian Church in China and India. These have been contributed respectively by the Revs. H. B. Rattenbury and E. W. Thompson. The chapter on the Ceylonese Ministry is the work of the Revs. E. Middleton Weaver and W. J. Noble.

W. W. H.

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PART I

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THE geographical position of the island of Ceylon, and its outstanding features, are too well known to call for any detailed description in our record of Methodist Missions within its charming borders. Every traveller to the Far East or to the Southern Archipelago knows the happy contrast which awaits him when the torrid waters of the Red Sea, fringed with arid rock, and the monotony of the Indian Ocean, give way to the teeming life of Colombo and the amazing verdure of its hinterland. He finds himself suddenly at the meeting-place of the Far East and the Far West. At Port Said Europe and the Nearer East form the dominant contrasts. It is in Colombo that the Aryan and the Malay, the Australian, the American, and the Englishman, make up the motley throng that crowds the streets. The framework of the human picture is no less striking. The red laterite roads run through gardens of gleaming emerald lighted by the flaming flowers of the tropics by day, and by countless hosts of fireflies by night, and the traveller knows that the alluring roads will lead him to the heart of still more amazing beauty when they bring him at last to Kandy. It is no wonder that the great poets of India found the appropriate setting for their splendid romance of the Ramayana, not on the vast plains or in the impassable ravines of their own country, but in the faerie land of Lanka. The Himalayas were to them the home of mystery, the far-off dwelling-place of unapproachable gods; but when the story was of human love beset by adverse circumstance, yet triumphing at last through elfish cunning in alliance with a passion

that sought and suffered until at last it delivered the beloved, they found the true scenery of the moving drama in Ceylon.

Its geographical position, at the centre where the lines cross from east to west and from north to south, accounts for all that goes to make up its earlier history. Invaders, both Aryan, Dravidian, and Arab, made their presence felt long before any historical record of their movements existed. The only records we can study to-day are to be found, for the most part, in the resultant ethnological condition. Glimpses of movements, military, economic, and religious, are given, it is true, in the legendary lore of the country, but these are too much formed by the fancy of the poet or the devout fables of the pious to supply any firm foundation for the historian. The bridge by which Hanuman, the monkey-god, was able to invade the island and secure for Rama the rescue of Sita shows the line followed by Aryan invaders from India more than two thousand years ago. Adam's Peak is an indication of a Muhammadan invasion, and the footprints of Buddha, still held in reverence by thousands of his disciples, indicate the impressions left by the first missionaries of the faith taught by Buddha. In the same way the ruins of old Sinhalese cities reveal something of the conflict between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, in the course of which the latter were driven to the south of the island, and the former established themselves in the north, while the area over which the tides of battle ebbed and flowed became a 'no-man's-land,' speedily reoccupied by the forest, whose monstrous growths swept over the sites of once populous cities and cultivated plains. As is invariably the case when migrating nations swarm into countries other than their own, the aboriginal inhabitants were driven farther and farther into the depths of the forest or the unexplored fastnesses of mountains, where they started on the decline which now threatens to become extinction. In Ceylon these aborigines are represented by the Veddahs, of whom only a few hundred survive to-day. Of the invaders the Aryans are to be found in the Sinhalese, and the Dravidians in the Tamil-speaking people of the northern half of the island.

The Muhammadans, who are found in both the north and the south, are commonly called 'Moors,' and the name is a relic of bygone trade, which Henry of Portugal sought to

intercept when he sent Vasco de Gama round the Cape of Good Hope to break a line of communication which brought wealth to the Moslems. To the Portuguese all Moslems were 'Moors,' and the name remains in Ceylon to mark the first appearance of Europeans in the island. Later on the Dutch brought Malays from their Far Eastern possessions to Ceylon, as they also did to South Africa, and these remain, with their co-religionists from the West, to make up a considerable Muhammadan element, numbering more than two hundred and forty thousand, in Ceylon.

There are many indications that with the Arab traders came a certain number of Persians, and this may account for the tradition that there were Christians in Ceylon before the coming of the Portuguese. If there be any truth in the tradition,¹ these would be members of the Syrian Church, which still exists on the Malabar coast of India. In all probability they were traders, who disappeared with the coming of the Portuguese in 1505. At any rate, there were then no Christians in Ceylon. Marco Polo, who visited Ceylon in 1290, declared that 'The inhabitants are idolaters'; and, if any degree of exactness may be attached to the general statement, the two dates give us a period of two centuries, within which the Syrian Christians came and went. On the arrival of the Portuguese, immediately after constructing the fort of Colombo they declared the country immediately surrounding it to be a Bishopric, and under the directions of the Prelate. Christianity was proclaimed throughout the southern part of the island. In 1544 a notable Missionary appeared in the person of St. Francis Xavier, who came to the northern coasts from India. It is said that he baptized six or seven hundred members of the caste of fishermen. In spite of opposition and persecution the faith which he taught spread, until the Raja of Jaffna declared his readiness to enter the Christian Church, and to make alliance with the King of Portugal. That alliance was fatal to his independence. The Raja was soon expelled from his dominions, and the Portuguese were thus masters of the whole seacoast of Ceylon. The only portion of the island which retained any amount of independence was the kingdom of Kandy, of which we shall have more to say in later pages.

¹ Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I., pp. 30 ff.

The ecclesiastical leaders of the Portuguese soon established their Church. Its domains were conterminous with those of the civil power, and the conversion of the inhabitants to the Romish Church speedily followed. The methods adopted in bringing this about were not such as could be followed to-day. The axiom, so often discredited yet so persistently followed, that the end justifies the means, was accepted as the governing law of their evangelism. Romish ceremonies and ritual were made to conform to heathen practice, and it was claimed that the new cult was only a more ancient, and therefore a more authoritative, form of both Brahmanism and Buddhism. In the north, where they were cut off from observation, and were not likely to be opposed by ruling chiefs, proselytizing was vigorously carried on. Conversions—so called—were on the largest scale, and within a few years almost the entire population of the Jaffna Peninsula had submitted to the Church. It is true that Xavier expressed his misgiving as to the value of accessions which were in form rather than in spirit, and which were brought about by motives so far removed from the moral or spiritual sphere, but the methods which had proved to be so fruitful continued to be observed, until it seemed as if the Jesuits had been converted to Hinduism rather than the Hindus to Christianity. The scandal became so great that at last Pope Benedict XIV was constrained to issue a strongly worded Bull, by the terms of which the customs followed by the Jesuits were strictly prohibited. In the south their proceedings were more cautious. The Kings of Kandy and Cotta were still powers to be reckoned with, and it was feared that any pronounced proselytism might lead to hostility. It was not until these chiefs were brought under the control of the Portuguese that any distinct effort was made to bring the Sinhalese into the fold of Rome. By that time, however, the position of the Portuguese in Ceylon was being challenged by the Dutch, and with the subsequent supremacy of the latter the power of the Roman Church began to diminish. Many of the Sinhalese had professed acceptance of Romish teaching, but their allegiance had been secured in view of social and political advancement. When that prospect was closed multitudes of converts quickly reverted to their former faith, though many families of Ceylonese to-day bear the names conferred upon them by Portuguese sponsors at the

time when their ancestors were baptized. In the north there were similar cases of reversion to the easily abandoned Hinduism, and within a very short time thousands of converts had returned to the faith and practice of their forefathers.

The Portuguese administration of Ceylon had been marked by unscrupulous greed and revolting cruelty. It was a military despotism which did not attempt to conciliate the native races, to say nothing of furthering their interests. Meantime the Dutch had been establishing themselves in the Asiatic Archipelago, and in 1636 their help was sought by the King of Kandy to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon. The King was to bear all the expenses of the war, and in return the Dutch were to hand over to him all territories taken from their common enemy. Galle was on these terms occupied by the Dutch in 1640, and six years after Colombo was in their possession. Jaffna fell into their hands in 1658. But when they had thus dispossessed the Portuguese they refused to carry out the treaty they had made with Kandy, and they continued to occupy these places and to consolidate their position in the island. The course of time was to avenge this gross act of perfidy, but at first they accepted gleefully the principle of *beati possidentes*. Their conflict with the Romanists in Europe had made them bitterly hostile to that Church, and they at once took steps to bring about, as they hoped, the extinction of the Papal power in Ceylon. The Reformed Church of Holland was declared to be the 'Established Church of Ceylon.' Romish priests were deprived of their benefices, and, wherever possible, were driven out of the island, while chapels and churches were desecrated and destroyed. Indeed, the Dutch seemed more opposed to Romanists than they were to Buddhists or Hindus; probably they thought that the former were the more formidable power. For many years, in proclamation after proclamation, they sought to crush out of existence the ecclesiastical system which had tyrannized over their forefathers in the Netherlands. But such acts of repression often defeat their own purpose. The persecuted Church fell back upon principles which had been obscured in the days of prosperity; it was welded by the flames of persecution into a strength greater than it had possessed before, and the King of Kandy, outraged by the treachery of the Dutch, provided

an asylum for the dispossessed Romanists. The priests continued their ministrations, though often surreptitiously, and one of these in particular, a Goanese preacher of the name of Joseph Vaz, was venerated far and wide through the island for his self-sacrificing zeal.

The Dutch saw from the first the importance of education in religion. Schools and seminaries for teachers were set up wherever it seemed desirable to do so, and when the government of the island passed from the hands of the Dutch into those of the English the number of children in the schools was little short of eighty-five thousand. The good result of such efforts was, however, nullified by two defects inherent in every department of Dutch administration. One was the coercion exercised by fining those who refused to send their children to school, and the other was the motive supplied by making preferment in public office depend upon attendance at school. Education was to be sought, not for its own sake, but in part because of pressure brought to bear upon parents, and in part because social and economic advancement depended upon at least a show of compliance. As soon as the constraint was relaxed, or personal advantage ceased to depend upon the formal compliance, educational returns began to show a marked diminution in the number of those attending school.

The same fatal error appeared in the sphere of religion. Unreality and self-interest formed a foundation which was bound to break up. It was publicly announced that even the lowest official position was not to be won except by those who had accepted baptism, and made a public confession of the faith taught by the Dutch Ministers. The consequence was the appearance of a class known as 'Government Christians,' and while the ecclesiastical returns were numerically impressive, the greater part of the adherents, officially registered as 'Christians,' remained Hindus or Buddhists at heart. In 1663—that is, five years after the Dutch occupation of the island—it was reported that there were sixty-five thousand converts in the kingdom of Jaffna alone. In 1801 the number in the whole island was given as three hundred and forty thousand, in addition to those who were of the Roman persuasion. But within a few years Protestantism in the north was practically extinct, and in the south it was insignificant, those who had professed it having returned to the Roman faith

or to Hinduism. So complete is the relapse of those who, Christians by name, know nothing of the power of Christ in their lives. There were other consequences of this appalling apostasy which remained. The moral tone of the people had become vitiated by an unreal and selfish profession, and the ease with which they had passed from the profession of Buddhism to that of Christianity, and then back again to Buddhism, had weakened all the sanctions of religion as such, and had created a moral and spiritual indifference far more difficult for the Missionary to combat than a blind and bigoted adherence to their original belief would have been, while sincere seekers after truth hesitated to identify themselves with a community so properly discredited by all right-thinking men. In after days the descendants of the more worthy adherents of the Dutch Church, known as 'Burghers,' identified themselves with missionary Churches, and rendered honourable and distinguished service. The names of many of these will appear in the pages which follow.

In 1795 England found herself deserted by the nations which had formed with her the first international coalition against France. Holland had become practically a French province, not without a large measure of gratification to the friends of France in the Netherlands. But this identification of Holland with France in the great conflict of those days left the Dutch colonies at the mercy of the British fleet, and both Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and other of their possessions in the Far East, came into the hands of the British. For some time the tenure of the island was uncertain, but by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 Ceylon was definitely assigned to the British. With this decision a new era in the religious history of the island commenced. The Portuguese had compromised the truth they held; the Dutch had sought to inculcate doctrine by frowns and favours; the British offered a fair field in which the different systems might present their several claims without ecclesiastical cajoleries or official rewards. The first Governor of Ceylon was the Hon. Frederick North, who afterwards, as the Earl of Guildford, sought to revivify the classical schools of Greece.¹ For some time the Church of Holland was recognized as the Established Church of Ceylon, just as had been done in South Africa; but the wholesale relapse of

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 423.

both Tamils and Sinhalese soon made that attitude impossible, and in 1816 the adherents of the Anglican Church were brought under the spiritual control and direction of the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta. Both Mr. North and Sir Thomas Maitland, who succeeded him, sought to strengthen and develop the educational system of the Dutch, but with little success. So notorious was the apostasy of these so-called Christians that in 1808 a dispatch was received by Sir Thomas Maitland from the Secretary of State to inform him of the fact that the measures of Government had been freely censured for discouraging the progress of Christianity, and inducing the natives of Ceylon to relapse into paganism. So uninformed may be the zeal of those who at a distance find it difficult to assign true causes to the effects which they deplore. The decline of the number of adherents to the Christian Church continued, until in 1813 the Protestant ecclesiastical establishment of the island consisted of three Chaplains of the Anglican Church, two German Presbyterians, and half a dozen 'Proponents,' or Deacons, of the Church of Holland. But we have now come in this brief historical survey to a period of missionary effort in which the methods employed were certainly more enlightened, and therefore more likely to be permanent. In 1804 the London Missionary Society sent to the island four German Missionaries. One of these, the Rev. J. D. Palm, afterwards became the Pastor of the Dutch Church in Colombo, and wrote an account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon which throws much light upon the early religious condition of the island. The mission labours of these, however, soon came to an end. The Baptists appeared in 1812, and two years after the Methodists arrived, under circumstances which it is now our business to relate.

We have already described the events which immediately preceded Dr. Coke's great missionary adventure, and we have indicated something of the fervour, the absorbing passion, with which for many years he had contemplated a Mission to the East.¹ His emotion on the eve of embarkation found expression in words which reveal an enthusiasm childlike in simplicity, yet glowing with the rapturous joy of the saint.

¹ See Vol. II., pp. 17-18.

One of his companions on the fateful voyage, the Rev. Benjamin Clough, describing the assembling of the party at Portsmouth, writes in the *Methodist Magazine* of December 10, 1813 :

I have seldom seen the Doctor more lively and happy than he has been this day. . . . His happy soul would frequently break forth in loud praises to God, who had thus far opened his way to the East. When he had collected his little party at Portsmouth, and they were all assembled round him, he lifted up his hands and heart to God, and broke forth in the following language : ' Here we are, all before God embarked in the most glorious and most important work in the world. Glory be ascribed to His blessed name that He has given you to be my companions and assistants in carrying the gospel to the poor Asiatics, and that He has not suffered parents, brothers, sisters, or the dearest friends to stop any of you from accompanying me to India.' At this time he seemed as though he had not a dormant faculty about him ; every power of his soul was now employed in forwarding the work in which he had engaged.

The Church may well stand in reverence, even after a hundred years, before a flame so holy, a devotion so complete. Here was ' enthusiasm ' in the true sense of that word. It was not that of youth, which might have been due to an exuberant temperament unbalanced by knowledge. It was that of an old man who for long years had studied human life. It was that of an Oxford scholar, of an eminent jurist, of a great traveller. But it was that of one who had seen Christ, and who had, like his great forerunner, ' counted all things but dross that he might know the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings.' It was not given to him to preach the gospel to those whom he regarded from afar with an infinite and genuine love, but who shall say that his life lacked fulfilment ? In the service of God it is not the doing that counts for most ; it is the completeness of the personal devotion. He reveals to our more calculating minds that gleam of the immortal spirit which touches humanity to greatness. No balance-sheet of loss and gain is of any value in judging the worth of such men as Dr. Coke. They reveal a spiritual quality which is not measured by such dull calculations, and their emergence from the ranks of those who never reach the heights of their moral and spiritual consciousness gives us hope for the human race.

Servants of God !—or sons
 Shall I not call you ? Because
 Not as servants ye knew
 Your Father's innermost mind,
 His, who unwillingly sees
 One of His little ones lost—
 Yours is the praise, if mankind
 Hath not as yet in its march
 Fainted, and fallen, and died.¹

On May 3, 1814, Dr. Coke was found dead in his cabin, and was buried at sea in about 8 degrees south latitude, and 39 degrees east longitude.

The names of Dr. Coke's companions are given in the *Minutes of Conference*, 1813, and their appointment is declared in the following words ; ' The Conference authorizes and appoints Dr. Coke to undertake a mission to Ceylon and Java, and allows him to take with him for that purpose six² Preachers, exclusively of one for the Cape of Good Hope.' This last-named appointment was filled by the Rev. John McKenny, a Preacher from Dublin, the story of whose unsuccessful attempt at the Cape of Good Hope appears in Vol. IV. of this History.³ Foiled in Africa, he came to Ceylon, and we shall find that there he served to excellent purpose. Ireland was a fruitful recruiting-ground for Dr. Coke when he was in need of Missionaries, and two others of his companions, James Lynch and George Erskine, were also from that country. The latter was at first appointed to Matara, in South Ceylon, and after seven years' service removed to New South Wales, where he died in 1834. Of James Lynch we shall have much to record, both in connexion with North Ceylon and India. William Ault, William Martin Harvard, Benjamin Clough, and Thomas Hall Squance were all Ministers who had served in English Circuits for a few years, and they were all men who left a distinct impression upon the work entrusted to them. Speaking of these great pioneer Missionaries in the Anniversary Services of 1829, William Wilberforce said : ' I was told by the Governor [of Ceylon] himself that each of them would have been an honour to the choice of not only the most pious and

¹ Matthew Arnold, ' Rugby Chapel.'

² To prove that this mission had been in the thought of John Wesley, it is interesting to note that in 1784 it was stated that Mr. Wesley was of opinion that not less than half a dozen should at first be sent upon such a mission (*Meth. Mag.*, 1852, p. 587).

³ See Vol. IV., p. 241.

fervent man, but of the wisest and most prudent man ever employed in that work.' But the position of these men when they found that their great leader had been taken from them was one of extraordinary helplessness. Dr. Coke had kept in his own hands all arrangements for the financing of the Mission after arrival in Ceylon. He had handed over to the captain for safe keeping the sum of four hundred pounds, but Captain Birch quite rightly considered this to be a trust which could be surrendered only to the executors of Dr. Coke in England. The six Missionaries were thus left without enough to provide a single meal when they should arrive at Bombay. They knew no one in that city, nor had they any letter of introduction to those who might have helped them, and at least a year would elapse before the Secretaries in England would be able to get into touch with them. In the course of the voyage Mrs. Ault had died, and both Squance and Harvard had been seriously ill. They arrived at Bombay on May 21, 1814, a band of men sent out to win for Christ the apparently impregnable citadel of Hinduism, and they landed like orphan children in an unknown land, without enough to furnish the gratuities which travellers bestow upon those who minister to their needs. They came to their great Mission stripped of everything that, from a material point of view, might have given them some little hope of success.

They had, however, a very true friend in Captain Birch, and he introduced them to Mr. W. T. Monet, a British merchant in Bombay, and an assurance that financial matters would be arranged removed one of their anxieties. An interview with the Governor of Bombay still further reassured them. Sir Evan Nepean received them with sympathy, and spoke affectionately of John Wesley, whom he had known in his boyhood.

He also expressed the high sense which the British Government had ever entertained of Mr. Wesley's principles and proceedings, and added that the great Lord North did not hesitate to attribute a considerable portion of the loyalty and contentment which prevailed in our native land to the sound principles and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Wesley.¹

The Governor's country house at Parel was placed at the disposal of the missionary party, and presently the troubled

¹ Harvard's *Narrative* &c.

and perplexed men were comfortably housed. A passage to Ceylon was taken, and all except the Harvards left for that island. It was considered inadvisable for Mrs. Harvard to run the risk of a voyage, as it was then the monsoon season. They followed their colleagues with the child that was born to them while they waited in Bombay, and after a perilous voyage landed at Point de Galle, where they were restored to the companionship of Messrs. Clough and Squance.

While the Harvards waited in Bombay their colleagues addressed themselves to making such arrangements as were possible for beginning work. Sir Evan Nepean had interested the Governor of Ceylon, General Brownrigg, in them, and they found every provision made for their reception. They were lodged in the Government House in the Fort of Galle, and the Governor's Chaplain, the Rev. George Bisset, was sent from Colombo to bid them welcome, and to assure them that every effort would be made by the Government to promote their work. It was suggested that until they were able to receive regular financial support from England they should each take up school work at certain centres, in return for which service they would receive a grant from the Government. The stations recommended were Jaffna, Manaar, Batticaloa, Galle, and Matara. Colombo was not recommended, because that city was already well provided with teachers in the Government schools. Ten days were spent by the Missionaries in prayer and consultation, and then, on July 11, 1814, what Mr. Harvard calls 'the little Conference' was opened at Galle. The most anxious question which awaited them was the familiar one, 'How are the Ministers and Preachers stationed?' It was recognized at once that the linguistic division of the island meant that those who might be stationed in the north, where Tamil was spoken, would be separated by more than distance from those who might be stationed in the south, where Sinhalese was the language in use. Any exchange of Circuits would thus be precluded, and the brethren, welded together as they had been by their sorrows and fears, contemplated the inevitable division with great misgiving. It was at length decided that Lynch and Squance should go to Jaffna, and Ault to Batticaloa, while Erskine and Clough should remain in the south, the former at Matara and the latter at Galle. It was agreed that the health of Squance forbade his going to a

station where he would be alone. Colombo was assigned to Harvard, when he should join them. It was in this way that the division, familiar in Methodist records, of 'The North Ceylon District' and 'The South Ceylon District' was made. On the Thursday following the brethren took their sacrament together, joined in that holy communion by the Governor of Galle, Lord Molesworth, and then they separated and went to their several stations with feelings which may be better imagined than described.

The Committee in England was shocked and distressed on hearing of the death of Dr. Coke. There seems to have been some delay in forwarding the letters written by the Missionaries during their voyage and while they were in Bombay, and the first intimation that the great Missionary Leader had died at sea reached the Mission House through private letters written by individual Missionaries to their friends. The first letter sent to them by the Secretaries expresses their 'surprise' that they had received no official intimation, and that the tidings conveyed were not more 'explicit.' Instructions were given that Mr. Lynch should act as 'Superintendent' of the Ceylon Mission, 'until a person be appointed from England to take the general superintendence of the Eastern Mission.' The letter is curt and lacking in sympathy, while it reveals an unreasonable impatience because the writer had received no official communication from the Missionaries. The second letter written, in February, 1815—the date is to be noted—by which time the delayed communications had arrived, was written in better spirit, and must have brought a measure of comfort to the perplexed and sorrowing men. The Committee was relieved to hear of the sympathy and help afforded by the officers of Government, and entirely approved of the arrangements made by the Missionaries. The latter are exhorted to take care of their health, and the promise is given that 'everything that may be deemed necessary will be supplied,' as the Committee was 'fully convinced that the work of the Lord should never be cramped by a parsimonious spirit.' Such generous offers, however, did not continue long. Inexperience betrayed the young men into an expenditure which alarmed the Committee, and many were the reprimands which they afterwards received on this score.

Lynch and Squance passed through Colombo on their way

to Jaffna, and were asked by the Governor to take under their charge a young Moorman, who had been baptized in Colombo and whose life was now threatened by his former co-religionists. At the Synod of 1816 this convert, Daniel Theophilus, was brought forward by the Chairman as a candidate for ordination, and he was received as an 'Assistant Missionary.' Up to this point he seems to have given every satisfaction, and there was good hope that a devoted and efficient worker had been found. But by the following year he had disappeared, and the only reference to him is the somewhat mysterious record in the Minutes: 'We believe that he deceived us himself and was ungenerously taken from us.' A much more reliable helper was found in Christian David, a convert of the German Missionary Schwartz, and from him they received a hearty welcome to Jaffna. They were also cordially received by the sub-collector of the province, who shortly after became a member of Society, and a friendly and generous helper to our Missionaries. Services were begun in the Fort Church, and there was every indication that a strong Methodist Society would soon be formed, but in the following year both Missionaries had returned to Galle on account of ill-health. It was not long before Lynch came back to Jaffna, but Squance was obliged to remain in the south for several months.

Meantime Ault had arrived at Batticaloa, much shaken because of a particularly stormy journey. When he arrived he found sickness prevalent in Batticaloa, and the fact was depressing. He gave himself up to pastoral work, and soon gathered a congregation, to whom he ministered on the Sunday. Here, too, it seemed as though 'an abundant entrance' had been given to the Missionary, but his health had been undermined by exposure, and eight months after his arrival he died—the first of many Missionaries who have crowned their service in the East by the sacrifice of life.

In a long letter to his mother, written three months after his arrival at Batticaloa, Ault describes his position. In the light of his death, which followed so soon after, that letter is full of pathos. The loneliness of his station, the privations in food and lodging so cheerfully accepted, the eagerness with which he entered upon such work as was possible, the plans which he was beginning to form and which were hindered by the torrential rains of the monsoon—all these things are set forth

with a simplicity which makes the letter a very human document. When the description of his surroundings is complete he passes on to say :

But, my dear mother, the best news is yet to come. Here is a very pleasing prospect of establishing a Mission. There are some persons who are seriously disposed. I have begun a little Class-meeting, and have nineteen members. I feel strong faith in God that He will pour out His Spirit mightily upon us.

A postscript, written on October 18, speaks of his having been very ill, and in the spring of the next year, after only eight months' residence in Batticaloa, he passed to the fuller service to which he was called, but before he passed he had gathered together a congregation of a hundred and fifty, and by its members he was greatly beloved. His memory is a hallowing influence resting upon the Church in Batticaloa for all time, and it was fitting that the Mission Hall which was built by Mr. West in 1897 should be consecrated to his memory.

No record of the coming of Methodist Missionaries to Jaffna would be complete without some reference to one who proved to be a great helper in their efforts to build up a Christian Church in that town. Mrs. Schrader was a member of the Dutch Presbyterian Church, and for some years before the arrival of the Missionaries she was the spiritual teacher of those who sought the comfort and guidance of religion. She could speak Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil with equal proficiency, and later on she added English to the languages at her command. She was accustomed to gather together in her house all who were willing to come, and to these she would read sermons in Dutch, and lead them in worship. She soon attached herself to the Missionaries, regarding their coming as an answer to her prayer. At the request of the Rev. Joseph Roberts she translated the Wesleyan Hymn-book into Portuguese and composed a metrical history of the Bible. For many years she served as a teacher in a girls' school under the direction of the Mission. She lived to the age of eighty-three, and died in 1850, a true 'Mother in Israel,' beloved by all and honoured for the consecration of her great gifts to the service of Christ.

Of the Missionaries sent out to Ceylon in 1816 those appointed to the Northern District were the Revs. R. Carver, S. Broadbent, and E. Jackson. Of these the first-named joined Lynch and Squance at Jaffna, and the other two began work at Trincomalee. McKenny was stationed for a short time at Batticaloa, but was shortly after transferred to the Sinhalese District. Batticaloa was supervised by the brethren at Trincomalee until 1820, when the Rev. T. Osborne was sent to shepherd the little flock collected by Ault during the short period of his ministry. In the same year the Revs. J. Roberts, Joseph Bott, and Abraham Stead were added to the staff. By this time the separation of the Northern District from the Southern had been effected, and Lynch was appointed to be Chairman of the former. Of his relations with the home Committee we shall write in our description of the troubles which arose when the two Districts were under one administration, and his work in Madras will come before us in a later chapter. We need not therefore repeat the story of strained relations between the men on the field and the board of administrators in London. In 1822 the Synod of the Northern District adopted the resolutions of the Southern Synod respecting the strictures passed upon them by the Committee. When the Minutes of the Synods arrived in England the Committee saw that their censure had been too severe, that the Missionaries were unduly discouraged, and were asking to be recalled. Resolutions were therefore passed affirming that the Committee had had no wish to discourage the Missionaries, and that the latter possessed their complete confidence. It must be acknowledged that if this were so the Committee had chosen a strange method of showing it, and it is not to be wondered at that the men on the field were aggrieved. In a letter written in 1822 Carver thanks Richard Watson for a letter of encouragement and sympathy; 'so interesting a disappointment.' He has learnt to look for nothing but criticism and censure from the Mission House, and 'nothing was less welcome to us than a letter from Europe.' There is much more in this letter to the same effect. The Methodist Mission in Ceylon was begun under serious disadvantage, for it is the pioneer Missionary who most of all needs the assurance that he has the sympathy and confidence of the Church at his back in days when he stands

almost alone in a strange land. Where these are not forthcoming discouragement, hesitation, and inefficiency are inevitable. The success that afterwards came to this District is all the more wonderful when we remember the bad start that was made. The sickly infant became a giant. In other matters we may note the building of an English school in 1817 on the site afterwards occupied by the Central College in Jaffna, and the beginning of services at Point Pedro.

In one particular the Northern District was less fortunate than the Southern. More than one of the first Missionaries in the former proved to be a grievous disappointment to their brethren, and a serious hindrance to their cause. Both Stead and Broadbent left Ceylon 'under a cloud' after a brief period of service. The latter was able to begin a new chapter in the story of his service in South Africa, where he was privileged to begin the Mission to the Barolongs,¹ but the former, after some years, in which his health was such that he could do nothing, returned to England in 1827. Thomas Osborne proved to be a most zealous and efficient Missionary, but he suffered from an over-impulsive nature, and would sometimes say and write things that grieved his brethren. He returned to England in 1824, but for some years before this he had threatened resignation. Elijah Jackson returned before he had been many months in the island, and Joseph Bott, returning in 1825, ceased to be connected with the Methodist Church. It must be confessed that this is a long list of failures, and, coming from one District within a few years of beginning work, it accounts to a large extent for the fact that the Church in North Ceylon was long in gathering the momentum which happily characterized it in later years. In 1825 the members in the three stations of Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa were respectively twenty-two, nine, and eleven.

There was, however, another reason for this slow development, and it is to be found in the character of the field of work. The Tamil immigrant in North Ceylon by the mere fact of migration cut himself loose from the more binding restrictions of caste. In India the Brahman knows quite well that his position in the social scale is guaranteed just so long as caste retains its terrible sanctions, and vested interests alone would

¹ See Vol. IV., pp. 260 ff.

make him careful to see that its laws are observed. His temples and ceremonial, too, are impressive, and exert an influence far from negligible, even among those who stand outside the four great divisions of the social order; and although the emigrants from India may not even belong to the caste population, they nevertheless take with them a certain measure of observance of its distinctions.

Caste is a system of social grading into which religion has been so interwoven that to the vast majority of people in India the practice of religion consists of the observance of the rules of caste. The Tamil emigrant may not recognize the full force of the religious sanction, but he often clings tenaciously to the social distinctions also implied in caste. Buddhism, as originally taught—and that distinction should always be made—denied the validity of caste regulations, and in consequence the Sinhalese did not find the same difficulties in his way if he wished to enter the Christian Church. The Tamil, on the other hand, was still partly under its sway, and Missionaries in the north of the island had in consequence a harder task, though not so hard as they would have had in Madura or Madras. This difference between North and South Ceylon, as well as between the island and the continent, must always be borne in mind when estimating the progress made by the Christian Church in the respective fields. For the rest the degrading influence of popular Hinduism was as marked in Ceylon as we shall find it to be in India.

There was at least one feature of the work in this earliest period which was wholly advantageous, and it is to be seen in the wise selection of sites for Mission premises. This was made in such a way as to leave little for succeeding generations of Missionaries to desire in the matter of centrality, but those pioneers did not guess at the multiplication of agencies which the years would bring, and later purchases of property were made under conditions happily unknown to those who acquired the first sites in Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa.

In 1824 the administrative bond between Ceylon and continental India was severed, and this event marks the beginning of the second and happier period in the history of the Church in North Ceylon. It was roughly coincident with the Chairmanship of the Rev. Joseph Roberts, who was one of those sent out to this field in 1820. Other Missionaries of the period were

the Revs. J. F. England (1825, transferred to Madras the following year); J. C. George (1826-1838), Peter Percival (1826-1851), and Ralph Stott (1829-1847). These were men of greater force and character than those who immediately preceded them, and the last two named left a very distinct mark upon the work in this District. But the outlook at the beginning of the period was enough to daunt most men. Roberts and Stead were the only European Missionaries left, and the latter was suffering from some form of mental derangement. One or two Burghers had been admitted into the ranks of the ministry, but the prejudice of some members of the Church forbade their being sent to certain stations. It says much for Roberts that he was able to hold on until better times came. Happily they were close at hand. Meantime the Chairman was thinking hard of the Church that was to be. We find him raising the important question of the status of Ceylonese Ministers, and taking up generally the position which was to be justified in later years. The guidance and direction of European Missionaries on their first arrival was another matter which caused him anxiety. Percival and George had arrived in 1826, and the Chairman was distracted in mind between the spiritual needs of the Circuits and the perils of sending new and untried men to them.

The risks to be run had been brought only too vividly under his own observation for him to acquiesce in the appointment of a young Missionary to a station where he would be alone in an atmosphere of immoral heathenism. The question of training an indigenous ministry was also much on his mind. He outlines a scheme for this, and implores the Committee to send some one to work it. He prepares a draft of rules for the different Societies now in process of formation, and consults the Secretaries as to the order to be observed in the ordination of Ministers. He keeps a watchful eye for every opportunity for expansion, and is anxious to occupy Manaar, where he thinks a Mission may be begun. Finally he enters upon the vexed question of the best method of financing the District. All these were questions of first importance in founding a Christian Church in a country still lacking the traditions which attract or repel. In Ceylon they were questions of peculiar difficulty, and Roberts had to face them alone, with no colleague or Synod whose counsels might have helped him.

The arrival of Percival¹ and George brought him the relief of companionship, but, on the other hand, it brought the clash and conflict of minds which did not agree as to the course, though all were agreed as to the goal. During the next few years Roberts and George were frequently at variance. In 1831 the latter refused to sign the Minutes of the Synod, and in the following year he refused to attend its sessions. In so small a Synod as that of North Ceylon at this time difference of opinion may easily harden into personal opposition, and Roberts urged more than once that the two Synods in the island should be brought again under one administration. One question which divided the Synod and caused much searching of heart was whether a European Missionary was more necessary at Jaffna or at Point Pedro. In the former of the two work was being done at this time in Portuguese, and both Percival and George considered that the prospects at Point Pedro were better. The difficulty was removed by the arrival of Ralph Stott in 1829, and by his being put in charge of the work at Point Pedro. Three years after this Roberts returned to England, and Percival was appointed Chairman in his place, greatly to the vexation of George, who had expected that the appointment would fall to him. Clough was accordingly asked by the Committee to attend the Synod of the Jaffna District and report on the situation. The issue of the contention was that Clough's name appears as Chairman for the Northern District during the years 1833–1836. At the end of the three years George returned to England, and Percival entered upon an administration which was long continued, and fraught with great issues for North Ceylon.

Two dominant personalities now confronted one another in Percival and Stott, and the lists were prepared for the long-continued conflict between the policy which gave pre-eminence to education as a means of reaching the people, and the policy of evangelization through preaching. Percival was a scholar of marked distinction—'the greatest Tamil scholar Methodism has ever had.'² He translated the whole Bible into Tamil, and his version of Church Offices in the same language is still used in the Jaffna District. His convictions were strongly in favour of educational work, and in 1834 he opened in Jaffna

¹ Transferred back from Calcutta.

² *Ceylon and its Methodism*, by T. Moscrop and A. E. Restarick, p. 98.

the Central School, afterwards raised to the grade of a College. This was followed by a Girls' Boarding-school, which was placed under the management of Mrs. Percival, and a Training Institution, afterwards considerably enlarged and developed. He also added to the number of village schools already in existence, forming in each of these a Junior Society-class, in which last he was a firm believer. Thus it is to this Missionary that the Jaffna District owes the educational policy which has been an incalculable strength to the Church, and no small blessing to the community outside it. But in carrying through his scheme of educational work Percival was strenuously opposed by his colleague, Mr. Stott, who criticized severely the vernacular attainments of Missionaries who had been in the District, and protested against the custom of setting men when they first arrived to preach in English or Portuguese. He was as strong on the side of vernacular preaching as Percival was on the educational side. Happily he found in Batticaloa a sphere in which he could carry out his principles to excellent effect. A new church was built, and a gracious revival of religion followed; so that within five years the membership had increased from forty to a hundred and seventy.

Both of these great Missionaries were right. Where they each failed was in not seeing that the one work was complementary to the other. Time was to show their successors that the Church which neglected education robbed itself of its greatest strength, while education without the witness of the preacher remained barren of its best and most desirable fruit; that the schools were in themselves an evangelistic agency of the highest value, while the element of evangelical appeal would be ignored by the Church to its own peril. We need not regret the strenuous conflict of opinion between two able and devoted Missionaries. It left the District with both departments of the one work firmly established to the abiding honour and ever-increasing efficiency of the Church. In 1847 Mr. Stott returned to England, and in 1862, as we have seen,¹ he took up work among the Tamils of South Africa.

Percival was at pains to keep the Committee in London fully informed as to his educational projects, and in 1836 he wrote at length describing his operations in and around Jaffna. His educational scheme was well conceived and efficiently

¹ Vol. IV., p. 303.

carried through. It must not be thought that his interest in this department made him indifferent to vernacular work, and the general interests of the District over which he presided. The whole letter is instinct with the feeling of one who never loses sight of the fact that he is engaged upon the work of God, and that that work is many-sided. He had no doubt that the best means to its furtherance was the removal of the pall of ignorance which hung over the minds of the people. To him the letting in of light was always to be welcomed by the Missionary, in whatever way that light might come. Thus we find him rejoicing over the establishment of schools by the Government, and in the generous provision made by Churches in America for the furtherance of this work. He held that all such enterprises were to be welcomed, even though they might mean a diminished number of scholars in his own schools, since they brought a larger number of youths to 'a high state of preparation' for receiving the gospel. Provision was also made for furthering the work among the Tamils. The schoolroom used for public worship before the erection of the new chapel in 1823 was put into good order, architecturally improved, and dedicated to the worship of those whose mother tongue was Tamil. This was done in 1836, and the new chapel was called 'St. Paul's,' to distinguish it from the Pettah chapel. It was said to be at that time the handsomest building in Jaffna.

The attendance at public worship was, however, far from satisfactory, and it is clear that Percival's hope gathered round the coming, rather than the present, generation. The poverty of the members of the Church did not induce this feeling of despondency so much as did the spiritual apathy of the people; but that poverty was very great, and in one school at least it was found necessary to provide food and clothing for the girls attending it. In 1838 Miss Twiddy was sent out by the Ladies' Society for promoting female education in China and the East, under conditions to which we have referred elsewhere.¹ This was a welcome harbinger of a still more efficient provision to be made by our own Church in England. The

¹ See p. 78. Miss Twiddy was the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Twiddy, a Minister in the home work. She subsequently married the Rev. Peter Batchelor, one of our Missionaries in Negapatam, and served with him not only in India, but also in South Africa. For the part played by her in the formation of the Women's Auxiliary the reader is referred to Vol. IV., p. 20.

emphasis thus laid by Percival upon education did not pass without challenge, and in 1840 the Rev. J. Crowther attended the Synod in Jaffna with a view to reporting to the Committee his impressions of the situation in Jaffna. He found himself in hearty sympathy with the Chairman, and he further urged the Committee to comply with the request already made by Percival for an adequate Assistant to be sent out 'betimes,' to relieve the Chairman of work which threatened to occupy his whole time and strength, to the detriment of other parts of his duty as Chairman. It was not, however, until 1847 that the Rev. J. Robinson was sent out to assist Mr. Percival.

We must now turn away from Jaffna to consider the two other centres of missionary activity in the District. The work at Trincomalee had up to this time been disappointing. Very little had been accomplished on the native side of the work. Missionaries who had been appointed to this station had found it to be as much as they could do to meet the spiritual needs of the European and Burgher population. Mr. Stott had not hesitated to advise the abandonment of a station in which so little had been done for the Tamil population, but Trincomalee was the chief naval and military station in the Indian Ocean, and Methodist tradition—if nothing else—entailed a ministry to those in the two Services who had entered into its fellowship. The ideal arrangement would have been the appointment at Trincomalee of a Chaplain in addition to a Missionary, but the slender staff maintained in the District made that impossible. The 'full time' will come for Trincomalee, as it comes to all fields in which the good seed of the Kingdom has been sown, but up to the present this centre of operations has not shown the same progress as we shall record in the other centres of missionary activity in this District.

Batticaloa has had quite a different history. Up to the year 1840 there had not appeared in this station any marked movement towards Christianity. The attendance at public worship was almost entirely confined to Europeans and Burghers. But, as we have already recorded, with the appointment of Stott there came a time of great spiritual awakening, and 'many were added to the Lord.' From that time the Church in Batticaloa continually increased, until in the centenary year it was, in point of numbers, the strongest in the District. At one time it seemed as if it would be given

to this Church to gather much harvest from among the wild, shy, and benighted people known as the Veddahs. The origin of these is still a matter of dispute, but whether they be aborigines of the island, or remote connexions of Aryans or Dravidians, the fact is that they are a people whose life has remained, or become, rudimentary. Without fixed homes they inhabited caves in the rocks, and subsisted on what they could shoot with the bows and arrows which were their only weapons. They were ignorant of the most elementary ideas, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were taught to count more than three, even when their own fingers were pressed into service for arithmetical calculation. Some effort had been made by Roberts to get into touch with them, but Stott went into the jungles to seek them out, and after awhile some of them expressed a wish to become Christians. Villages were formed for them by a Government only too glad to bring them under some sort of civilized life. They began to cultivate the fields, and to adopt a more settled form of life. Too much was made of these initial successes, and when presently difficulties arose their confession of Christ was found to rest upon very insecure foundations. Nothing can take the place of a sense of sin and of the deliverance wrought by Christ as the basis of Christian experience, and this apparently had not been realised by them. Many of the converts relapsed into their former barbarous manner of life, and efforts to bring them to a better mind became greatly restricted. If Stott had been able to remain with them it might have been possible to keep them together, but on his withdrawal the work among them fell into abeyance. The schools set up on their behalf at Bintenne were given up in 1847.

The Rev. James Gillings was appointed to follow Stott at Batticaloa, and preparations were made for beginning work at another place in the Circuit. The Station selected was Caravore, twenty-four miles from the island of Puliantivo, the central Station of the Circuit. Land was cleared and a small house was built, while material for a larger one was collected. The Missionary to occupy this new centre was already on the field in the person of the Rev. John Kilner, 1847-1875, who was, in the providence of God, to leave an abiding mark upon the whole Methodist Church in North Ceylon. But 1848-1849 was the year of 'the Reform Agitation,' and the effect of this

was reflected in a peremptory letter addressed to the Jaffna Synod by the Secretaries. The most stringent instructions were given that under no circumstance whatever would any expenditure above the amount provided for in the grant be allowed. The expenses of the schools were to be cut down by one-third; and, worst of all, Kilner was removed from Ceylon, and appointed to Manargudi in South India. If these reductions proved to be insufficient, any deficiency occurring was to be met by a reduction in the amount allowed to each Missionary towards his personal expenses. It may be imagined that such a letter brought dismay to the minds of those who received it, men who were beginning to hope that at last after many disappointments the Church committed to their care was beginning to move. In no part of the District was the blow felt to be heavier than it was in Batticaloa. Happily the services of John Kilner were not lost to Ceylon. The account of his return and of his administration will meet us later on.

In 1851 the Rev. P. Percival returned to England, and it was hoped and expected that after the usual furlough he would come back to direct the affairs of the District. But during his furlough a serious disagreement arose between him and the Secretary in London, the issue of which was the withdrawal of one of the ablest Missionaries ever sent to the East. Over the details of this deplorable dissension it is best that the veil of reticence be drawn. Administrative Boards are often swayed by impressions which are unreal and prejudices which bring little credit to those who entertain them. The issue was deplorable. Shortly before he left Ceylon Percival published his last report, and if any hesitation be felt as to the character of his administration, a perusal of that report would at once remove it. It is an exposition of missionary policy pursued during a quarter of a century, which stamps its author with the mark of a statesmanship only too rare in either the councils of the Church at home or on the field itself. At a time when there seemed to be a complete lack of vision, and when all that could be called 'policy' seemed to be an ever shifting adaptation of action to circumstance, this man saw the Church of the coming days, and bent his marvellous strength and his most tenacious purpose to provide for it. He was never deterred by difficulty, nor did he allow himself to

be either embittered by suspicion or estranged by opposition. He kept an unwavering course through the twenty-five years of his ministry, and left behind him a record of service which all may envy, and few will be able to emulate. Only considerations of space prevent our inserting this missionary manifesto in its entirety. A single passage must suffice :

Too little attention by far is paid to the training of missionary agency, whether native or European. Large expectations are often associated with ill-accommodated systems. In many instances weighty responsibility is imposed upon inexperience. Missionary machinery, costly and promising, though at best imperfect, sometimes suffers derangement from the inconsiderate introduction of newly imported principles. Too much haste is occasionally exhibited in the formation or abandonment of evangelistic plans. Great advantages would result from a careful, wise, and timely revision of all that concerns our various instrumentality. There is needed, in order to due success, a more concentrated and intense application of the means at our disposal. In our District we want a greater division of labour, a thoroughly uniform and uninterrupted course of action, and a more diffusive system of evangelical teaching by simple and inexpensive native agency.

After his resignation Percival returned to the East, and was for some years connected with the University of Madras. He was followed in the administration of the District by the Rev. R. D. Griffith.

The decade of the 'fifties was not distinguished by any marked feature either in policy or in development of the Church. John Kilner returned to Ceylon in 1853, and served first at Batticaloa, and then at Trincomalee before he was called to the Chair of the District. Griffith did not remain long in Ceylon. After four years he removed to Madras, but left almost as soon as he arrived there, in the hope that by returning to England his life might be spared. That hope was not fulfilled. He passed to his reward shortly after his arrival in England, in 1856. His best work was done in India, and there we shall see him in the fullness of his strength. James Gillings also returned to England early in this period. His term of service in this field lasted from 1844 to 1850. Later on he retired from active work, but was able to accomplish a useful service during his retirement at Coonoor in South India. Another Missionary whose service in Ceylon was cut short by failure

of health was the Rev. William Barber,¹ who was sent out in 1852 to take up educational work in Jaffna. Compelled to leave Ceylon, he took up work in South Africa in 1858, and there he served the cause that was dear to his heart for several years. The burden of administration fell upon the shoulders of the Rev. W. Walton after the withdrawal of the Rev. R. D. Griffith, and the Church increased slowly but continuously, the membership rising from three hundred in 1850 to four hundred and seventeen in 1860. The recurrence of smallpox and cholera during this period was a severe check to the numerical increase of the Church. In the year 1854 there were more than eight thousand seven hundred cases of the one, and two thousand two hundred cases of the other.

In the 'sixties we come to what was probably the most formative period in the history of Methodism in North Ceylon, and it is coincident with the administration of the Rev. John Kilner, who succeeded the Rev. William Walton in 1859. We have seen that in later years, when Kilner visited South Africa as Secretary of the Society, his visit was described as 'a sort of hurricane,'² under which figure was conveyed the idea of a vigorous administration, which dispelled the mists of hesitation, and revealed to the Church the elements of strength which it possessed. The same characteristics may be found in his work during the fifteen years in which he directed the affairs of the Methodist Church in North Ceylon. No more accurate description of his administration could be given than that which appears in the work to which we have already made reference.³ The Rev. A. E. Restarick says :

John Kilner was the greatest of North Ceylon Missionaries, and one of the greatest of Methodism, not merely by conspicuous gifts and a commanding personality, but because he was a strategist. He recognized the importance of land acquisition and buildings, made it a doctrine, forced the Home Committee to see its value, and aroused enthusiasm amongst his people and outsiders. There is no part of the District which does not bear John Kilner's stamp upon its property. He took over the school policy, and saw the number of scholars quadrupled even in his last four years ; the meaning and necessity of unremitting evangelism was a doctrine he never ceased preaching. The

¹ Mr. Barber was the father of the Rev. W. T. A. Barber, D.D., whose work in China will be before us in a later chapter of this volume, and who subsequently occupied the Chair of the Conference in England.

² Vol. IV., p. 322.

³ *Ceylon and its Methodism*.

whole area was mapped out in Circuits for future development, and his prescience, though not infallible, has justified itself. Plans of self-support, self-government, self-propagation were watchwords constantly impressed upon the native Churches, and the phrases became part of their vocabulary and their ideals. . . . But Kilner's chief contribution to Tamil Methodist history was the enforcement of the truth that Tamils must be reached by Tamils. . . . He made the training of men his life-work.

The Methodist Church can point in each field of its service to one or more men who, under the guidance of God, have given form and spirit to the Church, and in North Ceylon the man whose name stands first is certainly John Kilner. The Ceylonese Ministry of after years in this District was formed, instructed, and furthered by this great missionary statesman, and it has comprised Ministers of whom any Church may be proud. In nothing does he reveal his statesmanship more clearly than in fastening upon this as the essential element in a Church indigenous to the field, and rejoicing in a life and power of its own. In 1875, when he returned to England, there were eighteen ordained Ceylonese Ministers. When he succeeded to the Chairmanship there were only two. But, in addition to these, he introduced a sub-ministerial order which had no existence at all in 1860. In 1875 we find no less than twenty-one Catechists at work in the District. The membership had risen to more than seven hundred. New Circuits, too numerous to mention, appeared in the annual reports, and the whole complexion of the work had changed. Suspicion, bickering, and complaint had disappeared ; a genuine enthusiasm for the work of God pervaded the whole Church. Education was recognized as a matter too valuable to be neglected, and it was never more fruitful in results, while evangelistic work was unremitting and characterized by a genuine concern for the souls of men. Such may be the effect of a great personality, strong in natural resources, and consecrated to the service of Christ in the great mission fields of the East.

To the historian it is a great temptation to quote at length from the letters and public utterances of John Kilner during this period ; 'temptation,' because he can do so only at the expense of curtailing space already too small for the record of our work in the East. The terse effective phrase, the masterly

grasp of a great policy, the clear vision of a goal sought with relentless purpose, the infectious enthusiasm which pervades every utterance, such characteristics compel more than admiration ; they uplift the heart of the reader until he reaches the source of all in ' the depth of riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God—for of Him, and through Him, and unto Him, are all things. To Him be the glory for ever. Amen.'

The self-support and self-organization of the Church was one of the themes upon which Kilner never ceased to insist. It was also the declared policy of the administrative Board in London. If the former says : ' I feel as though we, as a Mission, have done more if we inoculate one mind with these principles than if a dozen converts, so called, were made to hang lovingly and lazily on the neck of the Mission in sickly infantile imbecility,' the latter would reply ' The sooner you connect native brethren with the management of the sums employed for native agency, the better for them and the work. Accustom them to husband and distribute the fruits of their own diligence, and be careful to show that our great desire is to see all the gifts and virtues of the Ministry embodied in our brethren, and all offices and honours partaken of by them.' The Church, both in its Ministry and in its laity, was quick to respond to this new attitude towards them. In Jaffna and Batticaloa the different congregations were able to support their own pastors, and in Point Pedro and Trincomalee steady progress in the same direction was made. Of another Circuit, Kalmunai, which speedily arrived at the same goal, a little more must be said. It will be remembered that preparations had been made by which it was hoped that John Kilner, then newly arrived in the District, might be sent to Caravore, twenty-four miles south of Batticaloa. That scheme fell through ; but in 1873 Kalmunai, a small town in the same district, was occupied, and a Ceylonese Minister, the Rev. W. M. Walton, was sent to take up the work with the help of a catechist. The population here is scattered in villages, but in many of these Christian communities are to be found, and the Circuit takes rank numerically after Jaffna, Batticaloa, and Point Pedro. An attempt to extend on the western coast was made in 1872, when an agent was sent to Manaar. But this could not be considered to be ' effective occupation.'

Later on, a far more hopeful movement was made in this direction.

Kilner's educational policy was as clear-sighted and as vigorous as any part of his work. He considered schools to be evangelistic centres of the highest value, and schools for girls especially seemed to him to be of first importance. He speaks of them as having 'effected a revolution.' Here again we may trace his governing purpose :

To graft a principle on the stock of national life ; to make some form of Christian agency indigenous ; so to place, govern, and manage a school, as that when the individual Missionary or his wife must leave it to others, it shall yet live on and grow in power. . . . The reliable agency is the agency of growth, rather than that of foreign construction.

These are wise words ; they may well stand as a fixed principle of missionary policy for future generations. The issue of his endeavour may be seen in the record made when he left the District in 1875. When he became Chairman the total number of schools in the District was twenty-two ; when he left Ceylon there were fifty-two schools for boys, and forty-three for girls, while the aggregate number of pupils attending had risen from little more than a thousand to four thousand eight hundred and forty-nine. The value of these schools to the Church may be partly measured by the verdict given by the Rev. A. E. Restarick, and endorsed by all who have had any knowledge of our work in Ceylon : ' Seventy-five per cent. of our converts have been gained, more or less, in connexion with educational work.' Yet even to-day there are those who persist in drawing a sharp line of demarcation between evangelism and education on mission fields. The Women's Auxiliary sent their first representative to Ceylon in 1861, when Miss Eacott was appointed to Jaffna. She remained at work in Jaffna for only three years, and five more passed before her successor, Miss M. Cartwright, was sent out. After that appointments to this District were more frequent. As in South Ceylon, the chief effort of the ladies sent out was made in the schools, and our frequent references to the results of that work will have indicated the supreme value of their service. In addition to the work in the schools, medical work has been taken up by ladies sent out by the Auxiliary in Trincomalee, Batticaloa, and Kalmunai. Such work has had the effect of relieving a

vast amount of suffering, and by winning the confidence of women in those centres it has been no small factor in furthering the work of the Church. It must also be borne in mind that, as in other fields, it is this particular ministry which forms the best means of affecting the Muhammadan population. Aggressive work among the 'Moormen' of Ceylon has yet to be taken up by the Methodist Church, and the way is being admirably prepared by the work of women on behalf of their suffering sisters. General aspects of the work of the Auxiliary will appear in the chapters describing the South Ceylon District. It is a work of peculiar beauty and delicacy. Much of it will always remain unseen, untabulated. But its effects remain deep in the hearts of women, now secluded in their homes, when they recall that in their girlhood they heard the voice of Him through whom reverence, freedom, and honour have come to womanhood.

In 1872 Kilner inaugurated an elaborate scheme 'for completing the Plant for Native Agency in the Tamil District.'

This scheme embraced the building of

1. Eight houses for Ceylonese Ministers.
2. Sixteen boys' vernacular schools.
3. Twenty superior ditto, to be used as school chapels.
4. Twenty girls' vernacular schools.
5. Eight superior ditto to be used as school chapels.
6. Two premises for training Agents at Jaffna and Batticaloa.

It was estimated that the cost of these buildings would amount to three thousand pounds, two-thirds of which were to be raised locally. It was hoped that within four years the scheme would be completed, and this was actually accomplished, and remains a conspicuous instance of executive power in putting through a comprehensive plan, the dimensions of which might have dismayed men of less faith and capacity. Kilner left Ceylon in 1875, by which time his administrative ability was so fully recognized that in the following year he was appointed one of the secretaries of the Society. In this office he remained until his death in 1888.

The additions made to the Staff during this period include men of force and Christian character. They were the Revs. W. H. Dean (1854-1863), W. Talbot (1858-1864), W. Walton

(1860-1866), Luke Scott (1863-1867), J. Mitchil (1863-1866), Edmund Rigg (1865-1890), J. O. Rhodes (1866-1880), and J. M. Brown (1866-1882). Of these we shall presently record the closing services of Edmund Rigg and J. O. Rhodes.¹ That of J. M. Brown will be before us in the history of the Church in Calcutta. Of the others, Luke Scott returned to England with health permanently impaired; Walton died in Madras while on his way to England, and Mitchil died of cholera in the epidemic of 1866.²

Kilner was followed in the Chair of the District by Edmund Rigg, and the Staff was greatly strengthened by the arrival of the Revs. E. Martin, Ed. Strutt, W. R. Winston, and J. G. Pearson. These were all men of outstanding personality, and their selection for this field indicates the position which it now held in the interest of the home Church. Winston was appointed to Point Pedro, the possibilities of which had been long acknowledged, but the occupation of which had been delayed pending the increase of the Staff. As soon as permanent occupation was established, the membership rose from thirty-eight in 1876 to more than a hundred in 1902. In 1877 another Missionary was sent to the District, and proved to be an addition destined to add greatly to the well-being and development of the Church. This was the Rev. G. J. Trimmer. He was first appointed to take charge of the Central School in Batticaloa, and when Rigg returned to England in 1890 he was called to follow him in presiding over the church in this District.

In the decade which followed the retirement of John Kilner, educational work made rapid strides. By this time it was recognized by all that the schools afforded the best recruiting ground. Conversions among the young people were of frequent occurrence, and the work among the girls especially was as fruitful in results as it was beautiful in character. In facility for establishing Boarding Schools for girls, the Missionaries in Ceylon had an advantage which they had not been slow in turning to worthiest use. The caste rules which in India forbade the admission of non-Christian girls to such schools did not obtain in Ceylon, and all Circuits of any standing

¹ See p. 85 of this Volume, and p. 471 of Vol. IV.

² Mr. C. W. Mitchil, the brother of the above, served for many years as a Lay Missionary in China. See pp. 540 ff.

had one or more of them. Few girls passed through their classes without being brought distinctly under the spell of Christ, and in very many instances the confession of allegiance was not withheld. Winston at once began to move in the direction of securing such an institution at Point Pedro, and in 1878, the Girls' Boarding School and Training Institution was begun. Within a very few months after the opening of the school there were cases of true conversion. Even at Kalmunai, where the surrounding villagers were backward, education under Edward Strutt began to take a prominent part in missionary operations, and in 1882 the Rev. G. Trimmer was able to begin the erection of a Girls' Boarding School. In 1879 Rigg added a department for training to the Jaffna Institution—a wise provision in view of the call for teachers from all parts of the District. But early in the 'eighties the anxieties of the Missionaries were very great. A new educational code, proposed by the Government, demanded better provision in school plant as well as higher qualifications in the teaching staff if Government grants were to be obtained, and the District was committed to the scheme for extension put forward by John Kilner. Yet this was the moment when the Committee in England began to diminish the funds sent out for Native Agency. Doubtless it was hard for Kilner, as Secretary, to send out such instructions to his former colleagues, but it was heart-breaking for these to receive them. At such times—and they are frequent on Mission fields—the men on the field can but hold on tenaciously to such work as proves to be most fruitful, and give themselves to prayer that a spirit of enlightenment and generosity may be given to the Church at home.

In 1883 the Jaffna District was called upon to forgo the ripe experience and the balanced judgement of J. M. Brown in favour of the Calcutta District, over whose councils he was now to preside. But the strength of the District was such that it could afford to accept the decision of the Committee. Before this it had been able to meet the need of other parts of the field. We shall see how it sent Missionaries, both Tamil and European, to work among the Tamils of South Ceylon, and contributions were made from time to time to help Circuits in South India. The hive had come to swarming time, and its workers were appearing in other fields. All this would

have been impossible but for the spiritual and intellectual qualities of the Tamil Ministry. Kilner's policy was bearing immediate fruit.

At the close of the decade the personnel of the European Staff had almost entirely changed from that which was on the field at its commencement. Edmund Rigg remained as a link between the present régime and that of John Kilner, but he was just then on furlough, and not one of his colleagues, with the exception of Winston, had been on the field when he took up the administration. But the men sent out—and perhaps the hand of John Kilner is to be seen in this also—were men of both gifts and grace. The fruit of their service was not slow in appearing. Others followed, and in W. J. G. Bestall, Joseph West, and A. E. Restarick, the District secured men who worthily sustained the high tradition of service passed on to them, and left in their turn a distinct mark of individuality upon the work committed to their care. The three mentioned were on the field in 1885, and before the next decade had run its course Sheldon Knapp, W. T. Garrett, Gabriel Leese and E. M. Weaver, men of equal force and Christian character, had joined them. The Jaffna District, during the last two decades of the century, was well manned.

The organization of the Church was now far advanced. Its ministry, indigenious to the country, was ready and equipped. The faithful presentation of Christ in the schools had resulted in a community which had felt the power of His name. There remained but one thing without which indeed all this would have been nothing but elaborate machinery. It was given in the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the Church. A revival of religion took place in 1887. Many former pupils came forward to confess the Christ whom they had first met in their class-rooms. Half-hearted or insincere members of the Church were quickened, and to many a Missionary there was given again the baptism which brings refreshment, stimulus, and power to jaded spirits. This revival had its message for other Districts in the East. In India the news of its coming brought hope to mission workers. If these things could be among the Tamils of Ceylon, why not in Negapatam, Madras, and Bangalore?

The Circuits on the eastern coast were now proving to be the more fruitful section of the District. In 1866 Rigg had

expressed the opinion that if Batticaloa were thoroughly worked it would prove to be rich in producing the treasures of the kingdom of Christ, and it was during the year after that the Church in that station pledged itself to the support of its own pastor. In 1874 Brown established a Mission Press in the same centre, and year by year its output of Tamil books continued to increase, an invaluable adjunct in view of the large number of vernacular schools in the District. The same year saw the opening of a Girls' Boarding School with a department for training, and this was extended by Trimmer in 1886. Six years after this was reported to be one of the best of its kind in the island. The Kalmunai Circuit was at first designated 'Batticaloa II,' and was closely associated with that centre, but after it became effectively occupied its development proved to be so rapid that it soon came to have an individuality of its own. In the same letter in which Rigg had spoken hopefully of Batticaloa he has described Kalmunai as 'distinguished for its ignorance and superstition. Here the devil holds undisputed sway.' But in 1879 Edward Strutt, on leaving Kalmunai, speaks of it exactly as Rigg had spoken of Batticaloa. 'I believe it to be the most interesting, as it promises to be the most fruitful, of any of our stations.'

In 1891 Sheldon Knapp opened an industrial school at Kallar, and this was moved to Kalmunai four years afterwards. Kilner had wisely secured enough land at the latter place for a 'Settlement,' and this centre afforded better provision for industry than Kallar. Here too the wave of revival refreshed and invigorated the Church. From Kalmunai the wave passed to Tirukovil, a place specially sacred to the worshippers of Siva, and in this stronghold of Hinduism a Christian Church came into being, and promised large increase in the immediate future. In the centenary year the three contiguous centres of Kalmunai, Kallar, and Tirukovil reported a Church membership of over a hundred in each village, while the Christian community of the three aggregated more than nine hundred and twenty. Such was the fruit gathered in the field where Rigg had said that 'the devil held undisputed sway.' A new disputant had entered the lists, and victory was with Him.

Manaar on the west coast of the island is not the least interesting of the centres in North Ceylon where work has been begun,

and it will be no surprise to those who know of its past, and are able to forecast its future as a town, if it become one day a station of first importance to the Methodist Church in this district. We shall elsewhere¹ indicate the attempts made to secure a footing in the town and the selection of this centre by the Jaffna Home Missionary Society as the sphere of its operations. For a long time the efforts made seemed fruitless, The Roman Catholics were in power, and were determined to remain so. The Methodists of Jaffna were tested by being called to maintain an apparently unremunerative effort. At last, however, their reward began to appear in the formation of a small society. Then villages in the vicinity, which had broken away from their Romish teachers, appealed to the Methodists for help, and in 1908 the Rev. W. C. Bird was appointed to Manaar. From that time the Church has increased both in number and in influence. In the centenary year there was a Methodist community of a hundred and forty-eight. The Church in Jaffna had reason to rejoice in this fruit of their effort, and the fuller harvest has yet to be gathered.

Puttur for many years seemed to be the least remunerative station in the District, but in 1896 there appeared a new agency in Puttur. We have seen the Order of Wesley Deaconesses at work in West Africa, and its appearance in Ceylon was followed by similarly happy results. Puttur is a small town attached to the Jaffna Circuit. Work had been carried on here for many years, but the results were not commensurate with the efforts made, and the cause of this was not hard to find. The town was distinguished from others in its vicinity by the fact that it was the residence of Saivites who adhere more strictly to the rules of caste than others of their co-religionists in Ceylon. The people of Puttur were fairly prosperous, and materialism, added to their religious tenets, deadened their ears to the message of the Gospel. A far more responsive people were found in Achchelu, a village only two miles distant from Puttur, but the two villages between them returned only fourteen members in the report for the year 1896. It was decided that the Deaconesses should take up work in this centre, and as they acquired the use of Tamil the range of their activities increased. In addition to work in the schools

¹ See p. 103.

they opened a small dispensary, and soon they were able to begin evangelistic work in the surrounding villages. Since their coming there has been a marked increase in membership, but the most significant feature of their work has been the building of a hostel which is to form the home of an Order of Ceylonese Deaconesses. If in the hearts of these there be kindled the flame that burns in the hearts of their sisters from the West, this indigenous Sisterhood may soon become an important factor in the winning of Ceylon for Christ. The Hostel was opened in the year with which our record closes, and it may well prove to be the beginning of a great chapter in the history of the Methodist Church in Ceylon.

In 1893 the Rev. G. W. Olver paid an official visit as Secretary to Ceylon, and the visit is of importance as marking an important development in the organization of the Methodist Church in the island. For that visit led to the forming of a Synod of the whole Methodist Church in Ceylon. Each of the three Sinhalese Districts, which were then distinct, sent four representatives to the Synod while the Jaffna District sent eight. It was also arranged that every five years a General Synod for all India and Burma and Ceylon should be convened. Such Synods have proved their value in co-ordinating the work done on the different fields, and they bring together workers who, separated as they are in Districts remote from one another, miss the mutual help derived from Methodist fellowship. When the time comes for a Conference of the Methodist Church in these three countries, the rudiments of its organization will be found to be already in existence. In 1895 the first annual address of the Ceylon Synod was issued to all Methodist Churches in Ceylon. That address, subscribed by the names of Samuel Langdon as Chairman and Joseph West as Secretary, after recording the numerical position of the Church and acknowledging the work of God in their midst, reminds the members of the moral and spiritual responsibilities following upon so great a development, and it reflects the anxious care of the Pastors assembled in Synod for the increase of those fruits of the Spirit which mark the living Church. The membership returned for the whole island was three thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, with one thousand one hundred and thirteen on probation for membership.

In the 'nineties the Church continued to grow, though the annual increment was small. It must be remembered, however, that before any increase could be shown losses caused by death or by migration had to be made good. That there was no diminution in vitality is shown by the increasing strength of Home Mission Societies in the several Churches. In addition to such support of their own Ministers as we have already indicated, the different societies were at this time contributing more than two thousand rupees annually for the furtherance of missionary work among their own countrymen, and a generous contribution to the Twentieth Century Fund was freely given. The European staff showed no great change during this decade. The most considerable was to be found in the removal of the Rev. J. West to undertake the Chairmanship of the Negapatam District in South India. The Jaffna District may well claim a certain distinction in this, that when Missionaries of experience and of administrative ability were required for responsible positions in other Districts, they were often found in the Jaffna District. We have already recorded the removal of the Rev. J. M. Brown to Calcutta. After his departure, the Rev. W. R. Winston was sent first to South India, and shortly after to open a new field of missionary operations in Burma; and now the District was called upon to spare the Rev. J. West for a post of honour and responsibility. All of these will be before us again when we come to describe the work in their new spheres of labour. Throughout the decade the Rev. G. J. Trimmer continued to serve as Chairman. Of new recruits there were only two—the Rev. G. B. Robson (1898), and the Rev. E. O. Martin (1899). A strong plea for reinforcements was sent to Bishopsgate, and in response to this, the Revs. A. Lockwood and W. M. P. Wilkes were sent out in 1901, while the Rev. W. C. Bird followed in 1906. Early in the decade, the District found itself sufficiently strong to do what it had long desired, and the Rev. E. M. Weaver was set free from Circuit responsibilities to serve as 'a touring Evangelist.' Good results were immediately forthcoming, and later on this work was taken up by the Rev. G. B. Robson; but in 1905 the staff was again depleted, and this special and most promising work was given up. The year 1905 was indeed 'a year of disaster.' The Rev. Gabriel Leese had returned from furlough the year before, and a period

of fruitful service seemed open before him, but in the month of May he was attacked by rheumatic fever and quickly passed to service elsewhere. The Rev. A. E. Restarick, who had served in this field since 1885, was obliged to return to England for family reasons. It seemed as though his efficient and devoted service in Ceylon had closed, but happily, after seven years in England, he was able to return, and in 1922 he was still in the island fulfilling the duties of chairman in the South Ceylon District. Last of all came the sudden breakdown of the Rev. E. M. Weaver, who had been in this District since 1889. The loss of so many experienced Missionaries was a serious set-back to the work. To fill the vacancies thus caused, the Revs. J. A. Barker, J. W. Garforth, and W. C. Tucker¹ were sent out in the same year.

The Church continued to grow, a certain sign of its inherent strength. Trincomalee now joined the Churches which supported their own Minister, and it was evident that Point Pedro would soon do the same. How rapidly the principle of self-support was being adopted may be judged from this, that in 1908 the Churches in Jaffna and Batticaloa both claimed the privilege of supporting two pastors. Another very hopeful feature of this period was the growth of the unpaid agency of local preachers. But the very growth of the Church brought its own difficulties, and the need of yet further premises for the due housing of the agencies of the Church made itself felt in every centre.

The numerical statistics of the North Ceylon District in the centenary year are as follows :

Chapels	..	..	..	..	..	24
Other Places for Preaching	..	..	..	..	..	116
European Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	10
Ceylonese Ministers	..	..	..	..	..	18
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..	29
Local Preachers	..	..	..	..	..	198
Church Members	..	..	..	..	..	1,774
Members on Probation	..	..	..	..	..	825
Other baptized Adherents	..	..	..	..	..	1,307
Children in Mission Schools	..	..	..	..	..	11,222

¹ Mr. Tucker died within a year.

With these statistics we bring our story of the Methodist Church in North Ceylon to its close. Much that would lend grace to the story, and bring gladness to the heart of the reader, must remain untold. The beauty of Christian life in those who have been brought out of darkness into marvellous light, the sacrifice offered not by one or two, but by a great company of those who having known Jesus freely gave to Him their all, the wonder of the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts and minds of men and women, working for long years unseen, unsuspected, until in some moment of experience which broke through the jealously guarded reserve 'streams broke forth in the desert'—all this must remain untold, save on such occasions as when the Missionary returning from the field where he has seen God manifestly revealed in human life, tells the story of the triumph of the Cross in Ceylon.

But even the bare account of the historian may show the amazing progress of a Church which at its commencement seemed beset with every sort of difficulty, but when a hundred years had closed recorded a triumph all the greater because its earliest days seemed to promise failure rather than fruition.

II

THE SINHALESE DISTRICT—SOUTH CEYLON

Harvard and Clough in Colombo—The Mission Press—Depression—Disagreements with the Committee—Educational Work—Close of the first Period—John Gogerly—Chairmanship of Benjamin Clough—Dr. Kessen—Joseph Rippon at Galle—Robert Spence Hardy—The Occupation of Kandy—A Tamil Mission in Colombo—Wellawatte—Chairmanship of John Scott—The Galle District—Conflicts with Buddhists—Richmond Hill—The Kandy District—Stephen Langdon—Educational Work—The Province of Uva—The Missionary Spirit in Ceylon—Statistics.

WHILE the ethnological history of North Ceylon is easy to read, that of the south is shrouded in the mists of the ages. What was the origin of the Sinhalese people? Are they to be considered to be the aborigines of the island, or were they, like the Dravidians of the north, invaders from India? The fact that their language is so largely dependent on Sanskrit seems to indicate some connexion with the Aryan movement from Central Asia into India, but if this connexion be established it must have been at a time when Sanskrit was still a spoken language. Whoever they were, they exhibit a marked racial integrity, and a social and religious tenacity which enabled them to survive the disintegrating effect of the Dravidian invasion, and the long-continued and devastating wars, in the course of which they were driven into the remoter south, finding protection in the all but impenetrable belt of forest which they placed between them and their enemies. The ruins of great cities and abandoned systems of extensive irrigation remain to indicate resources in wealth and industry which must have been very great. Deprived of their established possessions, they still remain after two thousand years distinct in race, language, and religion, from those who drove them from their great cities, and laid both palace and temple

in ruin. That they profess and observe the laws of Buddha does not necessarily mean that they came to Ceylon after the appearance of that great teacher. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of Buddhism than the rapidity with which it spread over nearly the whole of India, and the Ceylonese may have received it in the same way and as whole-heartedly as did the Thibetans and the Burmese. But their acceptance of Buddhism accounts for one strongly marked feature in their character which has proved to be no slight difficulty in the way of the Christian Missionary. Strictly speaking, Buddhism is not a 'religion' but a rule of life. If, as some assert, we cannot say that it denies the existence of God, it certainly ignores Him, and it does this so completely that the human heart, robbed of the Divine, avenged itself upon its great teacher by putting him into the place of the ignored Deity, until now it worships the one who taught that worship was futile. In matters of faith Buddhism was elastic to a degree, and its votaries might subscribe to this or that without ceasing to be disciples of their great teacher. They listened first to the Romanist and then to the Dutch Ecclesiastic, and professed acceptance of the teaching of both without feeling that they had apostatized from Buddhism. Even after baptism they observed the rules of Buddha, and took part in ceremonies which were certainly not Christian. They accounted for this contradiction in practice by regarding Christianity as 'a Government religion,' which varied with the nationality which happened at the moment to be supreme. Their submission was merely official; they still remained Buddhists at heart.

When the British came into possession of the island, and Protestant Missionaries began to appear in Ceylon, the latter were sometimes deluded by this attitude into thinking that the victory of their cause was immediate, and they were correspondingly depressed when they found that no reliance could be placed upon the easily offered acceptance of their teaching. The Sinhalese, on the other hand, were puzzled when they found that the formal profession did not necessarily lead to official preferment, and that they were now confronted by a challenging faith which accepted no compromise. It was only gradually that the Missionaries came to see that the siege which they were laying to the heart of the Sinhalese

was likely to be long and arduous. In Colombo and in other places several priests came forward in the early days of the Mission to seek admission into the Christian Church, and the first and most remarkable of these furnishes us with a good case in point. 'The Ava Priest'—George Nadoris de Silva, as he was afterwards named—belonged to one of the higher grades of the artisan class, and early in life attracted attention by reason of his intellectual attainment. He was sent to Burma to continue his study of Buddhism, and after three years in that country he returned with the title of 'Raja-Guru,' and was maintained in a style more akin to that of royalty than to that of a priest who had renounced the world. He was visited by the Governor—Sir Robert Brownrigg—and was introduced by the Governor's Chaplain to Mr. Harvard and Mr. Clough. After inquiry he professed his conviction of the truth of Christianity and was baptized in the Fort Church, but does not seem at any time to have been of any great service to the Church, though he was of use to the Government during the Kandian War. There was considerable misgiving in the mind of many as to the reality of his conversion, and later on we find such Missionaries as Fox and Hume taking exactly opposite views on this matter, and expressing them with characteristic vehemence. It was perhaps unfortunate that on the day after his baptism Nadoris was invested by the Governor with the coveted rank of Mudaliyar, even though his intellectual attainments and personal influence may have justified the appointment. Such an investment tended to confirm the opinion that the way to Government office lay through the Church. Several other priests came forward with similar professions, and presently the Missionaries, taught by experience, came to regard such approaches with suspicion. In time, when the moral and spiritual aims of the Church came to be better understood, such cases became less frequent.

We have seen that Mr. Harvard was appointed to Colombo while still remaining in Bombay. It was not until the spring of 1815 that he was able to begin his work in Ceylon. He was received, not only with courtesy, but with the spirit of friendliest sympathy on the part of all officers of Government in Colombo. The Governor and Lady Brownrigg, the Chief Justice (Sir Alexander Johnston), Archdeacon Twistleton, and the

Governor's Chaplain, the Rev. G. Bisset, all seemed desirous of co-operating with him in his great purpose, and eager to identify themselves with the Missionaries. They made the way easy for them to begin their work, and frequently joined them in their worship, while Lady Brownrigg and Lady Johnston took an active part in the work of educating girls. No stronger contrast could be found than the attitude to Mission work taken up by these representatives of Church and State when compared with that of similarly placed officials in the West Indies. It is true that the vested interests of slave-owners did not create in Ceylon the obstacle which they presented in Jamaica, and the accompanying moral failure in tone and outlook did not pervert the vision of Government administrators as it had done in Trinidad. Time also had enabled those in authority to estimate the value of the Methodist movement in the national life. But these things do not account for all the sympathy shown to the pioneer Missionaries in Ceylon. Here authority was happily in the hands of earnest and devout Christian men, who were far removed from sectarian jealousy or moral indifference.

The founders of the Methodist Church in Ceylon were happy in those with whom they had to do. Not least in helpfulness and Christian feeling was the British soldier who met them in Colombo. Sergeant Andrew Armour has already been mentioned in this History.¹ In 1798 he was transferred from Gibraltar to Madras. Like many other Scotchmen he had great linguistic gifts, and it was said that he could speak in thirteen different languages. In Madras he learned Tamil, and became so proficient in the use of that language that he was sent to Colombo to act as interpreter in the Supreme Court. After a while he obtained his discharge from the Army, and was put in charge of the principal Government educational establishment in Colombo, and in 1812 he was licensed to preach in Portuguese and Sinhalese. When the Missionaries of his own Church, for whose coming he had so often prayed, arrived, they found in the loyal affection of this Methodist soldier a welcome which, we may be assured, was not the least valued of those which they received. His name appears in the *Minutes of Conference* 1816 and 1817 as 'Assistant Missionary,' but for some reason or other he reverted to his

¹ See Vol IV., p. 418.

former position under Government. He was ordained Deacon in the Anglican Church in 1821, and Priest in 1825, but he never ceased to regard with unbounded affection the Church through whose ministry he had been brought to Christ. He died in 1828, with the respect and affection of all who knew him.

With such friendly co-operation available Harvard was not long in getting to work. With Mr. Armour's help a house was taken in the main street of the Pettah. Services were held at first in the Dutch Church, but before long Methodists had a church of their own built after the model of Brunswick Chapel, in Liverpool.¹

Large sums were contributed locally towards the cost of erecting this, 'the first Methodist chapel in Asia,' Europeans, Burghers, and Natives all showing a desire to further the work of the Missionaries. A Society-class was formed, English, Dutch, Portuguese and Sinhalese speaking in their own tongues, and Mr. Armour interpreting for each—a striking reproduction of primitive Christianity. Preaching-services were held in many of the villages near Colombo, interpreters being recruited from among the pupils of Mr. Armour's 'Seminary.' With the Missionaries were associated the Government 'Proponents.' All the workers met every Friday for mutual help and encouragement, as well as to arrange the Plan of Appointments for the following week. A Sunday school was begun, and was largely attended by children from all classes of the community, most valuable help being given by officers of the Government. Thus most of the agencies peculiar to the Methodist Church were in an incredibly short time in full operation, together with the unusual addition of hearty co-operation on the part of those who were not members of the Methodist Church.

One part of the equipment for the Mission to the East included in the comprehensive preparation made by Dr. Coke consisted of a small printing-press, and Harvard now proceeded to get this into working order. The Dutch press taken over by the British Government was found to be in such a state of neglect that it could not be used, and several efforts were made to secure the service of Harvard in this

¹ The architects' plans for this building were found among the documents of Dr. Coke.

department. He was first offered a post as superintendent of the Government press, and when he declined, an offer to purchase the Mission press was made to him. This, too, was declined. Finally Harvard, anxious to show some recognition of the kindness received from the Government, offered to put the Government press into working order, and this was done at the cost of much physical exertion. A considerable amount of press material not required by the Government was put at the disposal of the Missionaries, who thus added to the efficiency of their own establishment. This press was to prove a fruitful source of misunderstanding and trouble between the Missionaries and the administrative Board in London, but it proved to be invaluable in giving facilities for the distribution of Christian literature at the very beginning of the Mission. After a few months Harvard was joined by Clough, McKenny¹ being left by the latter in charge of the work in Galle, and the two men, closely united in friendship, abundant in labours, and wholly devoted to the Master in whose service they were employed, laid broad and deep the foundations of the Methodist Church in Ceylon. Some indication of the difficulty of maintaining a close connexion with the London Committee may be found in the fact that though Dr. Coke's party left London towards the close of 1813, it was not until June, 1815, that any communication from the Mission House was received. In that month, however, McKenny arrived in Ceylon from South Africa with the information that reinforcements were close at hand, and presently Samuel Broadbent, Robert Carver, John Callaway, and Elijah Jackson arrived. In July, 1816, the whole staff met in what was called 'The General District Conference.' The appointment of the Missionaries to the several centres was as follows :

JAFFNA.—James Lynch, T. H. Squance, Robert Carver, and Daniel Theophilus (Assistant Missionary).

TRINCOMALEE.—Samuel Broadbent. (One to be sent.)

BATTICALOA.—Elijah Jackson. (One to be sent.)

GALLE.—G. Erskine, J. McKenny.

COLOMBO.—W. M. Harvard, B. Clough.

MATURA.—J. Callaway, W. Lalmon (Assistant Missionary).

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 240.

It was reported that there were twenty members of Society in Colombo and twelve in Galle.

When financial matters came under review it was found that Mr. Harvard had not been able, owing to ill-health, to prepare a balance-sheet. In this statement we have the beginning of the financial confusion which ensued, and which was the occasion of so many severe reprimands from the authorities at home, leading eventually to the recall of James Lynch. It is easy to see how this confusion arose. There was no fixed allowance at this time; the brethren were permitted to draw on the Secretaries as necessity arose. The consequence was a complication which exhausted the energies of several men before it was unravelled. Many discrepancies had to be overlooked before order was resolved out of the financial chaos which prevailed in Ceylon during the first years of our work.

The case of William Lalmon, a Burgher physician of Swiss descent on his father's side, gave cause for discussion. Lalmon was converted to God under the first sermon preached by Squance in Galle. He was recognized as an 'Assistant Missionary,' and the question arose whether the rule which forbids marriage before the close of probation should in this instance be enforced. It was finally decided that it might in this case be relaxed. Lalmon proved to be a most faithful and reliable Minister. He served his Church for forty-six years, dying at last in 1863. A few years after this the Missionaries were again encouraged by another convert entering the ministry. This was Don Cornelius Wijesingha, and he continued to serve from 1819 until 1864.

The favourable reception accorded the Missionaries, acting upon temperaments which were perhaps too sanguine, led to a certain amount of disillusion, followed by depression. Accustomed as Methodists to look for immediate conversions, they were not prepared for the long struggle which awaited them when they challenged the strength of Buddhism and Hinduism in their hoary citadels. Some of the adults who had responded to their appeals proved disappointing, and gradually it came to be seen that fruit adequate to their hope and effort would be long in coming. But this disappointment was to lead to their adopting a line of advance which was to give to the Church in after years a strength and a power of appeal which

could not have been obtained otherwise. Disappointed in the adults, the Missionaries turned to the children. This is how Harvard¹ describes the inception of the educational work which has covered the island of Ceylon with a network of schools, from which a great harvest has been gathered.

Disappointed in the sanguine expectations we had at first indulged of extensive and rapid conversions of adult natives to the faith of Christ, Mr. Clough and myself regarded with feelings of peculiar pleasure the desire manifested by the inhabitants of various villages to place their children under our care, persuaded that our hopes of the future must be, in a very considerable degree, founded on the cultivation of their minds and the formation of their character. We therefore digested a plan for the establishment of a regular chain of Native Mission Schools, and submitted it by letter to our brethren at the different stations.

At first the brethren were far from unanimous in accepting the scheme, but Harvard and Clough, nothing daunted, proceeded to put it into effect in the neighbourhood of Colombo, and by the ensuing July fourteen schools had been opened, with nearly a thousand children in daily attendance. In the Synod of 1815 the matter came up for discussion, and was cordially adopted. The Colombo brethren were appointed 'General Superintendents of the schools,' and were requested to furnish the stations in which they had not been commenced with the requisite instructions.

It was also proposed that an 'Academy' for training Native Ministers should be set up, but the Committee refused to sanction this proposal, as they considered the scheme to be premature.² It is thus clear that the Missionaries on the field were convinced of the urgency of education in their scheme of work, and later years were to justify their contention.

The Mission press in Colombo was by this time working at full pressure to provide the books required in the schools, as well as other publications taken up on behalf of the Bible Society, and the Anglican Church in Calcutta. A version of the New Testament in Sinhalese had also been prepared

¹ Harvard's *Narrative*, p. 303.

²They consented, however, to the opening of a 'Seminary for pious Natives,' though a 'Boarding-School for gentlemen's sons' was not allowed.

by Clough with the assistance of two converts from the Buddhist priesthood. An edition of two thousand was printed, and work on the Old Testament was at once begun. Other useful publications followed, and so rapidly did this branch of the work grow that it was thought desirable to send out from England a layman who should relieve the Missionaries of this burden. The layman chosen was Mr. Daniel John Gogerly, a notable name, the name of one who was in the providence of God to bring light and strength beyond all calculation possible at that time to the Methodist Church in Ceylon. Mr. Gogerly arrived in 1818, and under his direction the efficiency of the press rapidly increased. A Book-room was added to it, and there was great confidence expressed that this would become a fruitful source of 'local income.' But the management of its finances was far from being efficient. The Missionaries were not men of any training in business, and presently the accounts of the two branches of this enterprise were found to be in hopeless confusion. To add to the embarrassments of the Missionaries, the home Committee took objection to the printing of a Sinhalese-English dictionary which had been prepared by Clough, and which had been put through the press during a period when work happened to be slack, without waiting for the consent of the Committee. But though no explicit sanction for the printing of the dictionary had been given, the Committee in its Report for 1819 had spoken of it as being in the press, and had described it as 'A work which will be of incalculable importance to Missionaries and to civilians in acquiring this difficult but comprehensive language.' In spite of this tacit acceptance of the work the Secretaries addressed a letter of severe censure to the Synod of 1821, speaking of the dictionary as 'a literary speculation' and insisting that 'Mr. Clough had no more right to make the expense of the work a charge on the Book-room than he would have to charge it to the private account of an individual.' The Committee seems to have been unduly alarmed at the publication of this work, and it certainly chose an unfortunate instance for insisting upon its sanction being obtained before any new venture was undertaken. The Synod made a spirited reply, and warmly protested against the insinuation that Mr. Clough had been diverted from his ministerial duties by undertaking this literary work, of which

the Secretaries had themselves spoken in terms of warm approval. It must be confessed that the Committee does not come out of this unhappy controversy with credit, though on the whole question of financial administration they had just ground for complaint. After much labour and vexation of spirit, both in England and in Ceylon, the finances of the press were put upon a more satisfactory basis, and it continued to do excellent work. For many years it was the only establishment of its kind engaged in producing Christian literature for the Ceylonese, and in later years a great tribute to its work was paid by Dr. Murdoch when he said :

The Wesleyan Missionaries in Ceylon have occupied to a large extent the place which Carey filled in Bengal. They have prepared Sinhalese dictionaries, written the ablest and most learned treatises on Buddhism; have had a large share in the translation of the Scriptures; and in various other ways they have materially aided Sinhalese literature.¹

A long and painful conflict between the Mission House and the Missionaries followed. It must be confessed that the Missionaries, while highly endowed with all spiritual gifts, were lacking in business ability and experience of financial transactions; but it must be allowed them that the guidance given them by the Secretaries had been indefinite, and financial perplexity obtained in England as well as in Ceylon. The mysteries of 'exchange' were painfully felt by the Secretaries, and later on we find the Committee deciding with meticulous care that nineteen spoons should form the equipment, as far as that useful implement was concerned, in each Mission House, and solemnly voting the sum of nine shillings to provide some suffering brother with a table, and yet, though informed of the giving up of the Theological Institution in Colombo, proceeding to budget for its expenses for the following year and forwarding the amount to the Chairman. Doubtless if the Committee could have foreseen that this band of young men would be left without the help and guidance of Dr. Coke their instructions would have been more explicit, but the fact remains that no instructions were given as to how the expense of building chapels, schools, and houses was to be met, and the Missionaries naturally concluded that for such

¹ *Ceylon and its Methodism*, p. 80.

objects they might take up bills drawn on the Society at home. They proceeded to do this, to the great alarm of the Committee, confronted with an expenditure which they had not anticipated. The conflict culminated in a censure passed on Mr. Lynch for failure in administration, and at the Synod of 1822 the latter tendered his resignation and asked for permission to withdraw from the Mission. The Synod, however, pressed him to preside, and he did so, but continued to urge his request for permission to withdraw. With great reluctance this was granted, but the Synod protested that 'for so excellent, so upright, so conscientious a character as is Brother Lynch to return from a work, which is the delight of his soul, under disgrace, is one of the most distressing events that could happen to a Christian Mission,' and they declared their wish to resign their appointments unless the vote of censure was withdrawn. So near to disaster did the Mission to Ceylon come in the earliest years of its history. Lynch finally returned to Ireland in 1824. His personal contribution to the work has come before us in another chapter.¹ Gradually confidence was restored, and the Synod of 1823 was a happier one in consequence.

Other difficulties arose in Ceylon, as they did elsewhere,* over the vexed question of 'stationing.' The Committee claimed finality for the appointments which they made, but the Missionaries on the field claimed that they were in a better position for deciding what stations should be occupied, and what men should be sent to them. They also pointed out—what, indeed, was obvious enough—that in the twelve months which must pass before any point of view could be put before the Committee, and their ruling obtained, circumstances might arise which would make it impossible to carry out the Committee's instructions. They therefore claimed a measure of discretionary power in this matter, but only after many years and much conflict was that power obtained.²

In 1818 reinforcements from England arrived in the persons of the Revs. W. Buckley Fox (who shortly afterwards succeeded Lynch in the Chair of the two Districts), R. Newstead, G. Erskine, and T. Osborne, and in consequence it became possible to occupy new centres of work. One of these was

¹ See pp. 176 ff.

² See Vol. IV., p. 264.

³ See Vol. I., p. 174.

Kalutara, a town situated on the coast south of Colombo. The first Missionary stationed here was Mr. Fox, but it has proved to be the least successful of the many circuits established in the course of years. For some time no Missionary was stationed here, but in 1895 it was reoccupied by the Rev. J. Passmore. In the centenary year it had a Christian community of 374.

About an equal distance to the north of Colombo is the town of Negombo, and here a strong Circuit has come into being, while other circuits in its vicinity have been formed. Many of the most prominent Missionaries in South Ceylon have served in Negombo. For a time this Circuit, too, was without a European Missionary, but in 1884 it was reoccupied, and it has now arrived at the stage in which it provides the support of its own Minister.

Matara is the most southern station on the coast, and with Galle between that and Kalutara Mr. Fox considered that he was justified in claiming that 'We occupy the whole of the unbroken line of the Sinhalese coast (I mean that which is inhabited), and all our future extension must be into the interior.' The occupation was scarcely 'effective,' but the centres were well chosen, and something must be allowed to the buoyant Missionary on the ground of hope.¹

In the year 1818 two Missionaries were sent to Ceylon to take up special work in the schools. These were the Revs. Alexander Hume and Samuel Allen. The design of the Committee was that these men should exercise a general superintendence in all educational work carried on in the District, and should move from Circuit to Circuit, introducing and maintaining sound methods of school management and education. The scheme was excellent in theory, but proved to be impracticable for two reasons. To carry it out effectively would have entailed a large increase in the grant made for educational work. The introduction of improved appliances alone would have meant, in the many schools of the District, a considerable expenditure in addition to that already incurred, and as the existing grant for this department did not meet half the expenses of the schools, it was difficult to see how the scheme could be financed. Yet the two men had been sent

¹ In post-centenary years the work at Kalutara, especially that among the Tamils employed on rubber estates, was most successful.

out with apparently no provision on the part of the Committee of the means of carrying into effect the purpose of their mission. There was a second difficulty. The appearance in a Circuit of some external authority criticizing, condemning, and altering arrangements for which the locally appointed Missionary was responsible would have created an intolerable situation, and the Missionaries in the Circuits were unwilling to accept such supervision. Last of all, it was found impossible to staff the different Circuits already in existence unless the two men were themselves appointed to stations. But in that case all idea of their itinerating from Circuit to Circuit would have to be given up. Allen was sent to Galle and Hume to Matara. The latter proved to be a man of great ability and of distinct force of character. Profoundly disappointed in not being able to accomplish the special work for which he had been chosen, he nevertheless gave himself up to the work which seemed feasible. He became a fluent and accurate speaker of Sinhalese, and was most efficient as a Missionary. He was also a tender-hearted and generous helper to brethren in distress. It was characteristic of his frank and direct method of expressing himself that he made no secret of his intention to return to England when his first period of service was ended, and he carried it into effect in 1827. Allen, too, was a man of considerable ability, but unhappily he came under discipline by the Synod, and was suspended for two years. It is greatly to his credit that he accepted that discipline and proved the sincerity of his repentance by drawing himself clear from the intemperance which had threatened him with disaster. He was reinstated in the ministry, did good work in the Theological Institution while it was in existence, and on his return to England in 1832 served with acceptance in home Circuits.

The year 1819 marks the close of the first period of missionary work in Ceylon. In that year the island was divided into two Districts—the Sinhalese or Southern District, and the Tamil or Northern. In the former W. B. Fox was the first Chairman of the separated District; in the latter James Lynch continued to administer the District while residing in Madras. At this point we may pause to consider briefly one or two of those Missionaries who were eminent in work and character, and the first of these must be the two men who were

the companions of Dr. Coke on his last and memorable missionary journey, and who were so closely associated in friendship and service in Colombo. The names of Harvard and Clough will always remain as those of the founders of the Methodist Church in that city. They were very similar in tastes and in attainments. Both possessed literary gifts of no mean order, and these were used without stint in giving to the Church in its earliest days what was indispensable to its growth and development—a Christian literature. In 1816 it seemed as if their close and happy fellowship was likely to be broken when the home Committee proposed to transfer Harvard to Calcutta, but this proposal was so strongly opposed, not only by his brethren, but also by the Governor of Ceylon and other officials, that Harvard remained in Colombo until failure of health in 1819 compelled his return to England. No finer or truer appreciation of this Missionary can be given than that which appears in a letter written by Archdeacon Twistleton to Clough with reference to the proposed removal of Harvard to Calcutta. The Archdeacon speaks of his recognized discretion, and goes on to say: 'His countenance' and manners and amiable moderation, joined with unaffected piety, are all calculated to exalt the Wesleyans in the opinions of men. He is the organ of communication between the brethren and His Majesty's servants, and we positively cannot spare him.'

He was a gentleman of considerable refinement, and the affectionate courtesies of his demeanour were added to a high standard of personal religion, while his love for Christ irradiated his whole life. After some years in English work, during which he was at one time designated for Madagascar but never went there, he sailed for Canada in 1836, and in the following year was made President of the Upper Canada Conference. In 1846 he again returned to England, where he became the Governor of Richmond College, and passed to his rest in 1857.

Benjamin Clough had been specially recommended to Dr. Coke as his travelling companion, and has been characterized as 'a man of warm heart, open mind, great energy, sound judgement, and entire fidelity.'² He excelled in literary work, and, while he took his share in the ministry of preaching, gave

¹ He was considered to be the facsimile of George Washington in appearance.

² Moscrop and Restarick, *Ceylon and its Methodism*, p. 81.

himself up to this department with such ardour that on more than one occasion he came near to a complete breakdown in health. He became Chairman of the Sinhalese District in 1826, but found financial administration, which at that time was most complicated and exacting, a burden hard to carry. He speaks of it as 'a horrible job,' which made his life miserable, and his sensitive nature felt acutely the censure of the Secretaries in London. In 1821 he says, in a letter to Mr. Lynch: 'I intend, by God's help, to have no more to do with drawing bills,' but the exigencies of service compelled him to shoulder the unwelcome burden until 1838, when the state of his health made it impossible for him to continue the service which he loved. His gifts were many and of high quality, but they did not include that of financial acumen, and it would have been better for himself and for the work if he had never been called upon to administer the affairs of the business department of the District. He held his brethren in honour, and was greatly beloved by them. In 1838 he retired from Ceylon and served at home until 1852, when he withdrew from active work. The following year saw the close of a life of singular beauty and of great value to the Church.

Robert Newstead is another of these pioneers of Methodism in Ceylon whose name may well be held in recollection and honour. He was one of those sent out to reinforce the companions of Dr. Coke, and in 1818 we find him stationed in Negombo, with which his name will always be associated. He was a man of a very tender heart and of a most affectionate disposition, and he possessed the Methodist passion for souls to a remarkable degree. He, too, had considerable literary gifts, and in 1820 he had prepared a version of the New Testament in Portuguese, a work covering nine hundred and fifty pages, every word of which had been written by his own hand. Unfortunately his health was very uncertain, and it is to be feared that the hardships of pioneer life, together with his excessive labour, further impaired it. In 1819 he seemed to be in a condition of hopeless decline, and had obtained permission to return to England, but by the time this reached him he had somewhat recovered, and courageously remained at his post until 1825. When the country of Kandy came under British rule, and the way was opened thereby for the entry of Missionaries, he became possessed with a burning desire to

claim that country for Christ. He conceived that Negombo was on the line of advance towards Kandy, and in 1819 he began work at Riligala, and the following year was at Kurunegala, twenty-five miles farther into the interior. It was found, however, impossible to develop these stations. For some time efforts were made to work them by means of Catechists, but the attempt was far from successful, and in 1829 the two stations were abandoned. The true line of advance was in another direction, and the full time for occupying Kandy had not yet come. But Newstead's heart was all but broken by this failure. It was unfortunate that a man of his delicate physique was called to be a pioneer in three different stations. In one of his letters he says: 'A brother who comes now to either of these stations will find a house, a chapel, a Society, schools, and translations, and helpers in his work, not one of which existed on those stations before.' He complains that an excess of work of this kind has made him despair of ever becoming proficient in his use of the vernacular. When in 1825 he returned to England he served as Missionary Secretary for one year (1826-1827). He lived for many years after his return, dying at last in 1865, a brother greatly beloved.

One other Missionary may be mentioned here, though his fuller power was not realized until later. In many respects Daniel John Gogerly was the greatest of all those who have served in Ceylon. He came to Colombo in 1818 as a layman to take charge of the Mission press, and at once gave evidence of great qualities of mind and of missionary zeal. In 1823 he entered the Ministry, and for forty years after that he served the Church to whose ministry he was then admitted. He soon became known—and that far outside the pale of the Methodist Church—as the greatest authority in Pali literature, and as the most redoubtable antagonist whom Buddhist priests have ever encountered.¹ He was accustomed to preach in three languages, and excelled in each. He became Chairman of the Sinhalese District in 1838, and in administration as in scholarship he had no peer, while his capacity for rule was balanced by a very kindly heart. He continued to hold office until his death in 1862. His published works on Buddhism are held

¹Speaking at the Missionary Meeting of 1861, the Rev. Joseph Rippon said: 'I do not believe there is a Buddhist priest in the whole island of Ceylon who dare meet our able and learned Chairman in a public discussion.'

to be authoritative and unsurpassed. His work will be continually before us in later pages.

W. B. Fox was a Missionary of great intellectual powers which were highly cultivated. His diligence and power of application were most marked; it is said that he had some knowledge of twenty languages. As an administrator he was painstaking and enthusiastic. This latter quality sometimes betrayed him into an optimism for which there was insufficient ground, as when in 1826, speaking at a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he said: 'I will venture to predict that nothing like half a century will pass ere it be said that there are no heathen temples and no idols remaining in Ceylon.' Perhaps, after all, his optimistic temperament served him in good stead, for he succeeded to the Chair of the District at a time when the Mission was passing through a very serious crisis. During the whole time of his administration there was continuous conflict between the Secretariat and the District on the question of finance. The men on the field were dispirited, and the arrival of letters from the officers of the Society came to be a matter of apprehension rather than an occasion of encouragement. Under such circumstances it can scarcely be wondered at that some Missionaries did not conceal their wish to return to English work, and the feeling of disappointment and discontent was not likely to further the interests of the work in Ceylon. The faults were, as is usually the case, on both sides, but the resultant misunderstanding was deplorable. The two Missionaries sent out for special educational work were equally disappointed at finding themselves unable to carry out the scheme which they had accepted in England, and as late as 1822 Hume complains that he had not received up to that time any answer to the many letters he had written to the Secretaries. Probably these were quite at a loss to know what course they should take in view of the fact that their plan had proved unworkable. The uncertain policy of the Committee is further illustrated in a proposal to transfer the Chairman, Mr. Fox, to Bombay in 1822. The proposal was, however, successfully resisted. Fox was struggling to reduce the financial chaos to something like order, and to remove him just then would have been calamitous. His efforts were often thwarted by recalcitrant individuals. A personal attack made upon him by one of these happily came

to nothing. The fact is that, however disappointed some might be, retrenchment was inevitable. It was felt with special severity on the side of the educational work of the District. The schools were reduced by fifty per cent., not more than six being allowed in any one Circuit. It was not until fifty years had passed that the schools in South Ceylon numbered what they did in 1822. The light in many a village was put out. Other retrenchment was secured by closing the Book-room, and some were in favour of also giving up the work of the press. Fox strenuously opposed the latter. 'Shutting the doors would be the death-blow to the Mission,' and so the press was saved to continue its invaluable work. Fox returned to England in 1823, and for a year or two McKenny acted as Chairman until Clough returned from furlough.

During the 'twenties, in spite of depression among the Missionaries, the Church continued to grow. The number of Church members in 1826 was two hundred and thirty-nine. During the decade new names appear on the roll of Missionaries. Robert Spence Hardy, William Bridgnell, Richard Stoup, and Alfred Bourne all arrived. The two first-named lived to do a great and effectual work in Ceylon, but the two last-named, both of them men of great promise, died within a few years of their arrival.

During this period new chapels were built and old ones were replaced by larger and better buildings. Perhaps the most valuable extension of property was made in Colombo, when in 1825 an estate in Kollupitiya was purchased. So great was the general appreciation of its advantages that it was described as 'a sanatorium for South India and Ceylon.' In 1826 an institution for training Native agents was opened in Colombo, and Clough had brought back with him Mr. Exley, who, it was hoped, would be able to take charge of this department, but the latter was disappointed with the work offered him, and returned to England before the close of the same year. In 1829 the institution was closed.

Kurunegala continued to give much anxiety. Some of the Missionaries were for abandoning the station, while others were equally strong in pressing that it should be retained. The neighbourhood was unhealthy, and was swept by epidemic disease more than once. The population became scanty,

and in the absence of a Missionary the house and furniture rapidly deteriorated. Hume was strongly in favour of abandoning the station, but in 1826 Clough and McKenny visited it and gave a favourable report on the prospects of work in that neighbourhood. It was finally abandoned in 1829.¹ The Rev. Joseph Roberts, Chairman of the Northern District, visited Colombo in 1827, and was surprised to find so large a Tamil population in the city. The discussions he held with the Missionaries in Colombo on that subject led eventually to the taking up of work among these, and we shall find later on a Tamil Mission in Colombo.

The year 1829 was one of bereavement in South Ceylon. Allen lost his child by death, and Hume lost both wife and child. Gogerly also was called to mourn the death of his wife, and at one time the whole family of Wijesingha was stricken down with sickness, from which one child did not recover. But the heaviest blow fell when the Rev. R. Stoup was taken from a work into which he had poured the fullness of his great and varied powers. In 1827 he was stationed at Galle, and the account he gave then of his labours in that Circuit only makes one wonder that his health could stand such a strain for as long as it did. From Galle he was removed to Colombo, where he took up work in the Institution, and there can be little doubt that his early death was due to his too lavish expenditure of himself in any work that was given him to do.

The condition of the Sinhalese District during the 'thirties was far from encouraging. The only additions to the staff were the Revs. Elijah Toyne and Thomas Kilner, both of whom withdrew from the Mission at the close of their first term of service. In 1831 Clough returned from furlough to take up the administration of the District. His first report was far from cheerful. There were only four Missionaries in the District, Hardy being absent on furlough, and Gogerly having been compelled to take a sea voyage in the hope of recovering his health. The affairs of the printing house were in dire confusion, and both Matara and Kurunegala are described as 'Derelict Stations.'² By the end of the year, however,

¹ Work was begun again in 1896, but it was finally handed over to the C.M.S. in 1918.

² A further illustration of the lack of connexion between the Mission House and the District is shown in that the official Report of the year after this states that 'the work at Kurunegala is in an encouraging state.'

Gogerly had returned with his health restored. He was sent to the 'Derelict Station' of Matara. It was certainly a difficult station to work. Buddhism was strongly entrenched in that district, and for a long time progress was painfully slow. The appointment was, however, to prove a great opportunity for Gogerly. He resided near a famous Buddhist temple, in the library of which were valuable manuscripts, and it was owing to his researches in these that he became not only a finished scholar in Pali, but also a learned and trenchant antagonist to those who defended Buddhism either on the score of its philosophical tenets or on that of their moral application to life.

The Training Institution was another cause of disappointment during this decade. After the death of Mr. Stoup it was found impossible to send any one to fill his place. Yet the necessity of training a local Ministry was more apparent than ever, and an arrangement was made by which each Missionary was to select one or two youths of promise in his Circuit, take them into his house, and, as far as was possible, incorporate them into his family life, giving them what instruction he could. It was very far from being an ideal arrangement, and was open to obvious objections, but that the Missionaries should have consented to it speaks volumes for their appreciation of the need and for their self-sacrifice in attempting to meet it. The results, as might have been foretold, were far from satisfactory, and an attempt was made to reopen the institution in Colombo, but this again failed, and it was not until the Institution found a home at Richmond Hill, in the Galle Circuit, that this branch of the work was established and started upon its proper course. In 1838 the long, laborious, and loving service of the Rev. B. Clough came to an end. With his retirement the last of the pioneer Missionaries who had set out with Dr. Coke disappeared from Ceylon, and the Methodist Church entered upon a new chapter of its history. Clough was followed in the Chairmanship by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly.

In the 'forties the Methodist Church in South Ceylon increased numerically from seven hundred to twelve hundred. There was a steady consolidation of power and a wise distribution of energy. The outstanding feature of this decade is the contrast to be found between the relative positions of the European and

the indigenous Ministry. At the commencement of the decade there were four Europeans—Gogerly, Hardy, Bridgnell, and Kessen. Associated with these were nine Ceylon Ministers and twelve Catechists. At the close of the decade the number of Europeans had dropped to two, while the number of the Ceylon Ministers had risen to ten. There were also fifteen Catechists. To meet the need of this increased Native agency the plan was adopted of circulating among all the Ministers quarterly letters, in which all might describe their work and share both their hopes and their fears. They thus became acquainted with the character of each other's labours, and the separated members of the Methodist fraternity were made to realize their union in the service of their Lord and Master. This admirable system was dropped after a few years. An attempt was made to revive it in 1864, but with no great success.

The great and honourable distinction of Ceylon Methodism, both north and south, among the different fields in which the Methodist Church had begun its work, now began to appear. It is to be found in the policy of raising and training an indigenous Ministry. This, it is true, has been the professed aim both of the home administrative Board and of each Mission District, but few of the several fields in the East have so persistently and successfully endeavoured to reach this great objective. The Missionaries in Ceylon started with a great advantage. They had in the Burgher community material such as was not to be found in India or in China, and the Ministers recruited from this community have, for the most part, worthily adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Many of them have been men of learning as well as of piety. They have shown themselves to be exemplary pastors, and they have accepted it as their crown of rejoicing that they have been called to suffer for the sake of Christ. But the Ceylon Ministry has been made up also of Tamils and Sinhalese, and these, no less than the others, have served with complete devotion. In South Ceylon during the Chairmanship of Mr. Gogerly as many as twenty Sinhalese became Ministers to their own countrymen. Only limitations of space prevent our recording in these pages the beauty of their character and the fruitfulness of their work.

The issue of this policy of developing a local Ministry has

amply justified the men who followed it. They trusted those whom God called to minister to His Church, and their trust was not betrayed. When the time of stress came, and the European staff in South Ceylon was reduced to the Chairman and one other, the Church still continued to grow, and its growth was to be attributed, under God, to the noble service rendered by Burgher and Sinhalese Ministers, the former decreasing in numbers while the latter continually increased. Their ministry was owned of God in the deliverance of hundreds from the bonds of superstition, and in the building up of the Christian Church. It is instructive to note that this Ministry came into being in days when there was no Theological Institution, and no school for higher education conducted by Missionaries. But the latter had covered the field of their labour with a network of schools, and there were few members of the Church in later days who did not trace the first impulse which brought them to Christ to some gracious influence which had rested upon them during their schooldays.

The policy which had taken long views in missionary enterprise was rewarded by an assured harvest of highest quality. In the centenary year the number of Ceylonese Ministers in the Sinhalese District was thirty-four, against sixteen Missionaries from England, and there were, in addition, thirty-six Catechists at work in the District. Before that year came regulations had been laid down for Ceylon Ministers. Their reading and study were examined and reported for four years after probation had been completed. Those who were not Superintendents of Circuits might attend the Synods, but only on the invitation of the Chairman, and they were not entitled to advise or vote in the Synod until they had completed fourteen years of service. In 1843 a grant of a hundred pounds was received from the home Committee, to be used in the training of agents. Six of these were Normal Students under Kessen at Kalutara, two were Catechists in preparation under Hardy at Negombo, and two were preparing for the Ministry under Gogerly. The need for an increase in this agency was painfully felt, and a letter from Gogerly describes a petition from thirteen villages round Morotto—or, to adopt the modern spelling, Moratuwa—asking for instruction in the truths of Christianity. The ancestors of these villagers had been professing Christians in

the time of the Dutch occupation, but when that came to an end they were left without any regular teaching or Christian influence.

While the Portuguese were in possession of the country several families became Romanists. The Dutch occupation resulted in many becoming members of the Dutch Reformed Church, though they held it to be quite a right and proper thing to observe pagan practices while their names were enrolled as Christians. When the British administration was established the licensed 'Proponent' visited the neighbourhood at long intervals to administer the sacraments and to register marriages. Andrew Armour took a great interest in this place, and frequently preached there, but, speaking generally, there was no regular oversight of the Church, and in 1826 Bridgnell considered it 'the least hopeful part' of his Circuit. But in 1841 the Rev. Peter G. de Silva was appointed to Moratuwa, and he gave himself up to systematic house-to-house visitation. His pastoral work was done with such effect that the Circuit soon became the strongest in the District.

If the response of the Church to such appeals had been more generous there might have been at this time a great and rapid extension of the Methodist Church among the Sinhalese, for Buddhism was then thoroughly discredited in the opinion of the people and the time of its 'revival' was not yet come. But the Society at home was at that time in debt to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, and the political disturbances in France had seriously disturbed the commerce of the world. The Methodist Church was in the throes of the Reform agitation, and in the years 1846--1851 the membership at home had been reduced by forty-six thousand.¹ Instead of accepting such appeals Gogerly had rather to cut down expenditure, and a considerable reduction in the number of schools took place. We can scarcely wonder at this, deplorable though the fact was to men who felt the greatness of the opportunity on the field.

The struggle between Buddhist priests and Christian teachers was continuous, and increased in intensity until it culminated in a challenge from the latter to destroy them by incantations or the use of any of the supernatural powers which the former declared to be under their control. When they failed the priests became in some centres the object of derision; but the

¹ See Vol. I., p. 190.

Christian faith wins its greater victories in other ways, which, if less spectacular, are more assured. In 1841 the Rev. Andrew Kessen, LL.D., began his long, arduous, and honourable ministry. The son of a Minister of the Established Church of Scotland, he had graduated in the University of Glasgow. He was distinguished as a scholar in both language and mathematics; but he had, what does not always go with either, a gift of teaching which quickly brought him into notice as an educationist, so that he was for a time put in charge of the Government College in Colombo, and could have entered into permanent Government employ if he had been so minded. He added to his scholastic work the labour of a pastor, and describes his daily avocations as those of 'a student in the morning, a schoolmaster in the forenoon, a pastor moving from hut to hut in the afternoon, a preacher in the evening, and a tutor at night.' Truly he was 'in labours more abundant.' He returned from Ceylon in 1856, and for an account of his later ministry the reader is referred to Volume II. of this History, pp. 396 ff. Dr. Kessen did much for the educational side of Mission work in Ceylon, but the Committee at home was disappointed that the schools did not seem, from an evangelistic point of view, to be so fruitful as they had hoped. Few out of the many thousands who had passed through the schools were returned as members of the Church, and anxiety was expressed as to whether the others had not drifted into a condition of scepticism and infidelity. A full and explicit expression of the views of the Missionaries on the value of educational work was requested. Thus early did the question which threatened to become even divisive in the 'nineties trouble the minds of the supporters of Mission work in England. As might have been expected, opinion on the field was far from agreed, and in the absence of anything like a consensus of opinion the Committee wisely refrained from taking any decisive action in the matter. The year 1841 saw the beginning of what has proved to be a great factor in the life of the people of Ceylon—the education of women. In that year 'A Superior School for Girls' was formed in Galle by the 'Ladies' Society for Female Education in the East,'¹ and Miss Douglas was sent out to take charge of this, while Miss Twiddy was appointed to a similar school in Jaffna. It was stated that though these

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 20.

schools were not directly missionary in character, they were under the patronage of Missionaries, and it was hoped that they would not fail to prove advantageous to the interests of Christianity. In 1843 several schools were taken over by a Government School Commission, Missionaries being still regarded as superintending them. This arrangement brought some relief to the finances of the District, but it did not continue long. It was through such tentative movements that our Missionaries came at last to the established system of educational work, which they have developed to the great advantage of the Church.

In 1847 there arrived in Colombo a Missionary whose course was quickly run. The Rev. W. H. A. Dickson was gifted with all that a Missionary requires, and he was as able as he was amiable. But from the day of his arrival in Ceylon it was seen that, humanly speaking, his life would be short. After two years his health completely broke down, and he was transferred to the Madras District in the hope that the change might prove beneficial. But it was not so, and he died in 1851. By that time Dr. Kessen had returned from furlough and Joseph Rippon was added to a sadly attenuated staff. The latter was appointed to Galle. At that time, though this station was the first to be occupied by Methodists, there were only a hundred fully accredited members in the Church. This represented fruit that had been hardly won in the great citadel of Buddhism, and the increase in membership continued to be slow. But it was given to Rippon to add to the agencies of a struggling Church that which quickly made it a centre of efficient life for the whole District. In 1851 the Richmond Hill property, two miles distant from the port of Galle, was secured for Mission purposes, and presently a variety of buildings, all devoted to the work of training, began to appear. Rippon had asked for a Missionary to be sent out who would take up the supervision of this work, but the only reply forthcoming was the sad and all too frequent message, 'The funds of the Society did not warrant the making such an appointment.' Yet in the same letter the Secretaries had urged the development of the Ceylonese Ministry as the one means of securing the advance of the Church. Gradually, however, the necessary arrangements were made. The Theological Institution and the Normal School were built in 1864, together with

a practising school as an adjunct to the latter. In 1876 a High School for boys was built, and this was followed by an Anglo-vernacular school for girls, erected in 1879. Hostels for students, bungalows for resident Missionaries, and a church with accommodation for three hundred and fifty, go to fill the remainder of the site, and Richmond Hill became 'a saving influence to the whole District and beyond.'

In 1860 Ceylon was visited by the Rev. Dr. Jobson, who was passing on his way to Australia, and the summary record of his impressions may well stand for a general description of the Church at the close of the first half of the century.

I have been gratefully surprised by what I have seen and learned of Methodism here. It is far more extensively spread by its stations, chapels, and schools than I had looked for. . . . Our English brethren here are devoted servants of Christ and of Methodism. The Native Missionaries and Assistants are converted, spiritual, and hard-working men, and they are successfully doing the work of evangelists. The people are devout and happy Christians, and are contributing, as far as they can out of their slender means, to aid and support the work of God. The chapels are mostly neat and good; the schools in many instances are efficient; but in the case of the day schools there are exceptions. And in the general it may be safely stated that genuine earnest Wesleyan Methodism is here established, and carrying on its various operations. I have made careful investigations on conversion, and on growth in grace, both among the Native Preachers and native members, and I am satisfied that in these respects the evidences are as good as can be found at home.

The next decade, that of the 'sixties, was notable for events which had much to do with the subsequent development of the Church in South Ceylon. The Rev. D. J. Gogerly died at his post on September 6, 1862, and his long and able administration was followed by that of the Rev. R. Spence Hardy. We have already noticed the position held by the former. It is said that when it was known that he was *in extremis* Buddhist priests had servants posted outside the Mission house to bring to them the first news of the passing of the antagonist whom they feared. Whether that report be true or not, there is no question that they had found in him one who was thoroughly acquainted with the faith which they professed to teach, and one who could expose its failure in offering a remedy for the social and moral failure of the world or any healing of the sin-sick soul. The description given by the Rev. John Walton

of Daniel John Gogerly deserves a place in our record, for it is doubtful whether the Methodist Church ever had a greater Missionary in Ceylon :

With the head of a German, the heart of an Englishman, and the faith of a Methodist, he was a great man every way. In mental stature he stood head and shoulders above his brethren. In scholarship in his own line he has left no peer. In administrative capacity he could have governed a kingdom. As a Preacher he was as convincing as Apollos and sinewy as Paul. The best of the man was his kind and large heart. He was the William Carey of Ceylon, giving to the Sinhalese successive versions of the word of God. He was more. He studied the structure of Buddhism until he mastered it, and then he marshalled his forces and delivered an attack that shook the citadel.

Gogerly deserved all that was said of him. It is not likely that many will ever stand where he stood among the Buddhists of Ceylon. And yet his successor, Robert Spence Hardy, did even more for the Church in Ceylon. That Church suffered from the weakness incidental to any Church whose members are Christians only in profession while at heart they are pagan. That such persons should have identified themselves in any way with the Church in Ceylon was part of the inheritance passed on by Portuguese Priest or Dutch Minister to those who followed them as religious teachers. Missionaries had found it most difficult to detect, and even more so to suppress, the admixture of heathenism and Christianity which was common in Ceylon ; but the publications of Gogerly, sharply defining the tenets of Buddhism, and guaranteeing them by quotations from authoritative documents, had roused the Buddhist priests to an opposition which from this time was to continue and increase. The faint-hearted may have deplored this opposition, but it made it easier to differentiate between those who were Christians only in name and those who were in true fellowship with the Church of Christ. The returns of membership in 1865 showed that the Church was less by one-third than that which was reported in the last year of Gogerly's administration. The sequel was most marked. The story of Gideon's army was repeated in the experience of the Church, and the victory which followed on the elimination of the timid and insincere was complete. A gracious revival of religion took place in Colombo in 1865, and it continued to bless the Church for several years. Writing in 1869, the

Rev. John Scott describes its continuance in Moratuwa and Panadure, where in five months five hundred and fifty conversions were recorded. Presently converts from these places removed to Kandy, whence they sent a petition for pastoral provision and care in that town. Such a plea could not be refused, and in 1866 the Rev. G. Baugh, returning to Ceylon for a second term of service, was appointed to that station. Fifty years before that the tender heart of Robert Newstead had yearned over Kandy, but he had never reached it. In 1834 a half-hearted attempt was made to begin work there, and a Missionary had been sent to make a start, but within three years the Missionary was removed and the attempt abandoned.

But now the effort made was the outcome of the spiritual life of the Church itself ; it was the product, not of the enthusiasm of an individual Missionary, nor of the deliberations of a Synod, but of the impact of the Spirit of God upon a responsive Church. It was a development of life rather than of organization. In the revival of 1865 Mr. J. H. Eaton, a distinguished Burgher of Colombo, gave his heart to God in the true sense of that phrase, and on his removal to Kandy pressed for the reopening of the Mission abandoned in 1837. Another layman, Mr. B. Anthony Mendis, who afterwards entered the Ministry, also removed to Kandy about this time, and these two nobly supported Mr. Baugh. In 1869 the London Committee voted the sum of a thousand pounds towards the erection of the necessary buildings, and this, together with what was raised locally, gave the Mission an excellent start. In 1876 Mr. Eaton, speaking at the anniversary meeting of the Society in London, was able to report that the Church in Kandy had been able, not only to support the Ceylonese Minister, but also to provide a hundred and fifty pounds towards the support of his European colleague, as well as build a chapel and a Mission house. In later years we shall find a still more striking development of the Church in Kandy.

This revival of spiritual life, with its natural sequel in the extension of the Church, must have rejoiced the heart of Mr. Hardy, to whom had fallen the unhappy task of removing from membership those who had proved themselves unworthy of that privilege. Hardy had arrived in Ceylon, together with Clough, when the latter returned from furlough in 1825.

He takes rank next after Gogerly as a scholar, and his works on Buddhism earned for him the distinction of membership in the Royal Asiatic Society. Called to the Chair of the District, he served as Chairman for three years, returning to England in 1865. Three years after he passed to his reward. 'An altogether gracious personality,' is the terse, comprehensive, and honourable characterization of one of the great Missionaries of Ceylon. He was followed as Chairman by his son-in-law, the Rev. John Scott. The additions to the staff during the 'sixties were not numerous. The Revs. G. Baugh and J. Nicholson arrived in 1861, and the former of these returned to England in 1869. Of even shorter duration was the service of the Rev. T. Roberts, who came out in 1865 and returned to England in broken health three years after. His place was taken by the Rev. J. Shipstone, and the vacancy caused by Nicholson's retirement was filled by the Rev. R. Tebb. In 1880 Nicholson was able to return to the field, and we shall meet him again.

The 'seventies form a period of extraordinary increase in the Methodist Church of South Ceylon. The great revival of 1865 was not a paroxysm of emotion subsiding as suddenly as it had arisen. Its influence was felt for many years in the several Churches of the District, and it is indicated in the numerical returns from these. The number of those in full Church fellowship rose from one thousand five hundred in 1870 to two thousand one hundred in 1880, while several hundreds were each year returned as on probation. Even more remarkable was the increase of the pupils in the schools. These numbered six thousand four hundred and forty-four at the close of the decade, against two thousand seven hundred and forty-two at its commencement. The number of Ceylonese Ministers increased by twelve, Catechists by ten, and—most significant of all—the Local Preachers in the District had increased in number by sixty-three. The Church was feeling the thrill of abundant life.

A Mission to the Tamil-speaking people in Colombo was begun in 1873, when a Ceylon Minister from the Jaffna District was appointed to labour in the city. The following year the Rev. J. Ottley Rhodes came from the same District to take charge of the work, and under his direction it rapidly developed. Other Missionaries of this decade were the Revs. S. Langdon,

S. R. Wilkins, A. Shipham, and S. Hill. These, with Baugh and Nicholson, who both returned, made the staff one of great strength and efficiency.

In 1871 the Rev. John Kilner, at that time Chairman of the Jaffna District, visited Kandy and Colombo, and his impressions are valuable to those who would obtain a comprehensive view of the Sinhalese District at this time. They are all the more valuable because Kilner was himself a missionary statesman of high standing. His visit was with a view to the establishing of the Tamil Mission in Colombo, but he took occasion to visit as many of the Sinhalese Circuits as he could reach. He calls attention to

1. The real hold which Christianity has taken on the sympathy of many large sections of the Sinhalese.

2. The vital character of the work. The people look upon the cause as their own.

3. The reality and strength of the Native Ministry.

4. The capacity for expansion and growth.

5. The pressing need of a first-class educational establishment.

6. The opportunity for Tamil work.

Now these are all features of life and strength, and if the last two touch upon a need rather than an accomplished fact, that need was met within a very few years after his visit. Wesley College, Colombo, began its illustrious career first as a high school in 1874, the Rev. S. R. Wilkin being its first Principal, and Richmond College, in Galle, followed in 1876, with the Rev. S. Langdon at its head. Both of these institutions attained positions of first-rate importance, not only in the Church, but also in the general life of the community. Their individual histories will come before us shortly. The Tamil Mission in South Ceylon is far too important a development to be dismissed in a sentence. Of all the races of South India the Tamil has always shown the greatest readiness to migrate. We have seen the extent to which this tendency showed itself in North Ceylon, where it finally ousted the aboriginal tribes and established itself in that District. They are also to be found in large numbers in South Africa. Wherever there seemed to be an opening for trade or industry within reach, there was the Tamil to be found. The tea plantations at Hatton, and on the hills around Kandy, drew an ever-increasing

number from the northern parts of the island and from South India. When Colombo began to be known as the port of call for ocean-going steamers, and in consequence an emporium of trade, Tamil immigrants at once set up their establishments of great or small dimensions, the Jaffna Tamils as a rule occupying the better position of foremen or overseers, while others from India accepted the humbler position of labourers. During the Chairmanship of Mr. Fox some discussion took place as to the desirability of beginning work among them, but the time for that extension had not then come. Gogerly secured the appointment of a European Missionary for this work, but the latter proved to be unsuitable, and returned to England almost immediately. When the census of 1871 was taken it became known that there were not less than a hundred thousand Tamil-speaking people in the Mission Stations occupied by our Missionaries. Some of these were Christians from our own Church in Jaffna ; others had come from L.M.S. stations in Travancore and from C.M.S. stations in Tinnevely. All these needed pastoral care if they were to be saved from relapsing into heathenism. As a result of Kilner's visit the Rev. J. W. Phillips, one of the many noteworthy Tamil Ministers of the Jaffna District, was sent to Colombo to begin the work, and in 1874 the Rev. J. O. Rhodes was appointed to take charge of the Mission. Its head quarters were fixed in Jampettah, Colombo, with out-stations at Negombo and Kalutara. The enterprise was immediately successful, and it was found necessary to hold services at five other centres in Colombo alone. For purposes of administration it was decided that Tamil Ministers in South Ceylon should be members of the local Synod and come under its control. Schools were opened, and at first two of these were for girls, but one of them was soon closed for want of funds. The value of boarding schools for girls was by this time so fully acknowledged that one of these institutions was eagerly sought. In 1875 there were fifty-four members of the Tamil Church in Colombo alone ; in 1913 there were two hundred and sixty-eight—a number greater than that of the Sinhalese Church in that city.

A few miles south of Colombo we come to the Wellawatte Circuit, where work had been going on for a number of years. The result had not been commensurate with the efforts made ; in 1887 there were only forty or fifty members in the Church.

But in that year the Rev. W. J. G. Bestall was appointed to the Tamil Mission in South Ceylon, and on his initiation an industrial school was begun at this centre. In 1890 an orphanage was added. The enterprise was taken up in order to provide a home and a better prospect in life for destitute boys, and it was proposed to educate them in the school, and to find occupation for them in the large mills adjoining. In these the boys might earn wages which would go towards meeting the expense of training them. The scheme was unsatisfactory owing to the fact that the continuance of the mills was uncertain, and as there were no others in Ceylon the boys were being trained for an industry which was limited in scope and exposed to the fluctuations of trade. In 1899 the mills actually went into liquidation, but the situation in regard to the industrial school was saved, and a far wider interest imparted to it, by the removal of the industrial home from the Happy Valley¹ to this centre. This wise move has put an entirely different aspect on the work at Wellawatte. More varied industries, together with appropriate plant, came from the home in the Uva Mission, and Wellawatte became a hive of industry which has meant to many a friendless lad not only the means of honourable livelihood, but also the beginning of a Christian life. Here the Revs. J. S. Corlett, H. J. Philpott, and others have wrought effectually for the furtherance of the Gospel, and their work may be to some extent measured by the fact that while the reputation of the School has always stood very high for the quality of the goods produced, the Rev. R. Tebb, writing in 1902, reported that during the six or seven years preceding more than a hundred boys had been received by baptism into the Christian Church. In that year there were a hundred and forty boys in the school.

It is interesting to note that Mr. W. Caxton Mee, one of the sons of the late much-beloved Josiah Mee, was for several years the manager of the school, and where a layman of the necessary qualifications in technique, and with a true evangelistic spirit in his heart, can be secured, it is a wise policy to put such schools under his management. In 1906 the Mission press, which figured so largely in the financial troubles of the earliest years, was removed from Kollupitiya and made another department of the Wellawatte school. The number of boys in the

¹ See p. 95.

school continued to increase, and in 1913 there were two hundred and twenty boys being trained; of these a hundred and seventy were boarders. By that time the trained boys were in demand all over the island, and good appointments were easily secured for them. Mr. J. A. Frewin, himself an old boy of the school, was in charge, under missionary superintendence, and the institution took rank as the largest and most efficient school of the kind in Ceylon. Here, again, we come upon a factor in the making of a Church which, begun in compassion for the destitute and friendless, becomes at length a fruitful source of strength to the Church and an evangelizing agency of the highest value. In 1913 the Wellawatte press undertook the printing of the whole Sinhalese Bible for the Baptist Missionary Society. It could scarcely have found a more fitting contribution to make on the centenary of that great year which brought Harvard and his modest press to Ceylon. The Wellawatte Circuit became a self-supporting and self-governing Circuit, and now embraces all Sinhalese work in the south of Colombo.

The outstanding event of the 'eighties was the separation of the Galle and Kandy Sections into self-administrative Districts. This took place in 1885. Galle was put under the episcopal care of the Rev. J. Nicholson, and Kandy under that of the Rev. S. Langdon. The rapid growth of the Church pointed to some such division, and the experiment was tried for twenty years. It was not, however, considered well to continue it, for reasons which will appear, and in 1905 the three Districts came again under a single administration. During the twenty years each section had grown. Though the membership in the Galle section was small when compared with that of the other two, the proportional increase was quite as marked. A table of comparative statistics will illustrate the growth of the Church:

	1885	1905
European Missionaries ..	10	16
Ceylonese Ministers	32	30
Catechists	29	39
Local Preachers.. ..	94	164
Members	2,417	3,613
Members on Probation.. ..	595	1,045
Children in Day Schools ..	7,561	16,795

The increase in membership is striking, but two other items seem even more significant. The number of Local Preachers had increased from ninety-four to a hundred and sixty-four, and the number of children in the schools had risen from seven thousand five hundred and sixty-one to sixteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. Of these two singled out for comment the former indicates the inner life of the Church. For where this is healthy and strong, the service which asks no other wages than to 'share the travail which makes God's kingdom come' is certain to appear. Concern for the souls of those who are out of the way is an index of the presence in the Church of the Spirit of Him who came to seek and to save them that are lost.

The educational expansion, on the other hand, indicates the hold which the Methodist Church of this District had obtained upon the communal life to which it belonged. There is no need to disparage such work or compare the number of children in the schools with the number of conversions in a single year. To those who look beyond the present and see the Church of the future there is in this great crowd of school-children in Ceylon the promise, not only of a large Church, when the seed sown is touched into life by the Spirit of God, but also that of an instructed Church, with its trained and disciplined youth ready to enter the ranks of an indigenous Ministry when it shall please God to call them. This is by no means all that can be said of this striking feature of the Methodist Church in Ceylon. Many of those who by Christian character and consecrated life added grace and strength to the Church were first led to seek and to find their Saviour while still attending school. But though never a convert had gladdened the heart of some faithful teacher, it is an essential element in every Christian Church that it should be the very opposite of obscurantist, that its place is always in the foremost files of those who stand for light and the development of the human mind.

The loss of two loved and experienced Missionaries was a sad blow to the District during this decade. The Rev. Edward Strutt had come from Trincomalee, in the Northern District, to take charge of the Tamil Mission when the Rev. J. O. Rhodes laid down the burden of his service. But he was able to remain at work for only four years. In 1885 his health—never very

robust—broke down, and he retired to England, where he soon won the love of those to whom he ministered. The Rev. Samuel Hill had been engaged largely in educational work, both at Galle and in Wesley College, Colombo. In 1895 the call came to him to join those who offer the more perfect service of heaven. He was succeeded at Wesley College by the Rev. Thomas Moscrop, and the Rev. W. J. G. Bestall was transferred from the Jaffna District to take charge of the Tamil Mission in the south. In the earlier half of the decade, before the separation of the Galle and Kandy Districts, the only European addition to the staff was the Rev. W. H. Rigby. But that addition was a notable one, for Mr. Rigby was appointed Chairman of the Kandy District in 1896, and when the reunion of Districts took place in 1905 he became the Chairman of the whole reunited District. His name will be frequently before us in the pages which follow.

When the division into three Districts took place the Colombo District retained four of the ten European Missionaries on the field, but of these, as we have seen, Strutt returned to England in 1895, and the same year records the death of Hill. Moscrop was then put in charge of Wesley College, so that the whole of the Sinhalese work devolved upon the Chairman, John Scott. It was well for the work that he had with him so excellent a staff of Ceylonese Ministers. In 1887 the Rev. Arthur Triggs arrived to help him, but some time would necessarily pass before the latter would become efficient in the use of Sinhalese. The following year the Rev. Walter Charlesworth came to take charge of the Tamil work, Mr. Bestall being then stationed in Kandy, but as he, too, would be at first unable to speak in Tamil, the strain was but little relieved. In 1889 Bestall returned to Colombo, Triggs being appointed Principal of the Richmond College at Galle; but Moscrop was by that time in Kandy, his place at Wesley College being filled by the Rev. T. C. Hillard, so that at the close of the decade the only European Missionaries in the District of more than two years' standing were the Chairman and Bestall, the latter being in Tamil work. But in spite of this shortage in European Missionaries the work in the District continued to be fruitful. The membership increased, and the Church more than held its ground. In 1889 John Scott returned to England. He had served in South Ceylon since 1855, and had done much to

bring the work to the pitch of excellence which it had reached at the time of his withdrawal. His work for the Church was not yet ended. He served for short periods both in Bombay and Calais. His great memorial is to be found in the Methodist Church of South Ceylon, where his name is still held in reverence as that of one who never failed the Church in wisdom, faithfulness, and courtesy.

The history of the three Districts is not easy to reduce to three distinct lines in the matter of administration, by reason of the interchange of Missionaries which took place. Nicholson left Galle for Colombo, and for a few years Langdon was Chairman of both Kandy and Colombo. Moscrop went from Colombo to Kandy, and Triggs was sent to Galle. Rigby was at one time supervising the Tamil Mission; at another time we find him at Matara, in the Galle District, whence he returned to Kandy as Chairman. But whatever changes the exigencies of stationing the Ministers might cause, the work of the Church continued to prosper.

In 1889 Tebb returned to Ceylon, and was appointed Chairman of the Galle District, in which office he continued until 1900, when he took charge of the Colombo District. This he administered until 1907, when he returned to England after thirty-seven years of service, thirty of which were spent in Ceylon. He often had, as Chairman, to face difficulties of one kind and of another; but his fidelity to duty, and his loyalty to his brethren, won for him universal respect. He went to his reward in 1920. He was followed in the chairmanship of the Galle District by the Rev. Arthur Triggs, and in 1903 by the Rev. E. A. Prince. In 1896 there came to Galle one of the ablest and most devoted Missionaries ever sent to Ceylon. The Rev. J. H. Darrell had taken a high place among the scholars of his year at Cambridge, and he added to that attainment personal gifts of charm, of industry, and of sound judgement which marked him out for pre-eminence even among the many great Missionaries who have served in Ceylon. He was appointed to Richmond College, and there his faculty of teaching came into splendid operation. He also added much to the efficiency of the College by improving its buildings. In 1901 a department for the training of workers was added. He enjoyed excellent health, and a long life of splendid service seemed to await him, but in 1905 an

epidemic of influenza and enteric fever swept over the island, and he fell a victim to the disease. His name is perpetuated by the Darrell Hostel, built as his memorial, but those who knew him needed no reminder of one who had won their respect, their reverence, and their love. He was followed in Richmond College by the Rev. W. J. T. Small, who was happily still in charge of the College when this chapter was written.¹

The presence of Missionaries in Galle was a direct challenge to Buddhism, so strongly established in that town and neighbourhood. There were thirteen thousand more Buddhists here than in Colombo, and eight thousand more than the whole Hindu population of Jaffna. In such a stronghold the progress of Christianity was slow. That hoary citadel was not to be taken by storm; it was a case of sapping and mining. While some of those who professed the Christian faith found that they could maintain the position of the 'Government Christian'—that is, of one who, while professing a Christian, remained at heart and in secret observance a Buddhist—there was some show of interest in the new teaching; but when the great cleansing of the Church took place during the administration of Hardy, the resistance of the priests became more open and confessed. Visits of 'inquirers' to the Missionaries almost entirely ceased. A state of war was declared, and the most bitter antagonism was shown by those who could no longer receive the salary of a teacher in the Mission school while they bowed before the image of Buddha in the temple. Partly because they were thus forced into the open, and partly because Theosophical writers in the West were dallying with Buddhism in their glorification of all that was Eastern and 'occult,' there took place what was commonly called 'a revival of Buddhism.' Where this was accompanied with some attempt at moral reform—such as abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquor—it might have been even welcomed, and in any case hostility is better than indifference. The antagonism culminated in an open contest held at Panadure in 1873, when a Ceylon Minister, the Rev. David de Silva, confronted one of the most famous of the Buddhist priests in the island, while thousands of persons assembled to witness

¹ Mr. Small has since left Richmond College for the Peradeniya Training Colony, his place being taken by the Rev. A. A. Sneath.

the contest between the two protagonists of the conflicting faiths. The subject for discussion was not, however, well defined. The Christian dealt with Buddhist metaphysics, while the Buddhist concerned himself with examples of immorality taken from Old Testament records. No definite issue could result from a discussion carried on upon such lines. It is needless to say that a Buddhist victory was loudly proclaimed. In 1880 centres for the teaching of Theosophy were established in all towns of any importance, and schools were opened by the followers of that cult. All this meant a yet more strenuous fight for the Christian Missionary, and the forging of new weapons. The call now was for education. Buddhists were opening schools in which English was taught, and boys who had passed through our elementary schools often continued their studies in those of Buddhists. Unscrupulous methods were adopted for enticing children to leave the Mission school ; and, as all Government grants depended on the number attending school, a serious loss of 'local income' was the result. A high school for boys and a similar school for girls were clearly indicated, but with a falling grant how were these to be obtained? Yet in 1876 both of these were in existence. The Galle high school for boys was opened, with Langdon for Principal, and with a hundred boys in attendance. At the same time Miss Eastwood arrived from England, the first lady Principal of the school for girls. The estate on Richmond Hill afforded excellent accommodation for both schools, and in 1881 the former was raised to the status of a College. The property acquired by Joseph Rippon was now blossoming into an imposing missionary settlement.

It is to be questioned whether any of our Mission Stations has a larger or more important educational settlement.

But we must now pass from Galle to the second District, which had been separated from Colombo. We have already described the coming of the Methodist Church to Kandy after many years of disappointment. When the new District was formed it was said that it covered more than half of the island and nearly half of its population ; but it must be remembered that the District as formed included such stations as Negombo and Seeduwa, and was not conterminous with the ancient kingdom of Kandy. In the chapel built by Baugh services

were held for the military and other English-speaking folk. Tamil and Sinhalese were, of course, in constant use, and Mr. Eaton rendered excellent service by conducting services in Portuguese for those who spoke that language. Baugh was followed by Tebb in 1872, and by Nicholson in 1878. Then Samuel Langdon came to Kandy in 1880, and with this appointment great developments began to appear.

Langdon had many of the great qualifications which go to make the successful Missionary, and of these two were conspicuous. He had a ready and genuine sympathy with young people, and he was a great believer in the religious value of work. He brought these two into a happy co-ordination by setting up industrial schools wherever he found it possible to do so. Industry and education were the two great planks in his missionary platform. It was not very long before he had a girls' high school and industrial schools for both boys and girls in Kandy. Later on he established a boys' reformatory and a hospital in the Uva extension of his District, and many vernacular day schools in both sections of his District. In 1893 there were nearly three thousand five hundred scholars in the different schools of this District, and conversions among the young people were of frequent occurrence. In the Kandy District, as in other parts of Ceylon, the schools proved to be the most fruitful part of the 'Mission Garden.' In 1882 Langdon was in England for furlough, but he returned in 1884, bringing with him the Rev. W. H. Rigby, and in the following year these two proceeded to reclaim the wilderness of Uva.

The Uva District—made into a distinct province of Ceylon in 1885—had been a much neglected part of the island, and missionary operations among its many villages were almost unknown when Langdon determined to claim it for Christ.

To Rigby there fell the honour of being the first European Missionary in the Uva Province. He began work at Banda-warella, and extensive tours were made in the surrounding villages; but presently it was found that Haputala was a better station for the head quarters of the Mission, though many pleas were put forward on behalf of Badulla, where as early as 1821 an effort had been made to secure a Missionary. It was not until seventy years after, in 1892, that the Rev. E. A. Prince was sent to this station. By that time a girls'

industrial school had been opened in Badulla. So successful were these schools that the thanks of the Government were sent to Langdon for his work in this direction. Mention of Badulla cannot be made without some reference, slight though it must be, to the work done in the girls' home by Miss Cooke, and a little later by Miss Tyler. Both of these ladies were sent out by the Women's Auxiliary, the former in 1888 and the latter in 1893. Two years after Miss Teasey joined them, and these three ladies have given on behalf of the girls in the Uva district an altogether beautiful service, the harvest of which will be gathered for years to come. Twelve years after Miss Teasey was obliged to withdraw on account of a breakdown in health.

The membership in the Kandy District showed every year an increase. In 1888 it stood at seven hundred and fourteen, with a hundred and sixty on probation for membership. In 1895 the numbers were eight hundred and forty-eight and two hundred and fifty-eight respectively, while there were in addition three hundred and fifty-four members in the Junior Society-classes. When in 1905 the three Districts were again united, the number of full members in the Kandy section had risen to more than eleven hundred, with four hundred and thirty on probation. Langdon's 'Garden' was full of flower and fruit. The station which returned the largest number of members was Kurana, a town situated between Negombo and Colombo. Here was to be seen the Methodist Church organisation in full working order. In addition to the Ministry, both ordained and unordained, and day and Sunday schools, there were such familiar institutions as Quarterly Meetings and Leaders' Meetings (there were sixteen Classes in the Circuit), a Tract Society, and a 'Christian Workers' Association.' Most of the people in Kurana were adherents of the Methodist Church. Another flourishing centre of work was Seeduwa, between Kurana and Colombo. In the earliest days these places had seemed to be all but irreclaimable. But if the sowing was done in tears, there was afterwards a harvest over which both sower and reaper could rejoice together.

Another Circuit in this District in which the harvest, long delayed, promises to be abundant is Negombo. The last Missionary to reside in Negombo was the Rev. R. Spence Hardy, and nearly forty years passed before another was

stationed there. That Missionary was the Rev. E. S. Burnett (1880-1885). When he took up his appointment there were forty-one members in the Church, with fourteen on probation. In the centenary year the numbers were seventy-five and twenty-four, but there were in addition nearly six hundred baptized 'adherents.' A breath of the reviving Spirit might at any time bring these into more vital communion with the Church. Negombo has been from the time of the Portuguese occupation a stronghold of Romanism, and while its devotees have been scarcely less benighted than their heathen neighbours, this has meant a large measure of opposition, which has been the more effective inasmuch as Romanism offered a position of compromise between Protestant Christianity and the indigenous idolatry.

But Negombo has a certain significance for the future which must not be overlooked. It has become the base of operations in the north-west province, as we have already indicated, and while Colombo will remain the nexus between the Tamil and the Sinhalese Churches, a secondary point of contact will be found in Negombo, where the two races are to be seen side by side. If the hopeful movement towards the north-west develops we shall hear much more about Negombo. It also forms the starting-point of a second line of advance into the more central province of Kandy. Kurunegala, over which the tender heart of Robert Newstead yearned, and which seemed at one time so hopeless a centre of work that it was abandoned, is now a Circuit linking Negombo with Kandy. When modern laws of hygiene have been so applied as to mitigate the severity of the malaria prevalent in this region, Negombo may become, if it is not so already, a strategic centre from which the lines run north and south and east. Burnett, Rigby, Sandford, and Corlett have all in turn been stationed here. Their work remains. Its issue cannot be doubted.

In 1900 Haputala, where Langdon had opened one of his industrial schools, became known as a centre of military activity owing to its having been selected by the Government as a suitable site for a large camp in which at one time more than five thousand Boers were interned. Services were held by our Missionaries both on behalf of the prisoners, some of whom were members of our Church in the Transvaal, and also

for the soldiers who guarded them. This choice of Haputala by the Government had an important issue affecting our work. For later on the Government took over our industrial school, and established a permanent camp in the 'Happy Valley.' The inmates of the school were removed, as we have already stated, to Wellawatte.

The three Districts of South Ceylon were brought under a single administration again in 1905. The twenty years of separate administration had shown that each of the three was still short of that point at which autonomy becomes a factor making for efficiency. Nor was the autonomy realized during the period of separation complete. Exigencies of 'Stationing' entailed a continual transfer of Missionaries from one District to another, and this led to an embarrassed administration, while co-ordination of work was difficult. The small Synod is never desirable, and no one of the three was likely to be other than small for some time to come. The reuniting of the sections was amply justified by results ensuing, and it brought great relief to both European and Ceylonese Ministers. In our record of the twelve years preceding the centenary year we shall regard them as a single District, though in doing this we are anticipating events by five years, for the prominent features of the work in one appear also in the other two, and we shall avoid some amount of repetition if we consider them as forming a unity during the whole period. That period reveals a quiet but remarkable growth of the Church. No period of the same duration in the history of the Methodist Church in Ceylon shows an equal development. The Christian community attached to the Methodist Church in both North and South Ceylon stood at a little more than five thousand five hundred in 1900. In the thirteen years that followed it increased by nearly three thousand, and was twice as great as it had been so recently as the year 1885.

Before we pass to consider this development in detail something should be said as to the reaction of Buddhism to the effort of the Church. At the beginning of the period, under the influence of theosophical propaganda, Buddhists regarded Christianity with supercilious indifference. They assumed an air of superiority. It was 'fashionable' to be a Buddhist. Was not the teaching of Buddha winning converts by the thousand among the people of Europe and America?

In the days of the 'Government Christians' an individual might gain distinction by becoming a Christian. Now his doing so was considered to be a sentence of obscurity. What had been gain was now counted loss. This was really nearer to the standpoint of the Apostle Paul, and the Church was none the poorer for this assumption. But it sufficed to give Buddhism an extended lease of life, and its votaries were correspondingly elated. The great wave of 'Nationalism' which was flowing over India at this time had its influence also in Ceylon, and Buddhists were quick to put themselves into relation with it. It became 'patriotic' to be a Buddhist. They also saw—what many Christians are so slow to see—the value of education from a religious point of view, and they covered the whole of Ceylon with a network of schools, many of which were most efficiently worked. The wisest of the Buddhist teachers were far from accepting the offered alliance with the Theosophists. They saw clearly enough that there was distinct antagonism between the teaching of Buddha and that of Mrs. Besant, but all were not equally wise, and for the moment Buddhism seemed to be sailing on a rising tide. But the significant fact arising from the clash of religions in Ceylon at this time was that it was precisely during the time when the 'revival of Buddhism' was loudly proclaimed that the largest increase of the Church took place, and from time to time converts were found from among prominent teachers of the Buddhist theory of life. For thoughtful men saw that those who accepted that theory as a rule for their own conduct were shutting their eyes to the ignorance, the suffering, and the sin of the world, or, following the example of their great teacher, they were running away from the insistent claim which these things continually make upon men of vision and sympathy. The Christian proclamation of redemption and the hope of victory over the world through the surrender of self to Christ was seen to be the secret of fuller life. So long as these antinomies are kept clear and are fully presented, the Christian Church will survive even greater opposition than that of the Buddhists in the early years of the new century.

Missionary education during this closing period of our review offers a striking contrast to the uncertain efforts of former years. It is true that at its commencement Missionaries

were seriously inconvenienced for want of adequate buildings, but that inconvenience has now been lessened, though we cannot speak of it as entirely removed. One of the greatest of England's schoolmasters—Thring of Uppingham—used to insist upon the necessity of good buildings in education.

Whatever men may say or think, ' the almighty wall ' is the supreme and final arbiter of schools. . . . Never rest until you have got the almighty wall on your side and not against you. Never rest until you have got all the fixed machinery for work the best possible. The waste in a teacher's workshop is the lives of men.

Many a Missionary has found himself hampered in his work, and robbed of the auxiliary influence he might have found, by being compelled to work in buildings which could never elevate the tone of his pupil's minds, and which were often even insanitary. The problem arising from Mission buildings has often seemed insoluble. The grants for this purpose made by embarrassed Committees in England were, in comparison with the need, quite insignificant, and in most fields (South Ceylon was, as we shall see, a happy exception) little could be obtained from local resources. Individual Missionaries were left for the most part to supplement such slender provision for their work as best they could.

Of the educational work of Dr. Kessen we have already written. With the appointment of the Rev. S. R. Wilkin in 1873 a ' Collegiate School ' was opened in Colombo, and was most successful. Wilkin was followed in 1880 by the Rev. Arthur Shipham, and by the Rev. S. Hill in 1884. Under the direction of the last-named there seemed to be every prospect of the College becoming a first-class institution, but the untimely death of the Principal in 1885 dashed all such hopes to the ground. Excellent work was done by his successors, the Revs. T. Moscrop, T. C. Hillard, and J. Passmore. College students began to win distinctions in the scholastic world. In 1895 there were five hundred students on the College roll, and of these about thirty were boarders. Now all this time the buildings in which the College was housed were most unsatisfactory. They were of the poorest and shabbiest type. The boarding house especially was more like a broken-down stable than a home for boys. Protest had followed appeal for many years, but nothing was done, though the amount

spent annually upon repairs would have proved to be good interest upon a considerable capital outlay. A debt of six hundred pounds upon the buildings already in existence made the outlook more than depressing. But in 1895 the Rev. Henry Highfield took over the charge of the College. Like those who had preceded him, he was scandalized by the state of the buildings, and he determined that 'Wesley College' should be housed in a manner more worthy of its name and of its purpose.

The first thing to be taken in hand was the liquidation of the debt, and this was accomplished. Then the scheme was launched which projected a new College in a more suitable position. A site was obtained, not without great difficulty both in Ceylon and in England. But the case was one in which delay would have meant an indefinite set-back to missionary educational work for many years, and the Committee in London showed its wisdom in not insisting too rigorously upon the due observance of its perfectly reasonable regulations. To have refused to accept the opportunity which offered would have been deplorable; for, apart altogether from the value of the College as an evangelistic centre of great fruitfulness, the youth of the rapidly increasing Christian community made this provision an urgent necessity. In 1904 Highfield set himself to raise locally the amount which, added to a building grant from England, would enable him to remove the reproach which rested upon our educational work in Colombo. His success in raising the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds is an indication of the value put upon the efforts of his predecessors by educated Ceylonese in Colombo, and indeed throughout the island. Excellent buildings were erected in Campbell Park, and the results, both educational and evangelistic, have been quite beyond tabulation. 'Old Boys' from the College now occupy high positions, both in the official, the professional, and the mercantile world; and others, not less to be honoured, have given themselves to the service of their countrymen in proclaiming the Gospel which they were led to accept while passing through the class-rooms of Wesley College. The new buildings were opened in 1907.

Limitation from inadequate premises similar to that which obtained in Colombo was felt in connexion with Kingswood

School at Kandy. This school was first begun as a matter of private enterprise, but in 1894 it was taken over by the Missionaries. The Rev. E. A. Prince did much for it in its early days by adding a hall to the buildings, and later on a set of dormitories. This latter addition allowed it to be used as a boarding school, and its value from a missionary point of view was thereby greatly increased. Unfortunately this very desirable adjunct had to be abandoned, as the space occupied by the dormitories was required for additional class-rooms. Writing in 1910, the Rev. W. J. Noble speaks of the 'cramped conditions' under which this school was compelled to work. The pity is that such work, the value of which, especially in Ceylon, has been proved over and over again, should be 'cramped,' and the worst feature of such cases is that the limitation to missionary efficiency is due entirely to financial stringency. Restrictions due to weaknesses in the teaching staff, or from the attitude and disposition of those attending the school, are often the causes of failure. Their removal is only to be secured by moral and spiritual changes which are beyond human control. But where the hindrance is due to a stinted provision of material means, the failure of the Church to remove it can only be attributed to want of vision, or to want of that spirit of sacrifice which would at once provide the financial assistance required.

The Richmond College at Galle was happily free from the extreme difficulty felt in the other centres of higher education. The scheme followed in the setting up of this institution was well conceived from the first, and in the centenary year it was possible to report that the fee-income not only met all the working expenses of the year, but left a credit balance sufficient to meet the cost of erecting new class-rooms and a small laboratory. The numbers returned from these three Colleges in 1913 are remarkable. Wesley College had six hundred and thirty-nine students on the rolls, Richmond College had four hundred and thirty-three, and Kingswood School had two hundred and forty-three.

Work among women and girls had been carried on in Ceylon for many years by those devoted Missionaries to whom full justice has not yet been done—the wives of Missionaries. These worked under limitations familiar on all Mission fields,

and none rejoiced more than they did when the Women's Auxiliary was formed, and their agents began to appear on the field. They rejoiced, not because they would thus be relieved of toil, for they still continued to serve, but because the work they loved would be more efficiently done. Women consecrated to the ministry of teaching had appeared both in Jaffna and Galle in 1839, but in 1861 the Women's Auxiliary sent Miss Eacott to Jaffna, and eight years after Miss Scott was sent to Colombo. In the 'seventies other ladies appeared in Kandy and Badulla. These were the forerunners of a great sisterhood, whose loving ministry has brought into the life of women in Ceylon a blessing beyond all words which may be used in describing it. If the Women's Auxiliary had never sent their workers to any other field, they have gathered in Ceylon a harvest which was worth all the labour lavishly given by Mrs. Wiseman and her many coadjutors. At first the number of women Missionaries who were able to continue at work for more than five years was very small. Sickness, death, and other causes cut short many a ministry which had been freely and fully given. But as time went on there was a marked increase in the length of time spent on the field, and that has been an immeasurable gain, for in no work is the cumulative effect of service more clearly seen than in the work of women in schools and hospitals.

In South Ceylon by far the greater part of the work attempted has been educational. Medical work has been taken up only at Welimade, in the backward province of Uva. English schools for girls are now to be found in Colombo, Galle, Kandy, and Badulla. Many a girl has left those schools carrying in her heart the secret of true womanhood in her devotion to the Christ whom she met there, and these girls have taken a gracious influence, where most it is needed in the East, into the home-life which they alone may form. Industrial schools for girls have also been set up in Kandy and Badulla, and when the last-named was opened two of the most efficient helpers were taken from the pupils of the previously established school of this kind in Kandy. In these schools girls belonging to the poorest classes are admitted, but whatever their destitution may be when they enter, they usually leave enriched with Christian graces, and equipped for high service in the kingdom of Christ.

The agencies at work under the Women's Auxiliary do not end here. In Galle and in Badulla Bible-women are being trained to do their own beautiful and fruitful service in the villages of Ceylon, and their work is prominent in Matara and in the Colombo City Mission. Throughout the whole island, too, the Women's Auxiliary help to support the work done in vernacular schools wherever girls are to be found in them. In no Mission field in the East is the Christian influence of women in the home so powerful, and it passes from the home into the whole life of the country.

A particularly happy feature of the 'seventies was the reaching out of the Methodist Church, both Tamil and Sinhalese, to the 'regions beyond.' No truer indication of life in a Christian Church can be found than the determination of its members to bring those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death into the light of truth, and into the power of new life in Christ. The region to which the two Churches now turned their attention was the west coastal district between Negombo, the most northern Circuit of the Sinhalese District, and Jaffna, the head quarters of the Tamil District. On this coast the most considerable town is Manaar, and it will be remembered that this was one of the centres recommended by Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Governor of Ceylon, for occupation by the pioneer Missionaries of 1814. It was not, however, occupied at that time, and the whole coast remained without a Missionary until 1872, when a Tamil Minister was sent to Manaar. This town was the central station of the Roman Catholic Mission, and it was here that Francis Xavier came when he crossed from India to Ceylon. Its population is both Tamil and Sinhalese, and when the projected railway between India and Ceylon comes into being Manaar will become a centre of first-class strategic importance. The district has a bad name on account of the prevalence of malarial fever, but the real cause for its neglect was the shortage of Missionaries. The most significant fact in the attempt to evangelize its people is that the initiative came from the Ceylonese Church. In 1903 a tour of the district was undertaken by the Rev. J. Simon de Silva, in company with a Catechist and two laymen. The spiritual destitution of the people greatly impressed them, and not less did they feel the neediness of scattered families of Christians who had come from other parts of the island.

In one or two villages, such as Kirimetiya and Chilaw, work was begun in schools, but it was felt that the opportunity for more extensive operations was too great to be missed. The Jaffna District was the first to send a European Missionary into the area, and in 1908 the Rev. W. C. Bird was appointed to Manaar. The movement from the south was even more hopeful, inasmuch as it was wholly due to the initiative of the native Churches. In 1906 an Extension Fund raised by these amounted to more than a hundred and thirteen pounds. A Committee was formed to administer it, and to this Committee was entrusted the evangelization of the north-west province. The Rev. C. Ganegoda was set apart by the Synod to work under the direction of this Committee. The following year a hundred and fifty-two pounds was raised for the fund, and conversions in the new field began to be reported. In 1908 fifty members were returned, with forty more on probation. The membership continued to increase every year, until in 1913 there were a hundred and sixteen members, with seventy-five on probation, while there were a hundred and nineteen others who had received baptism but were returned as 'adherents.' At Manaar the Christian community numbered a hundred and forty-eight, of whom seventy-five were full members. This was a glorious harvest to be reaped after only seven years.

But the evangelistic spirit of the Church appeared in other directions. A wave of spiritual influence passed over the Church in Galle during the year 1902. Aggressive work among non-Christians was taken up, and many young people who had passed through our schools were led to make an open confession of Christ. Mission bands were formed to conduct open-air services in Colombo, Kandy, and Matara, as well as in Galle. The whole Church was quickened, and great was the rejoicing of those who thus saw the fruit of long and faithful service.

In 1913 it was decided to make a special evangelistic effort in Colombo, and the Rev. A. E. Restarick, whose service in the Jaffna District began in 1884, arrived from England to direct it. With him were associated the Revs. H. Haigh and G. A. F. Senaratna, who were to work on the Sinhalese side while Restarick worked on the Tamil. The old chapel, built by Harvard in the Pettah, was made into 'a Central

Hall' and formed the head quarters of the enterprise, while open-air work was vigorously prosecuted. The new century of the Methodist Church was thus most appropriately linked to that which began with the coming of Harvard and Clough to Colombo. But whereas their appeal was made to those who were steeped in the deadening teaching of a Buddhism which had lost even the moral ideals which gave it its initial vigour and success, their happier successors could present the claims of Christ to men whose minds were permeated with the teaching of Jesus, as they had been taught in Mission schools, and who could test in the lives of their own countrymen the power of Christ in saving the souls of men. For at the back of this evangelistic effort there now stood what did not exist in 1813—a Methodist Church of Ceylon, native to the soil, possessing characteristics peculiar to itself, yet revealing features which certified its relationship to the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century in England. In the decade immediately preceding the centenary year that Church made steady progress in the direction of self-support. Time and experience had made it clear that so long as the Missionary continued to receive local contributions towards the financing of Church operations, making good each year whatever deficiency might remain, so long would the Church rely upon a strength external to itself, and fail to realize the honourable duty of providing all reasonable expenses from its own resources, while self-reliance would be indefinitely postponed. But there was another and more subtle reason for the spirit of dependence upon outside help. Missionaries were slow in trusting the Churches with the power of governing themselves. It is not easy to see the moment when parental control may safely be removed, and individual freedom be given to the child. But until some measure of self-direction be given it is not likely that responsibility will be seen to be not only a duty, but also honour and joy. As soon as the Missionaries began to trust the Churches under their care there awoke in these a pride in providing for the cost of their own Church expenses. Then their concern for their heathen neighbours was translated into a distinct missionary obligation, and the Churches added to the cost of their own service a fund to be used in evangelistic effort in regions not yet reached by the light of the Gospel. Methodist organization lends itself

readily to the furtherance of this essential element in a Christian Church, and when once the principle had been grasped progress became rapid. With the exercise of strength the capacity for self-government increased, until side by side with an already efficient and indigenous prophetic ministry there appeared a laity willingly accepting their share in the burden of Church administration. So rapidly did the laity come forward, and give proof of their worthiness to co-operate, that in the Financial Synod of 1907 there were no fewer than twenty-eight laymen associated with the Ministers of the Church. That year there were twelve Circuits in South Ceylon which were self-supporting, and the annual Report points out that in all the rest of our Eastern Missions there were only five.

It is a short step from the consciousness of strength to self-assertion in the communal life within which the Church stands, and where such self-assertion is controlled by reverence and actuated by motives which are unselfish and true to high moral ideals, it is not only legitimate but obligatory.

During the year 1905 there was much feeling evoked both in Ceylon and in missionary Committees in England because of the adoption of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance by the Legislative Council of Ceylon. Investigation had revealed that Buddhist priests had abused their position by defrauding the temples with which they were connected, and the ordinance in question was to secure that administration of the temples was to be brought under the control of Government officials. Protests against such an ordinance had been made in Ceylon on the ground that it would give to Buddhism the status of an 'established' religion. It was also felt that it would be odious to Christian officers of Government to be associated with the maintenance of a religion from which their reason and their conscience revolted. In England a Committee formed of members of the C.M.S., the B.M.S., and our own Society waited upon the Colonial Secretary, praying that the Royal signature should be withheld. The most that was secured, however, was that the measure would be considered to be tentative, and would be reconsidered after five years, in the hope that within that time a change might take place in the morals of the people most concerned. Honest Buddhists must have felt the dishonour of having to apply to the secular arm to secure honesty among those to whom was

committed the upholding of the moral order enjoined by their great teacher. This was not the sole occasion in which a struggle had taken place between the Church and the Government because of the connexion of the latter with Buddhism. In 1837 Mr. Hardy, while stationed in Kandy, found that Government troops were employed to guard the temple, and that the British Agent was in charge of 'Buddha's tooth' and other relics, while temple processions and devil-dancing were actually arranged and financed by Government. When this was brought to light in England the degrading and unholy connexion was denounced with such effect that an end was quickly put to it by order of the supreme Government.

The Missionaries who appeared in South Ceylon during this last period of our review have worthily upheld the great tradition of their District. Many of them are still at work, and the record of their service will fall to some future historian. Others have been obliged for entirely honourable reasons to take up work in the Church at home, and reference may be made to three of these. In 1900 the Rev. W. J. Noble was appointed to South Ceylon, and after twenty-two years of service, during which he proved himself to be a Missionary of both insight and wide vision, while at the same time he developed great powers of organization, he was appointed by Conference to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Rev. William Goudie in 1922. His appointment to Ceylon followed that of two others, whose early promise of exceptional efficiency on the Mission field was denied fulfilment by failure of health. The Rev. W. H. Armstrong (1899) was attacked by malaria of a particularly severe and persistent type, and his life was saved only by his return to England after two years in the island. Mr. Armstrong has since made a position for himself in Mission work in England, and what the foreign work lost has been gained by the work at home. His companion on the voyage to Ceylon was the Rev. E. H. Smith, and he at once gave evidence of special gifts in the acquirement of language. His record during the six years he spent in Ceylon was a particularly fine one; but an accident while travelling so seriously affected him that for some time it seemed as though ministerial work of any kind would be impossible. Happily he made at length a complete recovery, and is now fulfilling his vocation in England. Of seventeen others sent

out during the thirteen years fourteen were still on the field in 1913.

In the year of the centenary the statistics of the South Ceylon District were most impressive, and the reader will do well to ponder them.

Chapels	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Other Places for Preaching			..	..	..		118
European Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..		16
Ceylonese Ministers	..	..	..	..	..		34
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..		36
Local Preachers	..	..	..	..	..		192
Church Members	..	..	..	..	..		4,492
Members on Probation	..	..	..	..	..		1,344
Other baptized Adherents			..	..	..		7,448
Children in Schools	..	..	..	..	..		16,000

With these figures, so indicative of a living and growing Church, we bring our review to a close. Much remains in the story of this field which cannot be tabulated or even described. For who can describe the movement of the Spirit of God in the life of the Church, even when the results of that movement are clearly seen? The work done in the schools especially suggests a community permeated with gracious influences, which are still operative though unseen, and which may in a moment be resolved in an open confession of Him in whose name the light of truth first broke into the darkened mind. The associations of childhood may be submerged, but they are never destroyed, and no one can tell when the buried seed may burst into newness of life. Or, to change the figure, Ceylon is to-day a great altar, built up, as every altar should be, of consecrated elements representing the lives of men and women. Ault and Harvard, Clough, Gogerly, and many another, stand to-day as those whose lives have gone to the building of this great altar of sacrifice. That altar is heaped high to-day. One spark of the heavenly fire, and the young life of this land, consecrated from of old to the wonder of redeeming love, will leap into a blaze, kindled from on high by the Spirit of God.

SUPPLEMENT

THE INDIGENOUS MINISTRY OF CEYLON

THE evolution of the Tamil Ministry in North Ceylon has followed closely the natural lines of growth from the local agency of a Missionary Society to the pastorate of an indigenous, self-sustaining, and self-propagating Church. It is the object of this note to indicate the stages of this development and to present some of the outstanding personalities.

During the earlier years the Tamil Minister was called an Assistant Missionary. He was regarded as the agent of a foreign Society, was remunerated accordingly, and bore no well-defined relation to the organization or the possibilities of a Tamil Church. The first candidate was received in 1816, but, although the ecclesiastical status of the ordained Ceylon Minister has always been the same as that of his European brethren, it was not until 1887 that he sat with them in a real and operative Synod. The crucial problems of a Native Ministry could not be anticipated; they were solved as they arose. As the Church grew in numbers and in self-consciousness those problems began to press, so that in 1848 we find the Rev. Peter Percival, the greatest Tamil scholar Missionary Methodism has ever had, complaining that little had been done towards the formation of a simple and inexpensive Native agency. It was not until the advent of Dr. Kilner in 1859 that it became possible to reorganize the Ministry on lines that made it in fact the Ministry of the Tamil Methodist Church.

It is remarkable that, although no Church has yet been raised up amongst Ceylon Muhammadans, the first candidate for the Ministry, the first indeed in Asia, was Daniel Theophilus, a converted Muhammadan. He was accepted in 1816, but unfortunately the next year's record of him is: 'We believe he deceived us himself and that he was ungenerously taken from us.' Thus vanishes the first name from our records. So also do several others. But there were two men during the first fifty years of the Mission who more than satisfied all

demands. The Rev. John Milton Brown, who has supplied much of the biographical information for this note, says: 'John Philip Sanmogam was a lad of fifteen years and a nominal Christian when the first Wesleyan Missionaries reached Jaffna in 1814. He was attracted by the personality of Thomas Squance and attached himself to the English Preacher. He became Squance's first Ceylonese convert, and as soon as he was converted began to preach. After many years of training he was deemed worthy to take his place in the ranks of the Methodist Ministry. He was a man of unblemished character, a diligent Pastor, an acceptable Preacher, and won the confidence and affection of the people wherever he was stationed. He died in 1864, leaving a splendid record of fifty years of loyal and loving service in the days of hard toil and small results.'

Richard Watson Vyramuttu was a Point Pedro boy, born and trained in the precincts of the Hindu temple, of which his father was proprietor. He became attached to the Rev. Ralph Stott, as Sanmogam did to Squance. Soon after Mr. Stott was transferred to Trincomalee the lad followed him. Mr. and Mrs. Stott received him into their home and trained and educated him as if he were their own son. Brought up in such an atmosphere, Vyramuttu was drawn to Christ and dedicated himself to the Master's service. At the early age of nineteen he was received as a student and was sent to Jaffna to continue his studies under the guidance and inspiration of Peter Percival. Seven years he served as a student and Catechist, and then he was welcomed into the ranks of the Ministry. His gifts were of a different order from Sanmogam's. He was as diligent and devoted as his senior colleague, as transparent in character and as earnest an evangelist, but he possessed a pulpit gift that has never been excelled in Ceylon; he could be eloquent and impassioned, lofty in thought, impressive in delivery. Before he had completed his fortieth year he had so overdrawn upon his physical powers as to be unable to fight against an attack of Trincomalee fever, which carried off this choice worker. Only a few months separated the death of these two worthy preachers. With their decease the first chapter of the history of the North Ceylon Ministry ended, and the work of selecting and training had to begin again, under a new leader.

John Kilner was appointed the General Superintendent of

the District by the Conference of 1859. He had already been connected with the Mission for twelve years, and had formed a judgement as to the needs of the situation. He was a man of conspicuous gifts, commanding personality, and a strategist. When he assumed the chairmanship there were only two Tamil Ministers, and he believed that Tamils would have to be reached by Tamils. This truth he enforced continually, and he determined that the training of an indigenous Ministry should be his first care. He therefore gathered a class of young men, the very best that the Tamil churches could produce, and not only put his own best into them, but secured the highest talent available in Jaffna to lecture to them on Tamil grammar and literature, on mathematics and kindred subjects. And in a few years the results began to appear.

The leading ideas of Dr. Kilner are now the commonplaces of enlightened missionary policy, but it needed much clarity of vision and great personal force to apply them sixty years ago on a field where a different ideal had been dominant for half a century. It was his belief that Christianity could only become indigenous in a country if the Native Church raised its own Ministry and supported its own work. He therefore set himself to define the relative functions of the Missionary Society and the Church, and to impress the distinction on the growing Christian community. Henceforward the organization of the Ministry was developed in close relation to the needs and capacities of the Tamil Church. The 'Mission,' taught Dr. Kilner, would eventually pass; the 'Church' would remain, the permanent Christian organization, and the Tamil Ministers would be its leaders. The function of the foreign agency was to evangelize, found the Christian Society, establish the educational institutions as training grounds for both lay and ministerial leaders, and eventually to disappear. The function of the *Church* was to organize and care for the converts, feed the sheep and tend the lambs of Christ's flock, embody and express the Christian witness before the heathen, and to achieve autonomy as rapidly as possible, learning to become 'missionary' itself in the process. Until the transition from Mission to Missionary Church was complete, European Missionaries and Tamil Ministers would work side by side, helping each other in their respective and complementary tasks. But the goal should be kept steadily in view by every

class of worker. Self-government should be granted to the Tamil Churches as early as possible, and they should be encouraged to assume responsibility for administration, supplying the resources and controlling expenditure. As the indigenous forces increased the foreign forces should decrease, and, when sufficiently strong to stand alone, the Mission Church should be set free. Such, in brief, were the principles of which Dr. Kilner was the chief exponent. It followed that two particular applications of them to the question of the Tamil Ministry should be recognized features of District policy, viz.

- (1) That in fixing stipends and allowances care should be taken not to exceed the probable ability of the indigenous Church. A minimum salary might be fixed by the General Committee, below which no Church should be allowed to fall, but the maximum salary should be left to the individual Church to decide according to its resources.
- (2) That the same principle should apply to all expenditure on plant, whether Church or school building or Minister's dwelling-house. The building should be in style and cost such as the Christian community might reasonably be expected to provide, local resources always being the measure.

These ideas and principles have been the established policy of the District since Dr. Kilner's day, and events have shown that he built upon a sound foundation. Progress towards self-support and self-government has been continuous. The larger and oldest-established Churches are now fully independent, and many others are rapidly approaching this position. The laity has recognized its responsibilities and is taking increasing interest in the support and control of the work. There is now an effective lay session of the Synod. Home Missionary Societies have also been established. And, best of all, the Church has produced a prophetic, evangelistic, teaching Tamil Ministry beloved of the people and competent for its tasks.

The first to be accepted as a candidate under the new order introduced by Dr. Kilner was Henry de Silva, a man of distinct personality, of great gifts and beautiful devotion. Though of Portuguese extraction and nationality, he associated himself perfectly with his Tamil colleagues. He accepted their status and received their modest allowances. He was a master of

the Tamil language, and used it with great effect. His knowledge of the Christian Bible and of Hindu literature made him an effective worker among the preachers of revived and organized Hinduism. His somewhat sudden death from malarial fever after twelve years of strenuous labour was felt to be a calamity to the Mission, an irreparable loss by the younger members of the Tamil Ministry, who regarded him as their leader.

The year following the date of Mr. de Silva's acceptance (1865), two men of experience and character were welcomed into the ranks—Joseph Benjamin and John Wesley Philips, both of them men of great devotion, fidelity, and influence. Joseph Benjamin, like his brother James, was known as a man of God, mighty in prayer, ceaseless in pastoral visitation and care of the flock. John Wesley Philips was a son of Sanmogam, and inherited his father's gentleness, modesty, graciousness, and stability. When the Synod decided to gather the Tamils in Colombo, the young men who visited the city to complete their education or to engage in business or professional life, J. W. Philips was the man selected to occupy this important position and to begin this strategic extension of our missionary operations. How splendidly he succeeded is known to all who are acquainted with the history of our Church in Ceylon.

Nathaniel Niles, the Jaffna evangelist, a preacher of wit and genius who could captivate any audience, gave two of his sons to the Methodist Ministry, Daniel and Samuel, men of outstanding character who have left their mark on the Tamil community. Daniel was scholar, preacher, and poet, to whom the Church is indebted for hymns and lyrics which enrich its worship. Samuel had the gifts of the orator, a dignified presence, resonant voice, and fluent delivery.

Every part of the District has made its contribution to the Ministry. Batticaloa has given R. N. Sethucavalar, M.A., the first Tamil from Ceylon to graduate in the Calcutta University, Charles Kasinader, Robert A. Barnes, James D. Canagasabey, and his son. Trincomalee has sent three of its young men—James M. Osborn, John K. Fletcher, and Paul Ahambaram. Point Pedro has been highly honoured. From the days of R. W. Vyramuttu down to the present time it has yielded precious fruit from its village schools. W. Murugasu Walton,

Daniel V. Thamotheram, and Yesudasen Kandiah would amply repay the Missionary Society for all its expenditure on this part of the field. Jaffna, with Wannarponne, has given the richest contribution, from Sanmogam to the present day, rich in numbers and quality. Christian Parinbam and his brother John Ponniah, Daniel Velupillai and James T. Appapillai, Joseph Beebee and many others, with varying gifts have served their generation by the will of God. The names of Edward S. Solomon and Vallipuram K. David, both of whom died in the midst of their labours, are held in grateful memory. Amongst the Ministers still in the active work the names of T. Samuel Vethanayagam, Daniel S. McLelland, and Robert Winslow must be mentioned as men who have given able and self-sacrificing service, and are worthily sustaining the high traditions of the past. There is also a fine group of younger men who combine scholarship with evangelistic fervour and justify a confident hope that the future Tamil Ministry will not fail the Church that has called them forth.

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Much of what has been written above in relation to the North Ceylon District applies with equal force to the South. Indeed, the South proceeded on very similar lines to those followed in the North, and there was raised up in the Sinhalese Church a Ministry which at first co-operated with, and later began to supersede, the missionary staff. From the beginning there were kept in view those great principles of Church development which in the issue have been shown to be of highest wisdom—the calling out from among the people of the country of their own Ministers, the provision of the best possible education for such a Ministry, and the insistence upon the local Church providing for such a Ministry when it came to take over the responsibility of self-administration. The steady adherence to these principles has had the happiest results in Ceylon, for it has made the achievement of a large measure of self-support both easy and natural, and if one-third of our Circuits are to-day able to meet all their own financial obligations and to govern themselves with wisdom and ability, it is because no effort has been spared to educate the local Church and to raise up, alongside of the Ministry, a body of laymen who share to

the full the responsibilities of Church administration, and of whom the Church is rightly proud.

Considerations of space make it impossible to give the names of all, or even of many, of the Ceylonese Ministers who have served the kingdom of God in the Methodist Church, but there are some whose names cannot be excluded from our record. Andrew Armour was not an Oriental, but a European, and his name appears because it is impossible to omit mention of a man whose career was so remarkable, and who, after serving as a soldier in Ireland, Gibraltar, and India—in all of which places he exercised a strong Christian influence—became a Minister of our Church in Ceylon, and so remained for many years. William A. Lalmon, a young man of Swiss descent, was converted at the first service held by Wesleyan Missionaries after their arrival in the island. He was accepted for the Ministry in 1816, and served faithfully in the active work for forty years. Cornelius Wijesingha was the first purely Sinhalese Minister to be received, and from 1819 to 1864 he witnessed a good confession in spite of much persecution and hardship. When Peter Gerhard de Silva entered the Ministry in 1831 its ranks were strengthened by the admission of a preacher of evangelistic and pastoral gifts never surpassed in our Ceylon Ministry. He is still known, especially in the town and district of Moratuwa, as 'the Apostle.' He led many hundreds to Christ, and established in that district Churches whose present prosperity and strength are the direct fruit of his labours. He was no less a pastor than an evangelist, and the Churches under his care grew steadily in power while they increased in grace and purity. His descendants of the second and third generation adorn the ranks of the Ministry to-day, or are to be found occupying honourable positions among the laity of the Church. In the great controversies with Buddhists the name of David de Silva cannot be forgotten, for he maintained the Christian position with admirable spirit and knowledge during a time in which a strong and informed opposition on the part of Buddhists made itself felt. Few names among those of our Sinhalese Ministers are held in greater honour than that of B. Anthony Mendis, a man of striking ability in many spheres, but chiefly remembered for his grasp of Methodist principles, and for his statesmanlike outlook upon the future of the Church.

Charles William de Silva maintained and added to that high reputation which Methodism in Ceylon has had in relation to the study of both the Sinhalese language and the literature of Buddhism. For many years he was chief reviser of the Sinhalese Bible, being lent to the British and Foreign Bible Society for this highly responsible task. His brother, H. de Silva Wikramaratna, is widely known as a competent writer on Christian subjects, and a scholar of repute.

The list might, indeed, be continued down to the present day by the addition of many names, all worthy of being held in remembrance. Suffice it to say that the Methodist Church in Ceylon, both South and North, has good reason to be thankful to God for the character and ability of its Ministers, who have taken an ever-increasing part in the development of the Church, and who are represented to-day by men of gifts and graces which make them worthy members of a great succession.

PART II

METHODIST MISSIONS IN INDIA

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- (a) Religious.—Hinduism—Environment—Compromise—Nature-Worship—Idealism and Polytheism—Brahmanism—A Monarchical Priesthood—Philosophic Basis of Caste.
 - (b) Social.—Caste is both Social and Religious—Attitude of the Christian Church to Caste—A Test Case—A Declaration—Resultant Effects.
 - (c) Political.—The Charter of 1600—The East India Company and Hindu Religion—Lord William Bentinck—Neutrality—A Case in the Mysore District.
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(a) RELIGIOUS

It is impossible for the student of Christian Missions in India to enter intelligently upon his study unless he has at least an outline picture of the position which Christianity challenges by its declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A general idea of moral and spiritual neediness as forming the object of approach is not sufficient, for India is unique among the many fields of human life in which the Church is at work. Even Ceylon, which most nearly approaches it, does not reveal that combination of Brahmanism and caste which gives to both a resisting force possessed by neither of the two in isolation. The amalgam is less easily penetrated than either of its component metals. The Christian Church in India to-day is of appreciable dimensions. Its influence in the communal life increases every year. But it is to be questioned whether it has yet penetrated the armoured citadel of Hinduism, and the long delay in reaching the position occupied by the Church in these days cannot be understood unless account be taken of that power of resistance. It has not been a question of the personal qualifications of Missionaries sent to this field,

for whether we consider their intellectual ability, or the personal devotion which so often has deepened into saintliness, those who have laboured in this field will always stand high in the reverence of the Church for both the character of their service and the completeness of their sacrifice. Neither has it been a matter of methods employed. Every now and then the Church, impatient of delay, has clamoured for the trial of some new scheme of service. It is safe to say that at one time or another every plan of approach known to the Church has been tried in India, with results for which the Church may indeed give glory to God, but it would be the merest self-delusion to claim that she has yet come to grips with the central power which has enabled Hinduism to survive the shock of invasion from without, and the process of internal decay. The Church has gathered into its army the outlying tribes and populations, thereby increasing immensely its own power of penetration and its prospect of final victory; but it still stands, a beleaguering force outside the walls which have hitherto excluded it. The vital centre of Hinduism has been touched; the reaction which has followed may indicate that it has been profoundly affected; but it has not yet been vitalized by the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and nothing short of this will content the Church or justify the immeasurable sacrifices offered. The student of the history of the Church militant here on earth may well ask whence comes this amazing power of resistance to truth as it is in Jesus.

The answer is not easily given. It will have to gather up into some comprehensible form the whole range of a far-extended system of religious faith and practice as these have been observed for centuries, if indeed we may speak of 'system' where the forms of faith have been so diversified. Nature-worship, Animism, Polytheism, Atheism, and the most uncompromising Idealism known in the history of human thought, jostle one another throughout the whole course of religious history as we find it within the area which we name 'India,' and in their earlier stages there is no chronology to enable us to mark the steps by which one rose, or those by which another fell. If it is at all possible to speak of a single religious instinct among peoples so highly diversified, then we have to acknowledge that nowhere else do we find one so flexible, so ready to absorb and assimilate the most diverse

and conflicting forms, so skilled in reconciling ideas which are mutually destructive. Its vitality has been amazing. It has from time to time produced new sects, each of which has shown a considerable amount of formative force, and these persist in some form or other, even when they have ceased to exhibit any distinctive features in the final product. Alongside of this complicated system of faith, and in closest relations to it, exist human institutions, and though these have in later days shown some tendency to change under the enormous pressure of Western civilization, yet such changes have only recently appeared, and in enormous tracts, both social and geographical, the customs of long-past centuries hold good. Even where the more cruel or debasing of these have been suppressed by the rule of Western Governments it often appears that the submission of their votaries is far from assured, and cases of Sati, for instance, are not unknown.

We have to bring all this complex and highly diversified religious life into some sort of unity before we can hope to see that central position of which we are in search. It is not surprising that some have roundly declared that there is no such thing as 'the Hindu religion.' Others have found it in Brahmanism, confining their attention to the intellectual activities and the power of self-adaptation exhibited by the most remarkable priesthood of which we have any record. Others, again, have found it embodied in human institutions and customs, and these have claimed that the Hindu religion is to be found in the social system which we know under the name of 'caste.' It is clear that of these two the one class has been impressed by faith and the other by practice. But in considering such a question as religion the two cannot be divorced. For religion is a 'view of God and the world.' On the one hand, it contemplates the Divine source and goal of all things, and on the other it finds expression in human deeds and the corporate life of man.

There is one general observation which may be made here, and which may assist us in arriving at a conclusion. In India we are confronted with an intense intellectual force acting under enervating conditions of life. Environment plays its part in all religious expression. The rigid outlines of the Arabian desert are reflected in the stern simplicity of the Muhammadan creed. The aesthetic character of Greece, and

the finality of Roman law, appear in the life of the Eastern and the Western Church; and when the Aryan migrated to the burning plains of India he brought his more highly developed mind into an atmosphere which was inimical to thinking out to final conclusions the problems which arose in dealing with the relations of primitive religions to his own more highly developed faith. The method of compromise to secure uniformity was almost inevitable. Tolerance of that which was directly contradictory was seen to be the line of least resistance. Any more strenuous method was difficult in the new physical surroundings. But while an easy-going tolerance allowed the variant faith to continue side by side with that which the Aryan brought with him, he set himself to secure his own supremacy by assimilating as much as was possible from the system with which he was in contact. The eclecticism forced upon him secured for him at last the spiritual supremacy which he desired, and it was carried to an extreme, with results which are sufficiently apparent to-day. Truth lost the sharpness of its outline. The mind became so flexible in adopting forms that were mutually contradictory that it became flabby rather than flexible, and conduct was affected accordingly. Mutually exclusive positions were accepted as equally valid, and the will became correspondingly weakened. Even mental exertion is difficult when the thermometer registers a hundred degrees of heat in the shade, but to yield to this limitation, and to take the easy way of tolerance through dislike of exertion, is fatal. It leads to indefiniteness of thought, to weakness in resolution, and to a feebleness in self-determination which may issue at last in the complete paralysis of the will.

It is probable that this concession to environment accounts for the contradiction between faith and practice which we have seen is one of our embarrassments, but there is another factor which has been most powerful in forming the ultimate product. The Brahman in his pride of intellectual superiority, residing largely in the domain of religion, was determined to maintain his privileged position against the mass of animistic belief which he found when he entered the plains of South India. He was unwilling to undertake the always difficult process of securing an intelligent conviction in those who were of a different way of thinking; he chose the easier way of self-accommodation, and compromised what to him was truth in

order to achieve the selfish end of maintaining his position as spiritual dictator to his fellows. Lacking in his composition the hard grain which refuses to stretch conviction beyond the confines of truth, he found that his philosophy was sufficiently elastic to cover any superstition, however absurd, and to condone any custom, however immoral. He was thus able to secure for his order not only the direction of public ceremonial in the temple, not only the exclusive authority to interpret both the recorded wisdom of the past and the common traditions of successive generations, but the even more powerful influence of the domestic priesthood. His was the voice which declared the propitious day for the family undertaking, and it was he who ordered—at a price—the domestic ritual to be observed at birth, at marriage, and at death. He could make any concession to local prejudice which he might think desirable, and he incorporated into his own more philosophical system the crudities of an inferior faith.

What was the Animism which thus formed the testing of sincerity in these Aryan invaders of India? It is a view of the world as inhabited by spirits (*animae*). It is a recognition of dark, mysterious forces of which no account can be given. Every object or process which was unknown or unusual was held to be the abode of mysterious power. But, further, such powers were invariably held to be malignant. The unknown was considered to be invariably inimical, and such worship as was paid was no grateful offering symbolizing the allegiance and the devotion of the worshipper, but a propitiatory gift intended to buy off the threatening peril. That is to say that the Dravidian, and still more the aboriginal tribe in the hills, lived in an atmosphere of fear; such things as the snake, or such experiences as that of disease, indicated to him the presence of a malignant power before which he bowed in terror, and which he sought to pacify by such offerings as were within his reach. Ignorance and fear were the twin motives of his religious observance. The priests who presided over his ritual were sorcerers who were learned in the arts of magic, and who were able thereby to appease and propitiate the hostile power. Then the supreme mystery of death played no small part in forming his creed. That which had left the body was conceived of as a ghost, and a hostile ghost, which needed propitiatory offerings if it was to desist from its

otherwise inevitable menace to living beings. The worship of ancestors, always an instinct in *primaeval* man, thus became linked with the worship of inanimate objects, whose one claim to worship was that they were dangerous. Ancestral worship it was which imported into the faith of the people those traces of belief in a personal deity which may be detected in Animism. The doctrine of transmigration was developed later, but its traces, too, are to be found in the *primaeval* belief which we are now considering, since the wandering ghost might find a new habitation in some other human body or within some natural object.

Such a religion, it will be easily seen, lends itself to every form of superstition, and usually passes away as education narrows the realm of the unknown, and reveals the causes of natural phenomena. How, then, are we to explain the fact that the Hindu religion remains full of this element of superstition, so that even the 'twice-born' Aryan who subscribes to a philosophy of pure idealism is as much under its influence as if he were the merest Animist? The answer is that this element persists because it was taken up into the more intellectual system. It was brought into alliance with the philosophy of the Aryans. These last were not concerned with driving away from the minds of their Dravidian brethren the darkness which enveloped their minds, but rather with the exploiting of it to their own advantage. Their priests stretched their philosophy so as to cover every form of religious observance, however degrading it might be. By 'peaceful penetration' they secured a complete spiritual supremacy. Incorporation gave them dominance. But it was at a terrible cost. Their own thought, which had approached a true monotheism, became debased by idolatry, and such gleams of moral consciousness as appear in the earlier and loftier hymns of the *Rigveda* were speedily quenched in the allowance, and the practice, of gross immoralities. The principle of accommodation and compromise led to moral and spiritual corruption. The whole process has been analysed for us by a master mind in the terrible verses which we find in the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the history of religion in India is the object-lesson which verifies the apostolic indictment of natural religion, so swiftly assuming the most unnatural forms unless led to its fulfilment by Divine revelation.

Some tribes have retained their Animism almost without admixture, but these are tribes which have retreated before the invaders of their country into the fastnesses of the hills. Others have been so far influenced by Aryan thought that they now find themselves related to it in a sense. They have, indeed, no part in the worship offered by their superiors, nor does the Brahman priest attempt to control them. They are outcast from the four great divisions of Hindu society. These latter are dependent upon them for all sorts of menial labour, and often exact this so unscrupulously as to reduce their victims to a condition of serfdom, if not of actual slavery. These, again, have approximated, as far as they were allowed, to the custom of the higher classes, and there are traces among them of some attempt to set up caste distinctions within their own community, separate as this is. Thus the 'right-hand Pariahs' refuse to intermarry with the 'left-hand Pariahs.' There is, however, a distinct penetration of thought derived from Aryans among these despised people. Anything approaching a system of philosophy is not to be sought among them. It is entirely absent. But the effects of Brahmanical thought are to be found even among their crude conceptions. Just as the Aryan has allowed himself to be affected by Animistic belief and superstition, these Animists have breathed the atmosphere of Pantheistic teaching, until there have appeared among them the same moral confusions, the same lack of moral responsibility, and the same hopelessness of salvation, which characterize those who accept Pantheism as their interpretation of 'God and the World.'

It would be well-nigh impossible to understand how such a mass of disconnected and contradictory elements as popular Hinduism, interpenetrated as it is by the most despicable elements of Fetishism and idolatry, could have offered such solid resistance to Christianity had it not been possessed of three distinct factors by which its marvellous power is upheld. It is these three factors which must be considered as the real hindrance to Christianity—the caste of the Brahmans, the general caste system, and Indian Pantheism.¹

It is among these that the largest accessions to the Christian Church have been secured. They have gained little by their approach to the Hinduism of their superiors, and are

¹*History of Missions in India*, by Dr. Julius Richter, p. 252.

generally treated by caste Hindus with scorn and contempt. Their actual condition is one of the utmost degradation and ignorance. Christianity appeals to them as opening 'a door of hope,' and their one opportunity of education and of advancement in the social life of their country, while it also brings to them the Divine gift of moral deliverance. To them Christ is the great Liberator.

When we pass to consider the more formulated theology of the higher classes we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. We may not linger over the vexed question whether the gross forms of Fetishism and Animism preceded or followed the more refined Aryanism which finally absorbed and dominated it. Some scholars have contended that the former represents a more original form of faith. But the idea of God must in some dim form have existed in the human mind before man invested the twisted trunk of a tree with deity. A curiously shaped stone does not in itself suggest God. It is claimed that the conception of something other than and beyond the physical envelope must have existed in the mind before it could have conceived the idea that the dead hero or revered ancestor had passed into a realm of incorporeal life. The best view would seem to be that both Fetishism and Animism are decadent forms of religion, and that neither can be considered to be primary. What, then, was the original religion? The answer has been found in the sacred books of India. It is in the Vedas that we come upon the earliest ideas of God of which we have any record either in writings or in the transmitted cults of primaeval races. There are those who tell us that even the Vedas do not carry us far enough back, but we must make a start somewhere, and we have nothing available which goes so far back as the great hymns to be found in the Rig, the oldest of the Vedas. In these we find a deification of the powers and processes of nature in all their forms, whether they be mysterious, beneficent, or destructive. The highest place is probably held by Varuna, which was the great arch of the sky above the earth. Another name for the same deity is 'Divas-Pitar,' which again appears as the Latin 'Jupiter,' and which, if we may translate its two elements, may be rendered 'Father of Lights.' This nomenclature would seem to sustain Dr. Menzies when he says :

Religion began with the impression from without of great natural objects co-operating with an inner presentiment of the infinite, which they met to a greater degree than any objects which men had tried before. Religion was due accordingly to aesthetic impressions from without, answering an aesthetic and intellectual need.

Of natural objects none are so mysterious and impressive as the starry heavens, which every night gave birth to myriads of stars, which moved according to certain laws, but gave no answer to the questions Whence? How? and Why? It is also noteworthy that it is in hymns to Varuna that we come upon fitful gleams of the conception that this deity is a moral governor from whose myriad eyes nothing human is hidden. Thus in one of the hymns we read :

O Varuna, whatever the offence may be
That we as men commit against the heavenly folk,
When through our want of thought we violate thy laws,
Chastise us not, O God, for that iniquity.

In such prayers India made its nearest approach to that conception of a righteous God which we attribute to revealed religion. But the conception was quickly obscured, and this was due to the human impulse to seek from such a deity the supply of things needed for the support of existence. For from the same heavens thus worshipped came both the fertilizing rain and the rending lightning, and deity was ascribed to both of these under the names of Indra and Agni. When that stage was reached there was a transition from the Monotheism which seemed to be on the horizon of the Aryan mind to the Polytheism into which it quickly lapsed. But the earliest motives were more than a mere desire for food or fear of death. To quote Dr. Menzies again :

The intellectual craving, the desire to know the nature of the world he lived in, and to refer himself to the highest principles of it, as far as that could be managed ; the aesthetic need, the desire to have to do with objects which filled his imagination ; the moral need, the desire not to occupy a purely isolated position but to place himself under some authority, and to feel some obligation,—these also, though in the dimmest way, as matters of presentiment rather than of clear consciousness, entered into the earliest worship of the heavenly powers.

With the recognition of other and differing forces the mind of the Aryan thus passed to a more polytheistic conception, and

there was no staying that process when it had once begun. But as the Vedic poets speak of the one god they are immediately addressing at any moment as supreme, and heap upon him all the highest attributes, while not denying the divinity of other gods, the term 'Henotheism' has been coined as expressing more accurately than either Monotheism or Polytheism the Vedic conception of the Divine.

But side by side with this polytheistic process there sprang up a tendency destined to play an all-important part in shaping the Hindu conception of God. Against the Polytheism thus early beginning to appear there was bound to be a reaction on the intellectual side, due to the demand of the mind for some central unity in its conception of God and the world, and thus there arose, fitfully at first—there are indications even in the Vedic hymns—but later in gathering force what we call Pantheism. In its full development the unity desired was found by roundly denying the existence of anything but God. Necessarily this deity was an impersonal 'Substance,' and the neuter 'Brahma' was chosen as the name for that deity.

With this tendency there went another. The intellectual movement did not stand alone; there went with it the sacerdotal. The more popular movement was in the direction of appeasing or cajoling the deity, and the method adopted—a natural one of great significance—was that of sacrifice. This gave rise to a priestly class, and the latter set out to exploit in its own interests the religious feeling of the time, which had then passed from the stage of adoration to that of securing favour or averting disaster. Under the title 'Brahman' the priest finally secured the pre-eminent position in India, and still holds that position. As interpreters of the Divine mysteries, and as the ministers of the ritual necessary to make sacrifice effectual, they encouraged the tendency to Polytheism and the multiplication of sacrificial rites, while for the benefit of the more intellectual they continued to expound these as symbols. The ignorant contented themselves with the material form; the initiated were taught to look beyond the form to the underlying essentials. Their position gave them also the opportunity of absorbing and shaping the more Animistic ideas of the Dravidians, and so eventually there arose the most gigantic system of idolatry, until 'their land was full of idols, and their shrines were to be found under every green tree and

on every high hill.' It is scarcely necessary to point out that all this led to the obscuring, and finally to the destruction, of all moral element in the deity, which, as we have seen, seemed to be about to be posited by the writers of the best hymns in the Vedas. Two reactions followed, each inclining to the intellectual side of religion. Scepticism put forward a material explanation of the facts of the world and of human existence, but this did not remain long unchallenged, and an idealistic conception of God and the world arose. This gave abundant room for philosophic speculation, while it professed to satisfy the craving of the human heart for union with the Divine. But the philosophic basis on which it rested was imperfect and untrue to the facts of life, and the union which it offered was no true 'union,' but rather the obliterating of one of the uniting factors. As far as the human spirit is concerned, the Vedantist 'created a vacuum and called it "Peace."'

The Brahmans have, as a class, always shown themselves to be quick in discovering the secret of power, and as ready to make it the monopoly of their class. Their 'order' was both sacerdotal and intellectual. When religion offered a position of supremacy they made themselves the sole authority in deciding what was the true method of ritual, and they claimed that in the offering of all sacrifice 'validity' had been given to them. They were also the only class that gave themselves up to the acquirement of learning, and since all ceremonial directions were in Sanskrit, they became by their knowledge of that language interpreters of the sacred records as well as administrators of the sacraments. They were both priests and professors. Later on, when Western knowledge was seen to be the key to power, their youth crowded the schools and colleges in which English and science were taught, and when, later still, social influence and a lucrative profession went with an official appointment under Government, the percentage of Brahmans who sought the coveted posts was far greater than that of all other castes put together. With these later developments we have nothing to do in these pages. But as a sacerdotal class they form the object of our serious consideration, for it is in them that the Missionary finds his most strenuous opponents. Nor need we wonder at this. Few hierarchies, if any, enjoy a more undisputed tenure of the reverence and support of their fellow nationals. The

religious consciousness of India—the most profound of its kind—has for more than fifteen hundred years accepted them as the authoritative mediators between God and man. The fear of hostile deities, or the instinctive desire to be in alliance with unknown supernatural powers, brought many gifts to the temple, and they became the residuary legatees of all such bequests. With the exception of the Mahratta supremacy, in which the political power was Brahman, they have never attempted to grasp the reins of secular power. The monarchical priesthood gave them all that they desired. Most of all it gave them the final word in determining the forms which the life of the family should take, and in directing the channels in which it should flow, for the influence of the Brahman as priest is even greater in the home than in the temple. The whole life of a man in India is ordered and controlled by the family Purohita. It is the latter who directs the ceremonies to be observed before his birth, and it is he who orders the funeral rites to be performed after his death, while between these two events in the individual life every movement is governed and controlled by the priest in the household. The influence of such men established within the jealously guarded citadel of the family life is incalculable.

For the securing of this position the Brahman appealed to two of the greatest powers that have worked in forming the convictions of men. They have appealed to a Divine sanction and to the sacredness of tradition. In the earlier hymns of the Rig Veda, while there is to be seen the distinction of social classes common to all nations, those distinctions had not yet hardened into the inflexible system known as 'Caste,' but in the tenth book there occurs a passage which speaks of the warrior as sprung from the arms of deity, the merchant from the thighs, and the artisan from the feet, but the Brahman comes from the mouth of God. Supremacy was thus assigned to the Brahman on the ground of a Divine ordination. Centuries passed, and though that social order was challenged by the warrior class, and though the exclusive religious pretensions of the Brahmans were denied by the Buddhist, the Brahman triumphed over both, and presently found himself entrenched in the submission of all other classes of society, until he was able to make the further appeal to tradition as vindicating his claim and guaranteeing his position. Tradition

has not wholly lost its power even in the West, but in the East that power is still effective in shaping the obedience of men.

Now all this, if it stood alone, would not wholly account for the influence of the Brahman. In isolation it would be only a very ancient illustration of the attainment of power through ecclesiasticism, and of the consolidation of that power in a priestly order. Its exclusiveness is a characteristic feature of all hierarchical orders. It reveals the selfishness which creeps in whenever vested interests begin to appear, and its 'lust for power,' which rose at last to a spirit which claims, or at least accepts, a quasi-deification of the priest, is to be seen more or less developed in every example of a monarchical priesthood. Such positions have been challenged, and such pretensions have been resisted not once or twice in the history of religion. That which has co-operated to make Brahmanism in India the dominant power which, after so many centuries, it is, will be found in the stereotyping effect produced upon the whole social order in India by caste. The resisting power which Brahmanism exerts against Christianity would have long since given way but for the sanction, so tremendous, which it has found in caste. If, then, we would understand the resistance to missionary appeals which is peculiar to India we must consider that notorious system a little more in detail,

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(b) SOCIAL

The social status of the individual was determined in accordance with the working of the law of Karma, the retributive element in all life, as the Hindu conceived it. 'Karma' means 'action'; and action was conceived as carrying in itself a certain quality which worked out in the future of the individual who performed it. The whole of his subsequent experience was inevitably determined by the character of the act. His birth in a subsequent state of existence was the result of his action in those which had preceded it. The reward of good deeds was birth into a Brahman family; the penalty of evil deeds was to be born a Pariah, or the wrong-doer might even be reborn in one or other of the lowest forms of animal life.

All social distinctions, therefore, were looked upon as the inevitable result of Karma, and behind that law it was impossible to go. There was no appeal against its verdict.

We repeat that the earlier class distinctions in India were fairly fluid; they do not exhibit the rigidity of the later development. They were also, in their administrative functions, reasonable safeguards in remote ages for the maintenance of racial superiority. If the Aryans had tolerated any sort of communism with the aborigines in such matters as marriage or the partaking of food, they would soon have lost whatever gave them their original distinction. Their racial character would have been submerged, and it was the instinct of self-preservation which led them to interdict the sharing of a meal with people whose food was often repulsive, or the giving of their children in marriage to those whose social qualifications were so immeasurably inferior as those of the aboriginal tribes were, and still are in many instances. It was the means of maintaining the civilization of those days. There was another position which they guarded by their social exclusiveness. Industries were established upon a basis of heredity.

Caste did for many centuries in India the work which was done in Europe by the mediaeval trade-guilds. The system springs from different ideas, yet worked on much the same lines. It preserved learning by isolating the Brahman caste and throwing on them the exclusive duty and privilege of teaching. It preserved manual skill and knowledge of arts and industries by compelling boys to follow the profession of their father. A permanent division of labour was also secured. By means of caste-guilds wages and prices were maintained at a moderate standard.¹

Where, then, did the pernicious element enter into a system for which there was so much to be said? The answer to that question is to be found rather on the ethical than on the sociological side of Hindu life. That which gives to caste its distinctive peculiarity is this—that it substitutes for the law of God and its reflex in the human conscience the moral findings and edicts of a social group. It is the supreme example of communistic morality.

These pages offer no opportunity for an examination or even a description of Hindu idealism, but we cannot penetrate to the secret centre of caste or understand its most subversive

¹ *The Crown of Hinduism*, by J. N. Farquhar, p. 168.

principle unless some reference be made to the Vedantism which of all the six schools of philosophy is that which pervades the mind and forms the conviction of practically all Hindus to-day; and, as we have already said, the student of Missions in India will not be able to account for the slow progress of Christianity in that country, nor will he understand the significance of its present more rapid development, unless the implications of caste are clearly before him. Vedantism teaches that all that belongs to the realm of consciousness has no real existence. The spell of Maya—illusion—rests not only upon the world of things perceived, but also upon that which imagines itself to perceive it. There is but one reality, and that is Brahma; all else is but the wave—a passing phase of an all-pervasive element, or the spark—a momentary emanation from its parent flame. In all ages and in all lands men have sought for 'that which is,' the one essential reality which will enable them to interpret phenomena and grasp the significance of that which only appears. India in her turn has given her particular solution to this world-problem. She finds reality by roundly denying the existence of phenomena. She gets rid of the troublesome 'many' by declaring its non-existence, and she is thus left with the 'one' as the sum-total of all that is or seems to be. In so far as she is concerned she has got rid of individuality, and with individuality all idea of personal freedom or even existence is destroyed.

Individual obligation, of course, goes by the board where this teaching is accepted, and man is left a mere phase of passionless Being within which no distinctions of right and wrong can arise. Should he be found involved in actions reprehensible to others he is without reproach, and as he is a phase of the Eternal, the evil condemned by the unenlightened is but a manifestation of that Eternal, and lacks all moral significance. To us this is morality in chaos; to the Hindu it is consistent Pantheism. But human society, if it is to continue, must have its conventions even though it may not be able to discover law. Some sort of obligation must be enforced if the social fabric is to hang together, and, having destroyed it in the individual, the Hindu philosopher must find its equivalent elsewhere. He found it in the social group or the trade-guild already in existence. He builds his communal life upon a basis of collectivism. Not that which a man thinks

is right becomes right for him, but that which commends itself to the class-consciousness of the society into which he is born. Individual liberty is displaced by corporate determination. So long as a man observes the rules of his group, whatever form those rules may take, so long will he be assured of all that he needs for at least a tolerable existence. Let him but once set at nought the decisions of his group, or presume to act on his own initiative, and he is held to have committed the one sin which Hinduism admits, and for that sin there is no forgiveness, either in this world or in that which is to come. When this moral sanction was given to caste it transformed it from a mere system of class distinctions or trade-guilds into the most binding, the most inexorable, the most inevitable law of which human society has any knowledge. But, we repeat, this dread moral sanction with which caste is armed sprang out of the implications of the popular philosophy. Caste is the efflorescence of pantheistic thought, and if it be ever deprived of power this will be due to dethronement of Pantheism from its place in the Hindu mind, and the recovery of the power of self-determination, with its corollary of personal obligation, by the individual. For the Christian to rejoice over the modification of rules or the abrogation of them, as foreshadowing the removal of this great obstacle, indicates only a failure to grasp the true nature of caste. For rules may be altered or annulled as the group may determine, and still leave that group supreme in enforcing its collective will upon the individuals of which it is composed. These last will not be any more free to act in accordance with a merely personal conviction.

Such a view of caste explains why it is that Hindu society is so strangely and so violently moved when an individual belonging to any of the main divisions of caste accepts admission into the Christian communion by baptism. On such occasions the whole Hindu society suffers from a feeling of outrage. It is not because the convert has changed his opinion; for a Hindu may hold any opinion which commends itself to him and still remain within the pale of his social group and enjoy all its privileges. But in entering another communion outside of that into which he was born, and in doing so on his personal responsibility, he is really defying the basal moral authority in Hinduism.

If it is asked how this resisting power is likely to be destroyed, the answer will be found in the fact of the Christian Church in India. In this the Hindu sees the actual refutation of his great contention. He finds in his very midst those who, belonging to the same race as himself, are acting in defiance of the rules he has imposed upon himself. The members of that Church enjoy all the privileges of a free self-determination, and by the exercise of this, under the guidance and control of the Spirit of God in Christ Jesus, they are already rising rapidly in the social scale. The Pariah may become the teacher, the lawyer, the judge, or—highest honour of all—he may become a Minister in the things of God, unfold the mysteries of Divine revelation, and plead with God for men. Self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control are leading him, as Tennyson taught, to sovereign power. No argument of the schools, no subtlety in dialectics, can be half so subversive of the main positions of Pantheism as the fact of the Christian Church denying the teaching so long and so strongly held, and defying the social system which in its final development stands so closely connected with that philosophy which for many centuries has held India in a state of completest thralldom.

We have discussed the relation of caste to the religious and philosophic side of Hindu life, but it is now necessary to write a little more in detail as to the attitude of the early Missionaries of the Methodist Church to this great institution. How much it had to do with the slow progress of the Church in India may be judged from the fact that in the oldest District, that of Negapatam, after many years of devoted service on the part of able men, there were less than a score of Church members, and the meagreness of this result is attributed almost entirely to caste. It had an even more disastrous effect upon the slowly forming Indian Ministry, as we shall see.

It must be steadily kept in mind that caste is both social and religious in character, and that the Brahmans had been astute enough to interweave the two strands in such a way as to make it impossible to isolate the one from the other. As a social and economic system there is much to be said on behalf of caste. As an organization of trade-guilds it has played an important part in Hindu economics, and as a recognition of

social distinctions in occupation, in mental culture, and in custom, it has its equivalent in distinctions which are familiar enough in European life. If it were possible to isolate these strata in India there would be much to be said in favour of regarding caste as a matter with which the Church was not immediately concerned, and which would be regulated and rendered reasonable by the development in India of the Christian ethic. There were, indeed, some Missionary Societies which took this point of view. Romanists distinctly tolerated the observance of caste within the Church, and this toleration of theirs entailed endless difficulty for Methodist Missionaries when certain of their adherents seceded and sought to enter a Protestant communion. The Leipzig Missionary Society took up a somewhat similar position. In their churches there were separate entrances for Sudras and for Panchamas, and different portions of the church were allotted to the two classes, while in the observance of the Lord's Supper Sudras took precedence of Panchamas. Even the old Danish Church had not taken any distinctly hostile attitude to caste. Its Missionaries hoped that the increasing knowledge of Christ would in time eradicate the evil. But the very opposite effect was seen, and the spirit of social exclusiveness destroyed all consciousness of Christian brotherhood and of equality in the sight of God, while many debasing characteristics of Hindu observance crept into, and defiled, the ritual of the Church. In Madras the service of Holy Communion was celebrated on one day for Sudras and on another day for Panchamas. When the Anglicans took over what remained of the Danish Mission such abuses created enormous difficulty for Bishop Wilson and others.

These and other Societies, who looked upon caste as a matter of indifference to the Church, or one that was capable of amelioration, ignored the fact that caste was, as we have shown, bound up with a system of philosophy with which Christian faith was in hopeless antagonism. Its entire system of moral obligation was based, not upon the freedom of the individual voluntarily surrendered to Christ, but upon the corporate determination of the social group within which the individual took his place, and apart from which the individual was not justified in taking action. The law of conscience gave way to a system of corporate morality, and from the sanctions

of that system there was no appeal. It is difficult to see how the Christian Church could have tolerated the observance of such a system by its members. But even on the social side there is an irreconcilable antagonism between Christianity and caste. The former makes 'the brotherhood of man' one of its most prominent axioms. It declares that all men are one in Christ Jesus, and the equal privilege of all believers in spiritual things is part of its creed. 'The communion of saints' is to the Church not a matter which is open to discussion, or that admits of rank or grade within that sacred fellowship. But all this, so happily distinctive of true Christianity, is directly opposed to the spirit of caste, and the very forms of observance in the service of communion, which obtained wherever it was recognized, severed the Christian Sudra from the Christian Panchama as distinctly and as irrevocably as if they still remained within the pale of Hinduism.

The pioneer Missionaries of the Methodist Church were early confronted with the question of caste. We shall relate in another chapter the story of Melnattam, where a number of persons seceded from the Romish Church and put themselves under the instruction of the Methodists. Their former teachers had shown something more than toleration of caste, and they expected that the same attitude would be observed in the Church which they now entered. At Negapatam also there were many Christians who observed caste, and the parents of boys in the Mission boarding school were urgent in seeking for a recognition of its social distinctions in that institution. In 1843 the Rev. Thomas Cryer was appointed to that Circuit, and he at once took up a strongly antagonistic position in the matter. In 1847 we find him refusing to meet in Class those who continued to observe caste, nor would he administer to them the Sacrament. The Church members at both Melnattam and Manargudi were practically put out of Society. Cryer's position was all the stronger because these persons not only maintained the social distinctions of caste, but also showed a 'strong inclination towards heathenish practices and customs.' In the Synod which followed Cryer was called upon to justify his drastic action, and the finding of the Synod was as follows :

On hearing Brother Cryer's statement this meeting was of opinion that the step taken by him is one of doubtful character so long as the

Society retains as accredited Preachers men who observe and hold caste, but it is of opinion that the time has come when decided measures should be adopted.

There were at that time in the service of the Mission two Assistant Missionaries, A. D. Ponniah and S. Devasagayam, and from the first it was apparent that both of these adhered to caste rules. The conflict which presently began between the Missionaries and caste observance raged for the most part in connexion with the question of the ministerial position of these men. For in 1846 Mr. Ponniah had reached the stage at which, under ordinary circumstances, he would have been recommended for ordination and 'full connexion,' but when challenged in the matter of caste he refused to take up the position to which he was invited. He was therefore kept in the grade of 'a Preacher on trial.' The following year the same course was followed in the case of his colleague, Mr. Devasagayam, and in 1847 the Synod recommended that the two men be no longer recognized as 'Assistant Missionaries.' The home Committee hesitated to ask the Conference to confirm this, and if the reader is surprised at their thus over-riding the decisions of the Synod he must remember that the significance of caste was little understood at that time in England, and also that the Committee was looking forward eagerly to the formation of an indigenous Ministry in India. The Committee asked the Synod to revise their action, in the hope that some way out of the difficulty would be found.

Our space does not allow us to record the details of the conversations and negotiations which followed. The two men insisted that they held to caste solely on the ground that it was a recognition of civil and social privilege, and that when a man broke his caste by eating and drinking with those of another, he exposed himself and his children to the forfeiture of the civil and social privileges to which they were entitled. The Missionaries, on the other hand, insisted that whether caste be civil or religious it certainly 'divides man from man and places an impassable barrier between different classes in the family of God.' It will be observed that the Synod did not raise the question of the religious significance of caste, but based its position on the practical matter of its denial, or nullification, of the Christian teaching of brotherhood

between man and man. Perhaps they were better able by doing so to bring the matter to an issue. They had what was scarcely more than an instinct that the system was incompatible with Christianity, and on that they took action ; but it is certain that if they had tolerated the observance of caste within the Church they would have found its religious implications appearing in due course, and the Christian Church would have become permeated by the inconsistencies and the mass of observances which go with caste. They would have been unable to put forward in good faith the Christian teaching as to the freedom of the individual, and with the suppression of that distinctive truth the whole basis of moral responsibility would have been taken away, and the Church would have had to reconsider its doctrine of sin. The Church would have taken rank as a ' Christian caste '—a position which its Brahman opponents would have readily allowed, thus winning their oft-repeated victory by the absorption of the opposing force. The moral regeneration of India would have been relegated to a still more distant future, and the elevation of the lower classes into the freedom with which Christ makes His people free would have ceased to be the social ideal and the hope of millions of men.

The test case afforded by the attitude of the two Assistant Missionaries ended in their withdrawal from the Methodist Church, and the Missionaries proceeded to make an all-important declaration :

We unanimously agree that :

1. No person holding caste in any respect shall be employed as a paid agent in the Church.
2. No person holding caste in any respect shall be admitted as a member of our Society.
3. No candidate for admission into the Church shall be baptized until he has given satisfactory proof of having entirely renounced caste.

This emphatic declaration led to a reduction of the existing membership, and prevented any great accession to the Church in the immediate future. It also reversed the proportion of Sudras to Panchamas in the Churches of South India,¹ so that

¹ Of the ninety-one thousand Native Christians in 1851 two-thirds were Sudras (Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, p. 232).

the latter became numerically increasingly prominent. But that declaration saved the Church.

It must not be assumed that Wesleyan Methodists were alone in thus opposing the observance of caste in the Church. The Madras Missionary Conference of 1848 took the extreme step of declaring that no one should be baptized who did not break caste and partake of food prepared by a Pariah.¹ In the Minutes of the Bangalore Conference of 1879 a more reasoned resolution appears, to the effect that

The Conference does not hold caste to be in theory and practice a merely civil class distinction, but rather, and to an overwhelming extent, a purely religious institution. Looked at in this light, it is diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of the unity of mankind and of the brotherhood of all true Christians. It is therefore the duty of all Missionaries and Societies to demand an absolute renunciation of caste and all its outward manifestations from those who desire to be received into the Church of Christ.

But an institution so deep-rooted in Hindu social life is not eradicated in a moment ; it is not destroyed by Conference resolutions. So recently as 1900 the Rev. J. P. Jones thought it necessary to ask the Madras Missionary Conference to consider the question once again, 'inasmuch as the evil is eating at the vitals of the Church in South India.' In a powerful address he insisted that the observance of caste was 'Hinduism incarnate,' and goes on to say :

To-day Hinduism and caste are convertible terms, and if ever there was a spirit of Anti-Christ in the Church of God it is that of caste in the Church in India to-day. It is antagonistic to the Church of Christ and of His Gospel at all points. It exists and thrives in the Church only at the expense of spiritual life and of all that the Church of God holds dear.

In illustration of his theme he instances among other facts the case of a certain congregation which was 'both vigorous and enthusiastic.'

It had ignored our methods of Church discipline, and had tried a serious case of irregularity in the Church by the *panchayat* (council) of the caste whence they had hailed, and to which they still believed themselves to be bound by indissoluble bonds. It seemed to them of little consequence that some of the members of the *panchayat* were heathen.

¹ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

This instance entirely bears out our contention previously made. The moral sanction is found in the decisions of the social group within which a man may be born. Neither the rules of the Church nor the laws of God take precedence of the judgement of the caste, and it is indeed a sinister omen to find even a single instance of this principle within the pale of the Church. Dr. Jones went on to speak of the divisive and exclusive tendency of caste, and of its operation in matters of dining together and of intermarriages, and he claimed that its restrictions in such matters destroy the basis of true fraternity. It may be urged that a principle of social selection appears wherever men propose to share a meal with their neighbours or consent to the marriage of their children. Such a principle is not unknown in countries where caste—properly so called—is unknown, and where Christianity is the commonly accepted religion; but in India, where marriage and the partaking of food have been from time immemorial associated with caste and regulated by its ordinances, it is perilous for the Church to allow its observance. To do so would be interpreted as a concession to the principle inherent in caste, and when admitted in these more social phases, other and far more serious abuses would creep in to destroy what is essential in the Christian religion. Doubtless when caste is as obsolete in India as Druidism is in England the lady of the house will choose the guests she invites to dinner, and the father of the family will be anxious that his daughter should marry a man of congenial tastes and similar intellectual interests; but that time has not come yet to India, and as an educative process it is better that all the barriers should be thrown down until men have learned that such barriers are merely conventional, that they have no Divine sanction attached to them, and that for good and proper reasons they may be ignored, since there is one God and Father of all men; since brotherhood in Christ transcends all racial and social boundaries; and, chiefest of all, since the individual conscience can never be put in commission, but remains personal to the man himself, who is to find the laws that govern his conduct, not in a communistic system of morality, but in the eternal righteousness of God reflected in his own moral consciousness.

Following upon this decision of the leaders of the Church in India the number of conversions from caste Hindus became

smaller in proportion than it was at first, and some have thought it necessary to warn the Missionaries against 'the proletarianizing of the Christian Church.' That fear, however, scarcely exists to-day, and as the Christian community rises in intelligence, in mental culture, and in spiritual power, it may be expected to pass entirely away. But even if it did not do so the Church has no option in the matter. It is bound to accept that 'in Christ there is neither barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free,' and the Christian community in India presents to Hindus the ideal of a new social type of manhood, which embraces all distinctions and refines whatever elements of good they possess.

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(c) POLITICAL

The Methodist Mission in India had, in common with those of other Societies, a direct relation to the political power, and during the difficult days of its inception that relation was far from happy. The political situation in India at the time of Dr. Coke's voyage to the East was wholly unfavourable to missionary enterprise. The Charter given by Queen Elizabeth in 1600 to 'the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies' conferred upon its recipients, not only a monopoly in trading facilities, but a large measure of such power as is usually associated with actual government. Thus it was enacted, and confirmed in subsequent renewals of the Acts of Charter, that the permission of the Company must be secured before any British subject could reside in India. Doubtless this was a privilege granted to the Company to strengthen their trade monopoly by giving them the power to exclude other adventurers in commerce, whose transactions might embarrass them in their commercial and political relations with Hindu rulers and their officers. But it became, in the hands of those who were concerned solely with the exploiting of India's wealth, an instrument which they did not hesitate to use in keeping out of the country all whom they might consider to be an impediment in their way. It may be that there was in the minds of the directors of the Company a genuine fear that religious propaganda might arouse a serious resentment among Hindus, but there is at least a suspicion,

created by the moral habits of many servants of the Company, that they were likely to be more at ease in their own minds if those who preached the Christian religion were kept at a distance. In the first decade of the century the Directors of the East India Company passed a resolution to the effect that 'The sending of Christian Missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the wildest, maddest, most expensive, and most unwarrantable plan that was ever proposed by a lunatic enthusiast.'

The traders who went to India did not concern themselves to the slightest degree with either Christianity or Church. They set up harems, and in order to win favour in the eyes of their mistresses they did not hesitate to worship their pagan gods. They spent eighty years in India before it occurred to them to erect the first Christian church.¹

The anti-missionary feeling steadily grew, until it found expression in acts of open hostility. It is true that in the Charter of 1698 a clause was inserted to the effect that the Company expected its chaplains to acquire the use of the vernacular, 'the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the same Company,' but this clause was generally ignored. The one gleam of light in the eighteenth century was to be found in the Swedish Missionary, John Kiernander, but he died in 1786. There was no one to pick up the torch he then laid down, and when Carey arrived in Calcutta seven years afterwards all traces of his work had disappeared, and the Company had decided to forbid the preaching of the Gospel within the territories over which it had acquired control. Thus William Carey was obliged to reside in Serampore, a Danish colony three miles north of Calcutta. There, in association with his scarcely less honoured coadjutors, Marshman and Ward, he laid the foundation of missionary enterprise in India for all time.

The trade monopoly of the Company was abrogated in 1813, and the year is even more memorable as that in which freedom for all Missionaries to work in India was finally won. Twenty years before that William Wilberforce had endeavoured to secure in the renewed Charter a clause which was intended to secure that freedom. On that occasion the opposing party had successfully resisted his efforts, but the struggle for the

¹ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

abolition of slavery had aroused the conscience of England, and though the utmost efforts were made to secure for the Company the power still to exclude the Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, this time those efforts were defeated, and the following clause was inserted in the Charter :

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the Native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted such as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvements. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

Our readers will not fail to notice that it was in the very year in which this addition to the Charter was made that Dr. Coke sailed for India.

The obstructive tendency of the East India Company was not limited to the exclusion of Missionaries from their territory. After this restriction had been removed a still more serious impediment remained in the patronage of idolatry by the Company. It would seem as though the Company, in their fear of religious disturbance, was far more sympathetic with Hindu forms of religion than they were with Christianity, and their sympathy took the practical form, not only of large benefactions made by individual officers in their employment, but also of State subsidies made in favour of heathen temples. Doubtless it will be said that the Company, in taking over the administration of provinces, was under obligation to accept the religious commitments of former rulers ; but the imposition of the Pilgrim Tax in 1806, in which they reverted to a former imposition made by Muhammadans, and the fact that by reimposing it they secured a very considerable financial profit, throws an unpleasant light upon their general attitude to religious questions. In 1833, when Lord Glenelg, who was at that time Minister for India, brought forward his Bill to break off the connexion between the Company and all idolatrous practice, it was openly said that the Company stood to lose an annual income of thirty thousand pounds if the Bill became law, and that this was too great a price to pay ' in order to quiet the religious enthusiasts of Exeter Hall.' But the abuse which that Bill was intended to remove was too serious for it

to be longer ignored. Officers of the Company were compelled to be present on festival occasions, when their sense of decency, to say nothing of their religious convictions, was often outraged. To those of them who were Christian gentlemen such duties must have been humiliating in the extreme. Even the pay of nautch-girls passed through the hands of those who were, at least nominally, the followers of Christ. That some of the over-zealous of these officials should openly denounce Missionaries as the enemies of the Company was to be expected, and their refusal to accept any Native Christian as eligible for office under the Company was quite in keeping with their policy of refusing to have any dealings with professed Christians. All this, it must be remembered, was the openly confessed attitude of those whose boast it was that in their policy they followed the principle of strict religious neutrality. Time was to bring its own punishment. In the revolution of 1857 those who revolted were Sepoys whose religious feeling had been so considered that it was held to be a crime to preach the Gospel to them, and they revolted on a question of caste in which the Company had shown the most tender solicitude on their behalf, while many an Englishman owed his life in those terrible days to some Native Christian who had been considered unfit to take the humblest part in either the civil or the military administration of the Company.

It will be easily understood, then, that the attitude of the Company towards Missionaries and their enterprise did not conduce to the success of the latter. To the Hindu of a hundred years ago the smile or the frown of the ruler was a very serious matter, and he was all the more unlikely to accept as authoritative the teaching of those whom he knew to be under the displeasure of the Sirkar. Nor was he likely to accept the religion which they taught when he saw that Englishmen in high authority seemed to be far more in favour of that which he himself professed. Many a Missionary was met in those days by the argument that idolatry could not be wrong because the Government supported its ritual and financed its temples. In a letter from the Rev. G. U. Pope the writer says :

The Natives say, ' Our idolatry, as you call it, cannot be so utterly abominable as you tell us ; for your Government support it. In going about talking and giving books against this religion you are opposing your own Government.'

If the progress of Christianity in India during the first half of the nineteenth century has been slow, it must be confessed that any progress at all was in despite of the East India Company.

In 1828 Lord William Bentinck was appointed Governor-General of India, and under his wise and able administration great reforms were brought forward. Chief among these was the abolition of *Sati*.¹ Lord William Bentinck made it illegal to take any part in such an act, and threatened all who might participate with the penalty of death. Infanticide, and the custom of exposing the dying on the banks of the Ganges, were also forbidden, as were hook-swinging and the practice of devotees flinging themselves under the car of Jagannath. These reforms seemed to members of the Company likely to lead to serious trouble, and were opposed by them, but Bentinck was firm in carrying out reforms which were in accord with humane feeling, and the Hindus quietly accepted what the best of them felt to be right and proper. Among the terms of Lord Glenelg's Bill, to which we have already referred, were those which abolished the Pilgrim Tax and enacted that no revenue from religious offerings was to be received, while the Company was, in addition, to abstain from all interference with priests of the temples. The management of all affairs connected with these was to be left to the Brahmans, who arranged for their processions and other ceremonies. This seemed so subversive an ordinance that no attempt was made to enforce it until 1840, when public opinion compelled its observance, and in the course of time the scandal of a Christian Government participating in idolatrous ceremonies, and in customs which were often flagrantly immoral, came to an end. Bentinck had also taken an important step in the direction of securing the status of those who made any change in their profession of religion, but his enactment held good only in Bengal. In 1850 Lord Dalhousie applied that rule to all territories under the Company's jurisdiction, and its importance is so great that the chief clause may well appear in our record :

So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any

¹ The word '*Sati*' really means 'a virtuous woman,' and was properly used to describe the widow who accepted death on the funeral pyre of her husband. It has by common usage come to mean the act of self-immolation.

person forfeiture of rights or property, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories.

Here again it was the force of public opinion which compelled the Company to take this action. In fact, it cannot claim to have instituted any reform in religion or morality on its own initiative.

It was one thing, however, to have won a victory in the courts of law ; it was another to secure justice in administration. The animus of the Company is shown in a dispatch from its directors after the Bill of Lord Glenelg had become law in 1833. The dispatch was dated February 28, 1833 :

Much caution and many gradations may be necessary in acting on the conclusions at which we have arrived. Among other concomitant measures, such explanations should be given to the Natives as shall satisfy them that, so far from abandoning the principles of a just toleration, the British Government is resolved to apply them with more scrupulous accuracy than ever ; and that this proceeding is, in truth, no more than a recurrence to that state of real neutrality from which we ought never to have departed.

' Caution and many gradations ' gave abundant scope to those who were bent on evasion, and the result is to be seen in that the Wesleyan Missionary Committee found it necessary to address a petition to both Houses of Parliament praying that an end should be put to practices which had already been forbidden by law. This was in 1858, when the civilized world had been shocked by the events of the mutiny of the preceding year. The Committee rightly claimed that while the administration of a company might be regarded as a matter private to themselves, and without implication of the nation, yet now that the government of India had passed to the Crown any injustice or malpractice became a different matter, and the Ministers of the British Government were directly responsible for such.

There is ample evidence that the Committee were justified in calling attention to such evasions. At the time of the Mutiny—twenty-four years, be it remembered, after Lord Glenelg had brought forward his Bill—a sum of money exceeding

eighty-seven thousand pounds was being paid annually to temples in the Madras Presidency alone. In the matter of the disabilities of Native Christians a letter from the Political Commissioner in the Panjab which appeared in *The Times* of January 1, 1858, may be cited. The writer says :

The Native Christians have, as a body, been set aside. I know not one in the Panjab (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government. A proposition to employ them in the public service, six months ago, would have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with.

Most significant of all, when the Church Missionary Society had made an arrangement with the authorities in Bengal for giving instruction to the Santals, and the scheme had been sanctioned by the Governor-General, a dispatch, dated July 22, 1857, was sent out disallowing the whole proceeding, and directing that a new scheme should be 'prepared for affording to the inhabitants of the Santal district the means of education through the agency of Government officers, who must be strictly required to abstain from any attempt to introduce religious subjects in any form.'

Such directions throw a strong light upon the general attitude of the Company towards missionary work, and reveal an interpretation of 'neutrality' which does it infinite discredit. The time was ripe for the removal of such an administration, and it passed out of existence in the cataclysm of the Mutiny, destroyed by the very persons whom it had so unrighteously favoured.

But even when the British Government assumed full and direct control of administration the balance continued to be heavily weighted against the Christian Missionary. Apparently the accepted interpretation of 'neutrality' was that where Hinduism and Christianity were in conflict no favour was to be shown to the latter, but the utmost possible concession was to be made to the former. A test case arose in the Mysore District during the 'nineties. In 1893 a Hindu was baptized, and immediately after his wife and children were removed by his relatives. A suit for the recovery of his children failed on the ground that the plaintiff, having become a Christian, had thereby lost all civil rights. Apparently the law of 1850, a clause of which we have already quoted in full, did not hold

good in Native States. Missionaries in Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin at once took action in the matter. In Mysore the case was brought before the Council of Regency, and it was asked that British law relating to such cases might be introduced into the legislature of the State. The Council was inclined to concede the point that in the matter of property a convert should retain his rights of whatever kind, including those of inheritance and partition, but in such a matter as the guardianship of children under age he should not do so, lest the right of the convert should become the wrong of others. Legislation to this effect was delayed, and in 1896 a joint memorial was sent by the Secretaries of the C.M.S., the L.M.S., and the W.M.S. in England asking for the intervention of the supreme Government with a view to securing the introduction in Native States of a law analogous to that of 1850. Meantime the Prime Minister of Travancore, a Brahman, had expressed the judgement that there was no special grievance, as converts in that State were drawn from classes owning little or no property. The Viceroy in his reply to the memorialists repeated this extraordinary statement from Travancore, and concluded that 'it appears incontestable that the proposed legislation, while it would be unpopular, and might become a source of trouble, would fail to benefit those in whose interests it was designed.' The Government therefore refused to pursue the matter. This judgement was not creditable to the Government. It was evidently based upon the fear of 'trouble,' and the Indian Administration has always been apprehensive of disturbance arising from its dealing with questions of religion. But even though due regard be paid to this fear, what are we to say of the position taken up that the converts of the future would continue to be drawn from the Pariah community, and that these had no property? Even if a man's possessions be of the humblest, he is nevertheless entitled to the justice which ensures a proper respect being paid to his rights. The Government of Mysore, always in the van of progressive reform, was, as we have seen, prepared to make at least some adjustment in such cases, but after this viceregal declaration it naturally took no steps to embody in an Act the decision at which it had arrived.

In judging, then, of the progress made by the Christian Church in India, the reader must keep steadily in mind that

from the first the Missionaries found serious obstacles placed in their path by those who governed the country, and that the disabilities of converts were such as to deter many from a confession of Christ and from entering into the fellowship of His Church.

II

THE WEAPONS OF OUR WARFARE

The Preaching of the Gospel—Educational Missions—Industrial Schools—Literature and the Press—The Ministry of Healing—The Training of the Ministry.

(i.) THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL

IN this chapter it is proposed to deal with the means used by Methodist Missionaries in all the Districts of India for the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ. These will be discussed more from the point of view of their character and limitation than from that of the order in which they came into operation. First and foremost stands the preaching of that Gospel in the streets of the city, under the village tree, where the congregation may consist of half a dozen men, or in the vicinity of some popular temple on days of festival, when many thousands may be assembled. As the years passed it was found as a matter of experience that preaching was more successful when it was attempted in a room, and at regular intervals. The distractions of the street are too many to allow for the quiet presentation of Christian truth, and opposition may be dealt with far more effectually within a building than where a great crowd is swayed by some passionate outburst or some repartee that is effective in moving the hearers to laughter or contempt. In some places in the Haidarabad District street-preaching led to an outbreak of rioting on the part of more turbulent Muhammadans, and the service in the lighted room was found to be a necessity if the Gospel was to be openly proclaimed. This method of preaching at a fixed time and place offered an opportunity for thoughtful persons and inquirers to attend services which they knew would be held, and it allowed the Preacher an opportunity of identifying regular attendants, and of getting into touch with those whose attention had been

roused and whose interest had been quickened. W. O. Simpson was the first to introduce this method of preaching, and it is now commonly adopted wherever it is possible to do so. At the same time preaching in the open air is by no means discarded. When the Missionary visits the Pancheris of the Panchamas, or goes on tour in village districts, or on occasions of religious festival, he still makes his public proclamation of the Gospel. The 'pulpit' of Mr. Elliott in the market-place of Fyzabad was an ideal arrangement, but it has hitherto been unique as a provision for preaching in public. Other methods of bringing Christ before the attention of the people of India are to be found in the use of the magic lantern and in a musical rendering of the story of Jesus. This last method is of quite recent adoption, and there is much to be said for it. Hindus are fond of music, and their own literature is most often put before the people in some form or other of musical recitation to which men will listen for hours. The formal sermon is exotic ; this method is indigenous to India.

Public preaching has without question been fruitful in the service of Christ, but its effect has been seen rather in the awakening of interest than in the immediate conversion of sinners. Indeed, when we consider the fruit of Pantheistic teaching in the decay of all idea of personal responsibility for actions performed, it is difficult to imagine the sudden awakening in a hearer of a sense of sin and an immediate surrender to Him who has power to forgive sin. Preaching, therefore, requires as its necessary sequel a measure of personal intercourse with those who may have felt the power of the truth proclaimed, and often protracted conversations with those whose minds are too much clouded over by former habits of thought for them to yield a ready assent to the message of salvation.

When the assent has been given there remains the supreme difficulty of bringing the inquirer to that point of courage which will enable him to take the decisive step which proclaims him Christ's servant and soldier to his life's end. For this endless patience and sincere sympathy are absolutely necessary. These may be forthcoming, but what is often more difficult for the Missionary to secure is the leisure which will allow of this often protracted fellowship and intercourse. Thus it has most often been the case that the Indian Minister or the

Catechist is the medium through which the Hindu passes from the position of an inquirer to that of a convert.

(ii.) MISSIONARY EDUCATION

In the scheme of missionary organization the second place is held by education. In every District the first step taken by the pioneer Missionary was to open a school. Doubtless in earliest days it was thought that the conversion of children in India might be as confidently expected as in England, but with the motive of the propagandist there also went that of the philanthropist, and the bringing of light to the darkened mind was held to justify the existence of the school. It was soon discovered that under the operation of caste the baptism of children under age was impossible, and though the impression of Christian truth upon the mind of a child has led to many a true conversion in later years, immediate results such as were first expected did not appear. But there was another feature of the Mission school which made it less effective as an evangelizing agency. The teaching staff was of necessity non-Christian, and until all teachers in a school are distinctly the followers of Christ the full value of such schools from an evangelistic point of view will be so much the less. Such schools, however, brought light where there was darkness, and Christian truth has everything to gain from the coming of light. They also introduced into the community the leavening influence of Christianity, and when the full results of this appear it will be seen that the harvest reaped through the village school has fully justified its existence. All the Mission Districts in India have developed this system of elementary education, and among them the Mysore Mission has been pre-eminent in this particular. In that District the Reports for the centenary year show that there were more than ten thousand pupils in elementary schools, as against four thousand eight hundred in the Madras District, and about the same number in the Negapatam and Haidarabad Districts. In the Districts of North India the numbers were considerably less.

When we come to the matter of secondary or higher education we enter at once upon debatable ground. So severe has been the controversy which has divided Missionaries on this item in their scheme of missionary work that it has obscured

altogether the fact that all Missionaries responsible for elementary schools are engaged in educational work, and the phrase 'educational Missionary' has become restricted in its application, and describes the Missionary who finds his sphere of labour in the high school or the college. It is he who represents education, while his colleague, who may have a dozen elementary schools under his care, is held to represent evangelism. A false antithesis was at once set up. For the Missionary in the college is not less an evangelist than his colleague whose work lies in the village. Where he differs he may justly claim that the evangelistic opportunity is greater in his case than in the other. His congregation is the same morning by morning. He gains in continuity of effort. His congregation is attached to him by bonds of constantly repeated intercourse, and very often those bonds are as close and as intimate as bonds of affection may be. Those to whom his ministry of the word is given are drawn from social strata, in which the habit of thought on the great elements of truth is a matter of custom and heredity, and the class to which they belong is not reached by the ordinary method of public preaching. It might be supposed that, having said as much as this, we need say no more in presenting the case for higher education in India. But the question of its value is still a matter of discussion, and perhaps there is no form of missionary enterprise which more sharply divides both the men on the field and the Societies they represent. It is not our purpose to discuss the general question in these pages, but rather to indicate the motives which led Methodist Missionaries to range themselves on the one side or the other. They may well be represented by two men, each of whom served in Madras during the 'fifties, and each of whom in his own sphere was most successful.

Thomas Cryer was an ardent advocate of preaching as against teaching. He looked upon the former as 'the especial glory of Methodism,' and he held that the great need of Missions in India was itinerant evangelism. He did not disparage education in itself; on the contrary, he considered that it might well be made 'subservient to the universal diffusion of saving knowledge.' He was really driven to take up a somewhat exclusive position because of two outstanding features of the earlier operations of the Methodist Church

in India. The former of these was the insufficiency of the missionary staff. The home Church was slow in sending men into the field. Even where two men were appointed to one station—and that ideal was far from being commonly realized—yet if one of the two was engaged in educational work he would be unable to take his turn in itinerating, and the burden of the latter was too great for one man to carry it without relief. Cryer would have had both men alternately on tour in the villages surrounding the central station. He assumed that both would be qualified for preaching in the vernacular and for teaching.

The second fact which accounts for his position was one of finance. Educational work entailed a considerable expenditure in 'plant.' School buildings, and the apparatus required, were costly, and the provision of an adequate staff meant a heavy item of expenditure under the head of 'Salaries.' But the Missionary Committee in London was 'paring down the annual grant to its very core.' How could provision be made under such circumstances for the costly work of education? W. O. Simpson, on the other hand, though a most efficient preacher in the vernacular of the District, had found his greater harvest in the school. He never found such fruit to his ministry of preaching as he did when he led his four students to Christ,¹ and it is said that a Missionary of the C.M.S. in Tinnevely expressed an opinion that the conversion of those caste Hindus in the province of Tanjore was of greater significance for the Christianization of India than that of a whole village of Shamans in Tinnevely.²

The whole controversy resolves itself into the question whether the appeal of the Gospel is to be presented to the higher social classes of India as well as to the lower, and with reference to this the Christian Church has now made up its mind. If the higher and more influential castes are to see Jesus, if their thought is to be leavened by Christian truth, if the ideals of those who will have so much to do with the shaping of the national life of India in the future are to be inspired and formed by Christ, the Mission school and college will remain, as they are at present, not the least effective of the weapons of our warfare.

There is another reason for their continuance which did not

¹ See p. 221.

² *Life of W. O. Simpson*, p. 170.

appear in those early days, but which the development of the Christian Church has made decisive. The youth of that Church is now sufficiently numerous and sufficiently advanced to render some provision for its higher education imperative. If that youth is to be retained to add grace and strength to the Church it must be kept under Christian influence during the whole course of its intellectual training. To relegate it to the religiously colourless education of Government establishments—and a stronger word than ‘colourless’ may in many instances be justly used—is to run the risk of finding the very flower and promise of the Church agnostic, or indifferent to the vital matters of faith and conduct. There is yet another point to be made, and it is one which has compelled those Missionaries who have rejoiced over large accessions from non-caste classes to add higher education to their agencies, though in the first flush of their success they had left it alone. When the question of recruiting an indigenous Ministry becomes acute, it has been found that the supply of trained minds is most readily forthcoming where the system of missionary education is something more than elementary. Thus in Haidarabad, where for many years higher education was in abeyance, it became necessary to provide an instalment of this. The value of the Bankura College to the Santal Mission is certain to increase as the evangelizing of that interesting people develops, and, now that large accessions are reported from the Negapatam and Trichinopoly District, the splendidly built ‘Findlay College’ at Manargudi becomes an asset of no mean order to that District.

The Mysore District has from the first given to education a prominent place among the agencies employed, and the results are to be seen in the remarkable leavening of social and political life in that State by Christian ideals.¹ But the Mysore Synod has not sought, up to the Centenary year, to raise its educational agency to a higher grade than that of the high school. Its reluctance to do this has been due to the unwillingness of Missionaries to embark upon an extension of work unless a full provision for that extension was in sight. To raise the two schools in that province to the grade of a college would mean at least the doubling of the European staff at present engaged in educational work, and an expensive addition to the

¹ See p. 308.

buildings already erected. The Synod has therefore contented itself with the two schools efficiently worked rather than attempt the experiment of a college insufficiently housed and staffed. In the Districts of Lucknow and Benares and Burma higher education is still in the early period of its development. In Madras the provision made in this particular is abundant. Not only does the Wesley College offer educational advantages to the youth of the Church, but there is in addition the splendidly equipped 'Christian College,' in which the Methodist Church has been represented on the staff since the year 1878. In addition to these the Triplicane Institute, the inception of which will be found described on page 238, affords a priceless opportunity for personal intercourse between the Missionary and the Hindu student, an intercourse which can be more intimate and continuous than when it is limited to the work done in a class-room. For there must be no mistake upon this point; the whole effectiveness of such work from a missionary point of view is a matter of personality. It is from the impact of a truly Christian personality upon that of the Hindu that Christ is 'formed' in him.

The education of girls and women was from the first the object of desire on the part of Missionaries in India, for no Christian could contemplate the status of womanhood as ordained in the Shastras, and enforced by custom, without sympathy. Chivalrous feeling and Christian compassion alike demanded their emancipation from the selfish tyranny that ruled their lives, and which was not less selfish or less tyrannous because its victims had in the course of centuries learned to accept it as something foreordained. Knowing nothing of an alternative life, they could do nothing but accept.

The Women's Auxiliary, in taking up work among women in India, did at least three things. They obeyed a true instinct of Christian womanhood as they knew it in themselves; they lifted a heavy burden from the heart of Missionaries—the burden entailed by living in daily contemplation of a world of suffering which they were powerless to relieve—and they brought into Indian womanhood the priceless gifts of enlightenment and hope. In the pages that follow this chapter the writer would acknowledge at once that scant justice has been done to this work. He can only plead that anything approaching a record either of the work done or of the women who have done

it would have entailed an expansion of this History far beyond the limits laid down for his observance. He would join the great army of Indian Missionaries, past and present, who render to the Christian women who have been their fellow labourers in the Ministry of Christ the fullest measure of admiration, of reverence, and of gratitude. The work done has not in its course presented to the historian events or incidents which he can well record. The age of girls attending a Mission school precludes the possibility of their being admitted to the Christian Church by baptism, but that multitudes of such girls have seen Jesus, and loved Him, is certain. Some who in later life have risked everything in confessing Him have obeyed an impulse first felt in the Mission school, and all have shared in greater or less degree the enlightened mind and the wider vision which has redeemed life for them from the slavery in which their mothers lived and died.

The indirect results of the education of girls in Mission schools have been very great. They are seen most conspicuously in the Native State of Mysore. Here Hindus were moved to imitate the Missionaries, in defiance of Shastraic injunctions, by establishing a school, since raised to the status of a college, in Mysore City. That College has been dignified by royal patronage, and it has been financed as no Mission school can ever hope to be, but its scholars have been drawn from the highest castes, and of course the element of Christian teaching has been rigorously excluded. Yet all admission of light to the mind may be greeted by the Christian as so much to the good, and every graduate from that college becomes one more agent in bringing about the emancipation of Indian women from the bondage of the past. In the reforms mentioned elsewhere¹ as indicating the leavening influence of Christianity in the Mysore State it will be observed that a great proportion of such reforms has to do with the status of women, and that this effect should appear is to be attributed to the new ideals of womanhood first formed in Mysore, when the Missionary sought to lift the girls of that city into a life of wider outlook and of increasing freedom. The same may be said of other Districts. Whatever enrichment may come into a woman's life in India, as the future unrolls itself, it was first offered in the Name of Christ.

¹ See p. 308.

In the Christian boarding schools for girls the Women's Auxiliary have had a fuller opportunity, and they have made a noble use of it. Such schools are to be found in all the Districts, and they need not be enumerated here. Each is characterized by some form of industry, and not a few have developed into first-class training institutions, which send out every year an increasing number of those indispensable Christian agents—the trained teachers of girls. From these schools Christian women have gone out into the current of Indian life, independent, educated, efficient in service, and pure in heart. The moral transformation has been complete. Some have taken high positions as Government Inspectors of Schools, others have served as doctors and nurses in Mission and Government hospitals. Others again—and who shall say whether this is not the highest honour of all?—have given to India the vision of a Christian home, in which husband and wife, in equal honour, freedom, and fidelity, enter into a true fellowship of heart and mind.¹

(iii.) INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Industrial Missions in India differ from those in Africa inasmuch as they rest upon a different basis. In the latter country they were initiated by Missionaries anxious that the African should learn the dignity of work. They formed part of the organization of the Mission on the educational side. In India they were forced upon Missionaries by reason of the operation of the caste system. It was not with them a question of education—though its value in this respect was fully recognized—so much as a question of livelihood for Christian converts. When a man became a Christian he was forthwith excluded from the social group into which he was born, and as caste is a system of trade-guilds as well as of social distinctions, that carried with it exclusion from the industry of his group, whatever might be the form of that industry. He became dependent upon the Mission for his daily bread. When converts were made by ones and twos it was no great difficulty to find occupation for such. The Missionaries were in sore need of teachers in their schools and of Catechists to assist

¹The institution of the Women's Christian College in Madras, co-operative between the Scotch Societies and the Wesleyan Women's Auxiliary, is a post-Centenary development.

them as preachers and pastors in the Church. All who were of any educational standing found ready employment. Those who showed no aptitude for learning were employed as domestic servants. Exposed to manifold temptations, these often failed, and thus helped to swell the chorus of those who were only too ready to decry or disparage the results of the work of the Church in India. But at best such forms of occupation, adopted to meet the necessities imposed upon them by the rules of caste, carried with them a certain amount of peril. Their tendency was to create a Church dependent upon the Mission both intellectually and financially. The Church threatened to be exotic, not indigenous to the country, and the Christian community seemed likely to become one more caste ; a cyst in the organism, not a functioning part of the general life of India. This peril was clearly seen from the first, but the ostracism of caste was so complete and so unrelaxing, that Missionaries were compelled to make some provision for their converts, the only alternative was to see them starve or drift away into some form of service which checked and then destroyed the moral life only beginning to be formed in them.

The question how to secure for the Indian Church a worthy position in the social and economic life of India was always one of peculiar difficulty ; and when accessions became numerous, or when, as the result of famine, Missionaries found themselves *in loco parentis* to large numbers of orphans, it became acute. Attempts were made to form agrarian settlements, but this accentuated rather than removed the element of dependence. Areas of sufficient dimensions could be acquired only by the Missionary. He thus became the landlord, and the tenant looked to him for the repairing of his tenement : when the crops failed in the field he fell back upon the Missionary for support. An illustration of the difficulty arising appears in connexion with the Bankura Mission,¹ and similar situations have arisen in connexion with orphanage settlements, both in the Mysore and the Negapatam Districts. It would seem as though in this system of founding Christian villages the only way of securing an independent and virile Church is to throw the villager upon his own resources, making him the owner of both his house and his fields. If his previous moral and religious education has been thoroughly well carried

¹ See p. 405.

through, this may be done with no undue amount of risk, but if the Christian character of the man has never been established, his fields may soon become waste land and his house a hovel.

As 'community movements' became more common it was found to be by far the best method to allow the converts to follow their former avocations, to give them the advantage of becoming acquainted with the use of better implements and of learning better methods of cultivation—where they had been tillers of the soil—and to encourage in them the spirit of thrift and co-operation, so as to secure freedom from undue financial distress, but leaving them dependent upon their own exertions for the maintenance of themselves and their families. No room should be left for the critic of Missions to speak of converts being kept on leading-strings, or rendered unfit for the occupation which came naturally to them. We are not concerned with such reproaches except in so far as they may be translated into the lack of independence and self-reliance, or as indicating that the Church in India is cut off from the general life of the country.

The preparation of the youth of the Church for independence by the teaching of some sort of handicraft presents fewer difficulties, for it is possible to secure in the process a more constant pastoral watchfulness over the individual workman, and when he has become master of his craft he may earn a sufficient wage to become independent and self-respecting, thereby proving himself to be a valuable factor in the work of building up an indigenous Church. Both at Karur, in the Negapatam District, and at Tumkur, Hassan, and Mysore, in the Mysore District, such institutions are to be found, the institution at Karur having a department for women and girls, while in the Mysore District the girls are segregated at Hassan. These institutions developed out of the orphanages established during the famine of 1876. In 1889 Mr. J. T. Whittome—a thoroughly capable and efficient workman—was sent out under the *Joyful News* organization to take charge of the industries of the orphanage at Karur. It was an admirable appointment. For more than five years Mr. Whittome was able to organize and superintend the work of the industrial school, and its efficiency was largely due to his energy and ability. Two years after his arrival it was decided to bring the school

into line with Government schemes for the development of industry. This meant the acceptance of official inspection, and conformity to Government requirements of efficiency in the staff, and of good quality in the output of articles made. This has had a double effect. It secured great financial relief by the earning of increased Government grants—Mr. Whittome's qualifications alone entitled him to receive half of his salary from the Government ; and the latter were so satisfied with the work done in the school that considerable orders for articles required in Government offices were received by the school. But in addition to this financial advantage the relation to Government ensured the maintenance of a high standard of work, and this was a most desirable element in the training given. General education was not neglected, boys being taught in school classes until they reached the seventh standard. The greatest attention was given to moral and religious training. There was one feature of this school in the 'nineties which showed the trend of events in missionary work of the kind. Other Societies than our own sent their boys to be trained here, and even thus early in its history five different Societies were represented in its inmates.

In 1891 the Director of Public Instruction was so pleased with the school that he proposed a great enlargement of its scope. According to this, Government scholarships were to be given to non-Christian boys in four out of the eight *taluks* of the District, and were made tenable while the recipients were under instruction at Karur. It was acknowledged that the Mission school had better fitted workshops and a better teaching staff than any similar institution in the Madras Presidency, while the articles it produced were superior to those produced elsewhere. The proposed enlargement presented one aspect particularly gratifying to Missionaries, for it meant that non-Christian boys from other towns and villages in the District would be brought under direct Christian influence, and this, it was hoped, meant greater opportunities for the evangelist when they returned to their homes. Mr. Whittome was followed in 1897 by Mr. R. A. Stott and in 1903 by Mr. J. W. Mettam.

In 1904 Mr. Stott, after furlough in England, returned to take charge of the industrial school at Tumkur. Under his able management this school also made rapid progress,

especially in carpentry and cabinet-making. Its articles of furniture have become known all through the Mysore State, and the school has become a prosperous institution. When to this school we add the Mission press in Mysore City, considered as a school of industry, it will be seen that in these two institutions the Mysore Mission offers to Christian youths an opportunity of securing an admirable training in one or other of the two branches of industry. If to the Tumkur establishment there could be added other departments, so as to vary the industry taught, a great addition would be given to its value as a centre of training for the youth of the Church.

The women of this District, too, have excellent opportunities of training. In all the boarding schools for girls some form or other of industry, such as making articles of apparel or lace-work, is carried on, and the school at Hassan has already given its name to woollen caps which are in great demand. But in addition to these the normal school in Bangalore and the hospitals in Hassan and Mysore City offer training in branches of work which make it possible for women to take up the most honourable form of service, making themselves independent and doing full justice to all that is womanly in them. In other Districts the same end is kept steadily in view in the several boarding schools at present in existence. In those that are to be found in Madras and Ikkadu, in Secunderabad and Medak, the training of teachers is carried on with great success, and much to the relief of the Missions concerned in educational work. In the last-mentioned Districts, however, industrial schools for boys have not been carried as far as they have been in the Negapatam and Mysore Districts.

For the success of such institutions there are at least two essential conditions. The marked development of the schools at Karur and Tumkur and of the Mission press in Mysore City has been due to the appointment as manager of a layman Missionary, possessing the necessary technical skill and the distinctive Christian spirit. Not one Missionary in a hundred will have had the training necessary to justify his being put in charge of an institution which requires a knowledge of machinery, and personal skill in applying it and in teaching its use to others. In addition to such qualifications, considerable business aptitude is required to take up a commercial enterprise in which buying and selling may be on a very large

scale. Missionaries who have attempted such work in the past have done so only at the expense of time and strength, which would have been more effectively employed in ministerial work. The latter has suffered in consequence, and the industry has often been far from efficient. Both departments gain immeasurably by the appointment of a capable layman to take charge of the industrial school.

Yet it should never be forgotten that in the scheme of missionary organization such work is only a means to an end. It is fatally easy to regard technical and commercial success as the end itself. The true end of all missionary enterprise is the securing a complete and glad obedience to 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus'; it is the creation in India of a Christian Church, the members of which 'adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.' The moral and spiritual character of the work is its first essential, and no skill acquired by the students or financial prosperity secured in the enterprise can take its place. Where the controlling and directing mind is permeated by the spirit of Christ such institutions are invaluable to the Church; where it is not, they become the fertile seed-beds of noxious growths which imperil the Church itself.

The same conditions hold good for the training of girls. The contribution made by the Women's Auxiliary in this particular can never be fully appraised. Into all the Districts of India they have sent women of great ability to take charge of this work. In administration, in teaching, and in healing the sick, they have in instances far too numerous to be mentioned accomplished a work over which the Church may well rejoice. Many of them have done so at the cost of ruined health, and some at the cost of life itself. The alabaster box of precious ointment has been freely broken in their service of Christ. The occupations they have taught have been educative in a sense far beyond that of the production of this or that article. Their students have lived in close association with Christian women of fine temper and true devotion, and the resultant effect can never be measured. Personal cleanliness and delicacy of feeling have come to them in and through the very work they had to do. One has only to observe the contrast between a group of women engaged in making lace and their own relatives in the Parcheris, almost adjoining the Mission

compound, to see that whatever the value of the material output may be, the results of such training in character and feeling can never be expressed in terms of material wealth. A Christian nurse or teacher in India often exhibits in herself the very type of Christian womanhood, and in this there is to be found the promise of all the future for the Church of Christ in India.

(iv.) THE TRAINING OF THE MINISTRY

The central purpose of Missionary service is to be found in the creation of a Christian Ministry indigenous among the people whom the Church sets out to evangelize. That Ministry is the nucleus of the life newly formed when Christ is accepted as Lord and Saviour by any community. From it will come the directing power and the informing thought of the Church in India, China, or in any other land which becomes the Mission field of the parent Church. As power it will direct the energies of the new communion towards the observance of the law of Christ, and it will impart vision and effective force to every form of social and philanthropic enterprise. As thought it will contribute its racial interpretation of the Christ, until through 'that which every joint supplieth' the consummate interpretation becomes catholic, comprehending the life, not of any single communion or race, but of the world. The parent Church will rejoice when it hears of accessions to the great company of believers, not because its own borders are thereby enlarged, and certainly it will not pride itself upon the success of its endeavours. It will regard such accessions as a means to an end, and not the end itself. The 'far-off Divine event' which it labours to attain is the revelation of its Lord consummated when every nation and tribe and tongue contributes its own peculiar interpretation of the Christ, 'who all in all is being fulfilled.' It is through an inspired and prophetic Ministry indigenous in every race that the Divine fulfilment will be realized. It is because of this conviction that success or failure in the training of a Native Ministry in the different Mission fields of the Methodist Church has been stressed in the pages of this History. No numerical increase in membership, no addition to the financial resources of any local communion, can compare in importance with the formation and the character of the indigenous Ministry.

When a Christian Church sends forth its Missionaries to evangelize a people it has to create such a Ministry, and its work is both destructive and constructive. It does not find, in the agents whom it may decide to employ, a *tabula rasa* upon which it may inscribe its own conception of truth as it is in Jesus. Notably in Eastern lands the field of human thought has been overgrown by that which has to be removed. Philosophies have during the centuries become expressed and ingrained in habits of peculiar tenacity, and every untutored villager, though ignorant of the philosophy, has inherited a view of life which is based upon it. Endless culture is required before that which is of worth can be disentangled from that which has choked it and rendered it unfruitful.

On the other hand, Christ comes to these lands as a discovery. His law cuts right across the line of that which is familiar to the people, and it has to be set forth in endless iteration before it can be grasped in its full significance by the non-Christian mind. Training thus becomes essential to the formation of the indigenous Ministry. That training is not a matter of securing the reproduction of dogmas which have been accepted in Western countries. It is in essentials an insistence upon 'the fact of Christ'; but that is not accomplished in a moment, where all that is contrary to Christ rises up like an armed man to dispute the new teaching and to destroy the new authority.

In the pages which follow an attempt is made to show the steps taken to secure ministerial training in the different Districts of India by the Methodist Church. The story in its earlier pages is a painful one. A few Missionaries, flung into the maelstrom of Hinduism, which was drawing all life down into its dreary depths to drown it there—Missionaries not too well equipped in themselves, and with an utterly insufficient support from the Church which had sent them out, units in a crowd of many millions—how could they hope to grapple with the work that lay before them? Naturally they grasped at every straw that floated within their reach. They accepted agents who betrayed that which was more precious than life itself. Harassed by a multitude of conflicting duties, they had neither time nor energy for training the agents they needed. They were obliged to use both as teachers and as Catechists the converts of other Missions, men who in some instances were mere hirelings, prepared to sell their service to the

Church that paid them most. Agents of this sort were not merely unproductive of the results desired, they were too often a positive evil in the Church. Efforts were made by individual Missionaries to train their converts for Christian work, but such efforts were spasmodic, inefficient, and liable to interruption when the Missionary was absent from the station; and they ceased altogether when he returned to England for furlough. It was not until W. O. Simpson made the attempt recorded on page 221 that the training of agents was recognized as a distinct department requiring suitable apparatus on the material side, and with a Missionary at its head who made it a definite part of his daily work. After Simpson's departure the work languished, though from time to time one or two men would pass into the ranks of Catechists; and, if they proved to be of good character and attainment, were ultimately admitted by ordination into the Indian Ministry. When W. B. Simpson went to Madurantakam in 1889 he was charged with the duty of taking up this work, and promising youths were sent to be trained by him. But the system then followed was still imperfect, inasmuch as the work was considered to be a *parergon*—an extra—to be added to the work of a man who already had more than he could fully accomplish in other departments.

In the other Districts much the same history is to be found. Sometimes the honoured title of 'Theological Institution' appears in the annual Report of the Society, but an examination of the work done and of the students being trained shows little justification for the use of that title, and if any depletion of the staff of the District took place its effect was felt most in the department of training. It was in 1899 that this work was placed on lines that were likely to lead to the desired results. In that year it was decided to establish an institution for the training of all agents whose mother tongue was Tamil. Students could then be sent to be trained from all the Districts in South India. It was further resolved to appoint a European Missionary and an Indian Minister definitely to this work. For one year the institution was located at St. Thomas' Mount, but in the following year it was removed to Guindy, six miles from Madras; the new station adding to its many advantages this, that the students in the normal School department were able to attend classes in the Government College for the training

of teachers, which was situated in Saidapet, only one mile away. Hostels were built for both married and unmarried students, and the first Missionary to be appointed was the Rev. C. H. Monahan, his colleague being the Rev. John Rungaswami.

It was felt, however, that further training was necessary if the Church in India was to have an ordained Ministry adequate to its need, and in 1910 a United Theological College was opened in Bangalore to meet the need of Societies working in India and Ceylon. The significance of this college, not only for the Methodist Church but for all the Churches represented in India, can scarcely be exaggerated. Here missionary organization touches its highest point, and reveals its essential character. It overleaps the bounds of denominations. Its staff and its organization unite the Churches instead of dividing them, while in the character of the teaching given, it points to the approaching Church of Christ in India, one in spirit and purpose and yet affording room within itself for the free play of forces which retain the characteristics of the different communions and of the different races represented by the personnel of both staff and students. The London Missionary Society and the United Free Church of Scotland, the American Board of Missions, and the American Arcot Mission, are equal participants with the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the burden and the honour of its service. The Ministers trained in its classes come from Bengal and Ceylon, from Burma and Madras. Their Native languages vary with the races to which they severally belong, but they are made one 'in all utterance and all knowledge, even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them.' The foundation-stones of the college buildings were laid by Dr. J. R. Mott and Dr. R. F. Horton, and they, too, are woven into the symbolism of this consummation of the Church's endeavour to reveal to the many races of India the Christ 'in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.' The first Wesleyan Missionary to be appointed to the staff of the college was the Rev. W. H. Thorp. The Rev. G. A. F. Senaratna, the first Wesleyan Minister to complete his course in the college, was appointed to the Sinhalese branch of the City Mission in Colombo.

So far as the South and Central Indian Districts are

concerned, the arrangements made for graduation in the Indian Ministry are now as complete as possible. A student, after passing through either the vernacular or the English school in his own District, is sent to the training centre of his District, which may be Guindy, or Medak, or Tumkur, according as his language is Tamil, or Telugu, or Kanarese. In these institutions the training is given in the vernacular, and the student may be trained either for the work of a teacher or for that of an evangelist. After passing out of the seminary he may go at once into the work carried on in his District, or if he possess the necessary gifts and grace he may proceed as a candidate for the ordained Ministry to the Bangalore College, where teaching is given in English. An evangelist, however, who gives proof that he possesses 'gifts, grace, and fruit,' may enter that Ministry on the recommendation of his Synod without passing through a college course; for the Church is far from excluding from its Ministry those who may be unable to speak in English. The student is thus under immediate pastoral supervision and direction for a lengthened period, and it has often happened that what was only a proposed profession has become to him in the course of his training a true vocation. The sense of sin—a matter of slow growth to the Hindu—has become deepened, and the experience of forgiveness through faith in Christ has been followed by the consciousness of a true adoption into the family of God in and through the gift of the Holy Spirit.

We have thus indicated the stages through which ministerial training passes in South India until it culminates in the theological institution in Bangalore. In the Haidarabad District the preliminary stage is provided for in the Medak Institution, founded in 1899, an account of which is given on page 346. In North India and Burma the development of this branch of missionary work is not as far advanced as it is in South India, and we have said as much as can be said in the chapters which deal with the course of events in those Districts up to the year 1913. At present the Bengali Mission sends its candidates for the Ministry to the Bangalore College. This is an admirable arrangement except for the fact of distance and the expense incurred in travelling. Some more accessible centre for the North of India is much to be desired on this account. It is probably through co-operation with other Societies that

adequate provision will be made for the training of Catechists and teachers within each area.¹ An example of this is to be found in the seminary for evangelists and the normal school for teachers which have found a home in Tumkur, in the Mysore District. Here students of the London Missionary Society are freely admitted, and an Indian professor of that Society is a member of the teaching staff. This institution is a post-Centenary development, the seminary having been opened in 1916. Up to that time such training in the Mysore District was carried on in Hardwicke College.

(v.) THE MINISTRY OF HEALING

With the one exception of the medical work done at Manargudi the whole of the ministry of healing in Methodist Districts in India is accomplished by women and is for women. It is done under the direction of the Women's Auxiliary, and very nobly have these Christian women in England responded to the appeal which came to them from the 'dumb mouths' of aching wounds and unutterable suffering. Hospitals have been built mostly through the generous contribution of individuals, both British and Indian, but the medical staff is found through the Auxiliary, and the maintenance of the work is to a great extent provided from the funds which it administers. Three of these hospitals are to be found in the Madras District, four in the Haidarabad District, and two in the Mysore. In addition to these, twelve dispensaries are maintained within the area covered by Methodist Missions. That the work should be so largely limited to the service of women is due to the fact that, except in remote regions, there is a certain amount of medical work carried on by local governments in India. In most of the great centres of population large hospitals have been set up, and the Indian Medical Service is not the least of the many blessings which have come to India by reason of the British occupation of the country. But the seclusion of women in India prevents the use of the general hospital by the sex, and as a rule women are unwilling to be treated except by women. The amount of suffering which is endured, and is

¹ In recent years the Serampore College has been re-established on co-operative lines, and is now a Union Institution for North India. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has not yet, however, been represented on its staff.

actually increased by the unwitting cruelty of ignorant practitioners, is indescribable, incalculable. We must leave it at that.

It was not until the 'eighties that any attempt was made to bring to that suffering the ministry of healing. The first move in this direction was made in Madras, where Miss Palmer opened a dispensary. Afterwards, on the obtaining of a medical diploma, she took charge of the hospital erected by William Goudie in Ikkadu. In 1885 Miss Ball, who afterwards became Mrs. Pratt, was sent out to begin medical work in Haidarabad, and much useful work was done by this lady in Karim Nagar. But it was the arrival of Miss Posnett and Miss Harris at Medak in 1896 which gave to this branch of the work the impetus it has retained in the Haidarabad District. The extraordinary success attending their efforts led to a rapid extension of medical work. Hospitals were built, not only in Medak, but also in Karim Nagar, Ramayanpett, and Nizamabad. The medical mission became one of the most potent of influences in bringing the villagers of Haidarabad to Christ. Of the culmination of this service in the healing of the leper we have written elsewhere. The circumstances attending the building of the two hospitals in the Mysore District will be recorded in another chapter of this History¹ and need not be repeated here. The important work being done in the hospital of Sarenga, in the Bengal District, was not begun until the very close of the Centenary year.

Medical work on anything approaching a sufficient scale is a costly branch of missionary enterprise. Buildings suitable for such work are necessarily expensive, and modern science has so vastly increased the appliances required for effective surgery that large sums must be found for instruments and furniture, and no small amount must be spent in maintaining the hygienic condition of a hospital. The expense attending this work would indeed have been prohibitive but for the fact that this particular form of Christian service makes an irresistible appeal to those who recognize its Christ-like character, and have also that measure of sympathy with suffering humanity which prompts them to provide for its relief. It is probable that this particular missionary agency will greatly increase. For the humanitarian character of Christian service receives to-day an

¹ See pp. 299, 301.

ever-increasing emphasis, and it is certain that where human hearts seem obdurate to the appeal of the Gospel they open at once when that Gospel comes to them instinct with the compassion of Him who is 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities.' It is significant that with the recent realization of the unlimited field for a ministry of healing on behalf of the women of the East there should also be a marked increase in the number of women who are qualified to enter it. When the first women were appointed to take up this work in India those who held a medical diploma were few in number, but every year now adds to the number of those who add to the surgeon's skill the unerring instinct and the tender sympathy of a woman.

With this increased supply of qualified doctors a controversial question may soon cease to trouble the Missionary. For a long time, and even now in some cases, he was perplexed as to whether he should countenance the practice of the healing art by those who lacked the necessary technical qualification. On the one hand, he was confronted with suffering that appealed for relief, and though he did not possess the technical knowledge which would enable him to treat the case with confidence, yet it was possible for him to do something which might prove beneficial, and it was certain that no other help was available. Common humanity impelled him to do what he could, however insufficient it might be. On the other hand, he felt that in his ignorance he might increase rather than diminish the sufferer's pain, or his attempt might even prove fatal to the patient. Again, his failure might bring discredit upon the religion he had been sent to preach. For to the unlettered Hindu the superiority of Christianity would be proved by the superior skill of the Christian practitioner. This dilemma reappears whenever the controversy is taken up again. The way of escape would seem to lie in the direction of giving to every Missionary enough training to enable him to render 'first aid,' and, further, to establish a medical mission in the fields occupied where no such provision exists, so that the Missionary may have within reach the skill which might be summoned to his assistance in dealing with serious cases. To carry out such a policy would entail great expense, but not too great, if the Christian Church be permeated with the spirit of its Lord.

No Missionary would be content to serve in a hospital unless

the witness to Jesus were prominent in its administration. It is not enough that the evangelical appeal in a hospital be made by some one other than the doctor in charge, and it would be better that some part of the heavy daily demand remained unmet, if thereby the doctor could be associated directly with the presentation of Christ made to those who await her attention and care. For while the Mission hospital is purely philanthropic in its aim, it offers its ministry in the name of Christ, and it is all the more likely to accomplish its purpose when that Name is fully honoured.

The women who have taken up this service have within the comparatively few years that have passed since its inception established a tradition of skill, of fidelity, and of Christian love. Their names are written in records that far transcend our human annals, and are cherished in grateful and loving remembrance by those to whom they have been true Ministers of Jesus Christ.

(vi.) LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

The production of Christian literature as a means of furthering the Christian faith has not been so fully developed by Methodist Missions in India as it deserves. The Mission press in Mysore City is the solitary example of a first-class institution of this kind in the Indian field. The cause of this comparative neglect is composite. On the one hand, the missionary staff in the several Districts has always been undermanned, and work of this kind calls for men of special qualification who can be set apart entirely from evangelistic or administrative work. Too many attempts made have failed because this department has been added to the work of a Missionary already sufficiently occupied. For want of both men and means for this branch of the work the Missionaries turned to the very efficient help forthcoming from auxiliary Societies. In the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Christian Literature Society, Missionaries have found allies as generous as they have been efficient. No words could exaggerate the part played by these Societies in the evangelization of India. Without their assistance it is difficult to see how Missionaries could have faced the problem which confronted them in India.

Yet where a Mission is able to maintain a press of its own,

and to secure an output which both in technique and in teaching contributes to the life of the immediate community, the gain is immeasurable. To the local Church it becomes an industrial agency of great value in training a proportion of its youth, and it enables the Church to produce literature specially adapted to the needs of its members. Such literature might be too limited in the area within which it would be of service, and too ephemeral in character for it to become a charge upon a Society universal in its range, and yet its value to Christian folk struggling into intellectual life may be very great indeed. Examples of this kind of literature may be found in the *Mahila Sakhi* and the *Bodhaka Bodhini*, both of which are published in Kanarese by the Mysore Press. The former was a monthly magazine intended for the use of women within the Kanarese area, and its success as an educational factor may be inferred from the fact that the Educational Department of the Mysore State purchased two hundred copies every month for use in Government schools. This magazine was the production of women Missionaries, and was as greatly to their credit as it was efficient among those for whom it was intended. It is a matter of great regret that owing to the pressure of other work the publication of this magazine has been—we hope temporarily—suspended. The *Bodhaka Bodhini* was intended for the use of Catechists and other Christian students, and deals with questions arising out of a study of the Scriptures. Happily this is still in existence, and more than two thousand copies were printed during the year 1922.

Although the Wesleyan Missionary Society has not been able to set up Mission presses in all the Districts in India, it has fully recognized the value of this agency, and from time to time it has 'lent' to different Societies the service of its Missionaries. Thus in the Centenary year we find the Rev. J. Passmore serving as Editorial Secretary in Madras for the C.L.S. in India and Ceylon, while the Rev. J. S. de Silva filled a similar position in Ceylon, and the Rev. A. C. Clayton was Secretary for the Board of Tamil Literature in South India.

The outstanding institution under the direct control of the Wesleyan Missionary Society is the Mission press in the Mysore District. The story of its beginning will be found in another chapter.¹ Under the management of such Missionaries as

¹See pp. 209, 288.

the Revs. Henry Haigh, Henry Gulliford, and E. W. Thompson, this press soon became known for the good work turned out, while its influence in the country increased with every year. But the range of its efficiency was greatly enlarged when Mr. T. Gould became its manager in 1906. It now executes orders which come from all parts of India, from Kashmir to Tinnevely. As an evangelizing agency its value has been proved in a large variety of publications, but perhaps its greatest influence is exerted through the weekly newspaper known as the *Vrittanta Patrike*. This has contributed much towards forming a healthy public opinion, and its value as such has been frequently acknowledged by the Mysore Government. Its outlook and tone have been frankly Christian, and every issue contains an article dealing with some vital question of ethics or religion. Its weekly circulation is now more than five thousand, but in the more remote villages a single number is often read in the hearing of the assembled villagers. Its influence as a leavening power in the life of the people is confessedly great.

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It will be seen from a perusal of this chapter that practically every form of Christian enterprise is to be found in the Methodist Missions in India. Some have been late in coming into operation, and all are capable of an almost indefinite extension. We may well rejoice that the new century of the Church's work begins with an organization so extensive, and revealing so considerable a measure of efficiency in its working. The weapons of our warfare are now ready for use. There remains that without which all organization is but clattering machinery. It is the effectual working of the Holy Spirit which makes such weapons 'divinely strong to demolish fortresses.'¹

¹ 2 Cor. x. 4, Dr. Moffatt's Translation.

III

THE FIRST ADVANCE

James Lynch—Madras—Negapatam—Bangalore—A too-extended Line—A Policy proposed—Melnattam—Reinforcements—Jonathan Crowther—Joseph Roberts—Ebenezer Jenkins—Beginnings in Mysore—Thomas Hodson—Gubbi—William Arthur—Characteristics of the Kanarese People.

JAMES LYNCH was in some respects the most remarkable of the Missionaries who sailed with Dr. Coke to the East. He does not seem to have possessed the intellectual gifts of either Harvard or Clough, and never acquired the use of the Tamil language,¹ but that he commanded the respect and affection of his brethren is proved by the fact that he was at once chosen to preside over their councils, and to be their representative in dealings with the Committee in London. As such he had to bear the brunt of that Committee's censure in the financial difficulties which marked the earliest years of the Methodist Mission in Ceylon, a censure which led to his retirement from the Mission. The esteem in which he was held by his colleagues is shown in the warmth with which they resented the strictures passed by the Secretaries against their leader. His portrait reveals a personality in which both strength and tenderness are combined ; there is a winsomeness in his face which accounts for the affection of his brethren, and an expression of inward peace and joy which could come only from ' a good conscience, and faith unfeigned.' He was one who pleaded with men for reconciliation to God, and he found his opportunity for doing so among the English-speaking people in both Jaffna and Madras. Probably his devotion to these was the chief cause of his never having acquired the use of Tamil.

As we have seen, he was first stationed in Jaffna, but he did

¹ He was forty years of age when he came to India, and this would be against his doing so.

not remain there long. In a letter which he wrote to the Committee dated October 7, 1815, he says :

I have received a letter lately from Madras signed by five serious persons, who appear to experience the power of religion. They have received much light into the doctrines of the Gospel by reading Messrs. Wesley's and Fletcher's works, and most earnestly request one of us to visit them. At present it is not in our power to do this for want of sufficient help.

This is the first known reference to Methodists in Madras, and when we ask how they came to be there we shall at once recall the fact already recorded of the British soldier who had been the leader of a small Society in Gibraltar, formed from among his comrades. Andrew Armour afterwards held a position of credit under the Government in Ceylon, and we have seen how gladly he received the first Missionaries in Colombo. We know that between leaving Gibraltar and appearing in Colombo he was stationed in Madras, and it is most probable that the Society of 'serious persons' was formed by him, and that after his removal they continued to meet and to read the works of John Wesley. But it is evident that Madras as a Mission station had been in the mind of Dr. Coke and of the Missionary Society from the fact that before leaving England Harvard had obtained a licence from the East India Company which gave him permission to preach in India, and instructions had been given to Harvard to visit Madras. The Committee was all the more pleased to receive this indication from Lynch that Harvard would find on his arrival in that city a Society already prepared to receive him. In the Society's Report for 1816 both Madras and Bombay appear in the list of stations in 'Asia,' and Harvard is mentioned as appointed to labour in Madras. The honour of founding the Methodist Mission in India did not, however, fall to Harvard. A strong representation from both the Missionaries and the Government in Ceylon prevailed with the Committee, and he remained in Ceylon. Lynch was then asked to visit Madras, and to take what steps seemed necessary in order to regulate the Society which awaited his coming. On January 23, 1817, he left Jaffna for Madras. On the way to that city he passed through Negapatam and preached to certain persons who were anxious to hear him, so that it was in Negapatam that the first message delivered by a Methodist Missionary was

preached in India. On the way from Negapatam to Madras Lynch was the guest of the Royal Danish Mission at Tranquebar, and visited the graves of Plütschau and Ziegenbalg, the first Danish Missionaries sent out under Frederick IV of Denmark. Very moving is the story of that visit, and an extract from Lynch's diary may be allowed as revealing the spirit of this first Methodist Missionary to India :

This to me was the most interesting place I had seen since I left England ; here the first Danish Missionaries began and continued their labours in India ; here they lived, and here they are buried. I visited their tombs, and could have shed tears had I been alone. I had read and heard a little of them while yet in Ireland ; little did I then think that, bearing the same name, I should ever stand at their sepulchres. I remembered that the reading about these very men of God was the first cause of stirring up Wesley's mother to much zeal and fortitude in serving God and instructing her children and others, and that to this was probably owing the early and continued piety and zeal of her sons, to whom the world is so much indebted. Indeed, I could scarcely believe that I stood where they were buried, or that I stood in the same character of Missionary to the heathen. For a moment I realized them and Schwartz and Whitefield and Wesley in heaven, as if looking down upon me approving my motives as a Missionary, but charging me with unfaithfulness as a son and successor in the Gospel, and with deep remorse of conscience I withdrew from ground on which I was unworthy to stand.

The passage from the writings of Susanna Wesley, to which Lynch refers, is well known, and is quoted by the Rev. E. W. Thompson. From it we may see a direct line of spiritual succession—Ziegenbalg ; Susanna Wesley ; John Wesley ; James Lynch. Now this last, the founder of Methodist Missions in India, stands by the grave of him whose heroic life had so much to do with the secret springs of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. Mr. Thompson goes on to say¹ :

There was to be, however, another link in this chain of causation which James Lynch did not, and could not, see. William Butler, afterwards a bishop, and the pioneer and founder of the Missions in India of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, was an Irishman. He tells us that a Minister whom he knew in Ireland, of the name of James Lynch, first directed his thoughts to India and kindled the desire to become a Missionary in his heart. He once said in the Irish Conference, ' James Lynch laid his hands on my youthful head, and from him I

¹ *The Call of India*, p. 131.

received the missionary spirit.' The Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church have met with marvellous success, and during the last thirty years have gathered in a quarter of a million adherents in Southern Asia. Ziegenbalg, Wesley, Lynch, Butler—so runs the line of spiritual ancestry.

On arriving in Madras Lynch was hospitably received by Mr. Durnford, who proved himself to be a wise and kind friend, ready at all times to further the interests of the new Mission. He found that the Society consisted of twelve persons, 'who have every appearance of being Methodists.' His first duty was to report his arrival to the Governor of Madras, by whom he was kindly received; but some little difficulty arose from the fact that the Missionary authorized by the Company to preach was not Lynch, but Harvard. That difficulty was, however, surmounted, and on March 2, 1817, Lynch preached the first sermon delivered by a Wesleyan Missionary in Madras. This was in a 'godown' in Georgetown, close to the site on which the English Church now stands. In a room at the back of this Lynch found both study and bedroom; his meals he took with the Durnfords. It was clear that a more suitable home for the Church was a first necessity. But where was that home to be? Not in the old town of Madras. The narrow, noisy streets forbade it. Lynch 'could not find one place in the body of the town that my conscience would allow me to purchase for a missionary family to live in.' Nor could he look in the direction of Vepery, for there he would be treading on the heels of the L.M.S. and also of the S.P.C.K., and this was forbidden by the laws of the Comity of Missions, which even in those remote times were recognized and, as in this case, obeyed. At last there came an opportunity of purchasing a property in Royapetta, and Clough and Jackson, who had come to Madras on a visit, confirmed his opinion of the suitability of the site. It is pathetic to read of the state of mind in which Lynch now found himself. 'My mind was exceedingly exercised. I saw that if I missed it there was not another place for us unless we would give nearly double the sum it would cost, but I feared exposing myself to your censure if I purchased it.' Finally he decided to acquire the property, and through the kind offices of Mr. Durnford it was purchased, and became the head quarters of the Madras Mission. In the course of the years changes took place in house arrangements,

but the site has remained in the possession of the Methodist Church. A chapel was built on the site thus acquired, and it was opened for public worship on March 7, 1819.

Much sympathy with the Wesleyan Mission was shown in Madras. A Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed on February 1, 1819, and Mr. Frederick Orme, an Englishman practising as a lawyer in Madras, was its first Secretary. A systematic method of seeking subscriptions was adopted, and during the three years which followed the large sum of ten thousand rupees was forwarded to the General Treasurers in London. In addition to this, large sums were obtained for the erection of chapels. It is clear that from the first the Mission enjoyed the goodwill of the people of Madras. All this time Lynch had limited his ministry to the English-speaking part of the community, but in 1820 the Rev. Titus Close arrived from England to help him, and it was possible to begin work among those who spoke Tamil. Close was put in charge of this branch of the work, and Lynch was now able to minister to English and Eurasian residents at St. Thomas' Mount and at San Thomé, a former Portuguese settlement.

The year 1820 brought reinforcements from England, and witnessed the beginning of work in two other centres, destined eventually, and after many vicissitudes of hope and despair, to become strong centres of Methodist teaching and influence. Negapatam, the first of these, strongly attracted the Committee in London. Europeans residing there had given a hearty welcome to Lynch when he passed through on his way to Madras, and the offer of a Government grant in return for the acceptance of a chaplain's duties was a strong inducement in prospect of expenses which had not been anticipated. But the Committee also considered that it would speedily become a base of operations, from which Missionaries might be able to extend their influence into surrounding tracts of country in South India. It was also considered desirable as a half-way house between Jaffna and Madras, and there was no thought at that time of separating the one District from the other. To this Station Mr. Squance was removed in September, 1820. His health in Ceylon had been poor, and it was hoped that the change would prove to be beneficial. He was not, however, able to remain in Negapatam more than a few months. In 1822 he returned to England. To fill his place Mr. Close was

sent from Madras, a move which proved to be most unhappy. Close had suffered in health while in Madras, but the removal to Negapatam only served to multiply his troubles. Soon after his arrival his son died, and his wife was lamed as the result of a carriage accident. His own health continued to decline, and when he returned to Madras on his way to England his only surviving child also died. In spite of the promise held out at first the beginnings of Methodism in Negapatam were far from propitious.

The second centre to be occupied was Bangalore. In 1819 Lynch had reported that there was every prospect of 'an effectual door' being opened in that city. Letters had been received from devout Methodist soldiers stationed there and also in Seringapatam. In 1821 Close visited the two places. In the latter place he found 'a Society consisting of a few non-commissioned officers, and about thirty country-born persons.' These had built a small chapel in the Fort, where they met for worship and mutual edification. Their one cry was, 'Can you send us a Missionary?' But the Committee in London had not waited for a report from Close. They had anticipated any such statement as to possibilities of extension by sending out the Revs. James Mowat and Elijah Hoole to begin work in Bangalore. The ship in which they sailed was struck by lightning when off the coast of Ceylon, and they barely escaped with their lives. They landed at Trincomalee in a pitiable condition. Their clothes, books, and other belongings had been destroyed in the burning ship. After a short time for recovery from their terrible experience they went on to Madras, where they arrived in September, 1820, having left England the previous May. It was decided to modify the Committee's arrangement to the extent of sending Hoole to assist Squance in Negapatam, while Mowat went to Bangalore. When Close was transferred to Negapatam Hoole joined Lynch in Madras, and when Negapatam was left vacant by the breakdown in health of Close, Mowat was removed from Bangalore and sent to Negapatam. The start in Bangalore was almost as ineffective as that in Negapatam. Subsequent developments in these two centres will be before us when we come to consider their several stories, but for the present we must return to Madras.

The second piece of property acquired by the Methodist

Mission was situated in a street of Blacktown known as 'Popham's Broadway.' Here a piece of land, with some old buildings upon it, was purchased, and the best of the buildings was adapted for the purpose of public worship. But the many unpleasantnesses of the street were too near, and the room was ill-ventilated and generally unsuitable. It was determined to build so as to lift the chapel above the level of the surrounding buildings, and thus to secure good ventilation and avoid the many discomforts of the ground floor. This was done, and the chapel was opened on April 25, 1822. Local subscriptions towards its cost amounted to seven hundred pounds. Here for many years service was held in English, and during the memorable years in which the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Ebenezer Jenkins the chapel was filled with an appreciative congregation.

Applications from military centres continued to be received for Methodist Missionaries to be sent to minister to soldiers in sore need of spiritual help and guidance. One such came from Bellary, but the L.M.S. had already begun work in that town, and the soldiers were advised to accept the ministrations of the Missionaries of that Society. Another application, from Trichinopoly, reported a Society of forty members, and Lynch and Stead, on their way to the Synod, opened in that town a small chapel which had been erected by the soldiers and their friends.

A station from which much was hoped was San Thomé, a large village south of Madras on the coast. Here resided a number of fishermen and persons descended from the Portuguese who had settled there a hundred years before. One of the fishermen became a devoted adherent, and after attending the Methodist services at Royapetta persuaded the Missionaries to begin services in the village. He afterwards induced a gentleman to open his house for services, and after some little time the house was bought and adapted for worship. Here services were conducted for nearly thirty years, but eventually the cause dwindled away, and the property was sold to the S.P.G.

The work in Madras was still connected with that being carried on in North Ceylon, the two sections constituting 'The Tamil District.' During the years 1822-1825 the Missionaries in Negapatam had the assistance of Mr. John Katts, an

'Assistant' from Jaffna, who was well reported of by the brethren in Ceylon. He spoke both Tamil and Portuguese, and it was hoped that he would be of great service in India. After two years in Negapatam he was sent to Madras, but he became disaffected and inefficient, and in 1826 he returned to Ceylon, where he continued to serve in our Church until 1842, when he retired from the Ministry. His name was the first to appear in the annual Report as that of an 'Assistant Missionary' in India.

In the Synod of 1821 the question was raised whether the appointment of Mowat and Hoole to Bangalore should stand as designated by the Committee, or whether Arcot and Vellore should be occupied. The general feeling was in favour of the latter on the ground of their being more easily reached from Madras, and as the L.M.S. had already appeared in Bangalore it was thought undesirable to appear to be in competition with a kindred Society. In view, however, of the Committee's instructions it was decided that Bangalore should be occupied, but the Synod attached to their acceptance of this designation a hope that the Committee would in future allow them to exercise their own judgement in stationing new arrivals, since obviously they, being on the spot, were better able to discern the comparative importance of the different stations, and much might have happened between the decision of the Committee and the arrival of the brethren to make a different appointment desirable. Had the decision been in favour of Arcot the history of Methodism in South India would have been very different. The work among the Tamils would have been consolidated and much fruit might have been gathered. On the other hand, it is probable that if a beginning in the Mysore State had been postponed, it would have been very difficult to make it later, and probably there would have been no Mission to the Kanarese people. The decision was critical for Methodist work in India.

In 1824 it could not be said that the Methodist Mission to India had established itself in that country. The only Missionary who had acquired the language of the people was Mr. Hoole, and he had given himself up to evangelistic tours in which he covered great distances, and was instant in season and out of season in preaching and in distributing Christian literature. But such methods were not likely to establish a Church in a

country like India, and in the course of a visit to Seringapatam Hoole suffered from fever, so that it was thought that many months would pass before he would be able to do any work at all. Lynch was on the point of returning to England, and the Rev. J. F. England, who had recently arrived in Madras, was obliged to take up so much English work that he could make little or no progress in acquiring Tamil. There were only fifteen Tamil Christians in Madras, most if not all of whom had been Romanists. There was not one in Negapatam. The membership returned for that year as one hundred and ninety-eight consisted almost entirely of soldiers, with a sprinkling of English and Portuguese civilians. There is no indication that Methodism had taken root in India. The explanation of this is easy enough. Too many stations had been occupied by the slender staff sent out to the field, and the Missionaries had been engrossed in ministering to those who spoke their own language. We must not forget, in analysing the causes of this disappointing result of seven years of work, that the pioneers of the Methodist Church in India were itinerant preachers. They had gone on their rounds forming ' Societies ' as they went, and finding immediate conversions follow on their ministry of the word. They came to India with the expectation that they would follow the same course and enjoy the same happy experience. They turned eagerly to those to whom they could preach at once in their mother-tongue. They had not grasped—and neither had the Committee in London—the strength or religious significance of Hinduism, the restrictions imposed upon them by language, or the climatic conditions under which their work would be done. When their numbers were so small that they did not suffice for the work of a single station they eagerly suggested the occupation of Bellary, Calcutta, and Rangoon. When there were four men in Madras, one was sent to Bangalore and another to Negapatam. This policy of dispersion was fatal; it entailed great expense in travelling and still greater expense in the multiplication of Mission houses, chapels, and schools. When the inevitable breakdown in health occurred, the stations occupied by single men became derelict, and the property acquired with so much difficulty fell into disrepair. The Committee seems to have expected that the work would speedily become self-supporting. This is the most charitable explanation of the fact that they

did not make provision for the cost of buildings, and were annoyed when bills were drawn upon them to meet such expenses. Their impatience deepened into complaint and then into censure, and the Missionaries were driven to seek the necessary funds from those on the spot who were in sympathy with their efforts. They turned to the English-speaking population, and exhausted energies, which should have been given to the study of the language and the teaching of Hindus, in ministering to their own countrymen. They were thus diverted from their true objective—the proclamation of Christ to the Hindus—by the claims of those who were wholly or in part of their own nationality. That they responded to these is indeed a fact of which we, their descendants, may well be proud, but it was not what they had been sent out to do. When the Church in England failed to provide for both objects we cannot be vexed or surprised that our pioneers, harassed by a Committee which protested against their ‘extravagance’ and declared that ‘their conduct was an outrage on public confidence,’ took the line which brought them some relief from financial strain and enabled them to erect the buildings necessary for their work. They listened with sympathy to pleas from soldiers in the Cantonments scattered over South India, though they had not begun to approach the Hindus in Madras. Their energies were still further exhausted by privations which should never have been allowed by the Church. Titus Close was a Missionary of true devotion. He had made great efforts to learn Tamil even while distracted by the claims of English work in Madras. But when he was removed to Negapatam in broken health, and with his child in a dying condition, he found the Mission house devoid of furniture; and the Chairman, visiting him on his way back from the Synod, gave him the information that the brethren had agreed to spend no money whatever on their houses during the coming year. In the Minutes of the Synod of 1819 we find the brethren discussing what clothes should be allowed to their brethren who had newly arrived in view of the fact that the garments allowed for outfits had been worn out in their four months’ voyage, and their quarterage was insufficient to allow of their being replaced. Question ii. in their Agenda is answered thus: ‘Let each brother be provided with six calico dresses’! It was under such conditions that our fathers set out to

evangelize India. The Missionaries themselves deserve our sympathy and our reverence. Doubtless they made mistakes. They had not yet learned the art of living in India so as to maintain their efficiency for the work they had come to do, nor did they yet see the true lines on which that work was to be approached. They were, probably, ignorant of the mysteries of financial negotiations. But they accepted their position and made the best of it. They endured privations cheerfully, and in the spirit peculiar to the British people they held on doggedly to the 'untenable' position, until out of defeat they at last organized victory.

With the return of James Lynch to Ireland in 1824 the first period of the Methodist Mission to India came to a close. In the same year the division of the 'Tamil District' into two separate Districts of Madras and Jaffna was effected, and Mr. Carver was transferred from Ceylon to Madras to preside over the continental section. The term of his chairmanship was thirteen years (1824-1837), and during that period the missionary situation in Madras was still far from satisfactory. An effort was made to secure ministerial help from local sources. Friar Jose Jacinto Martins was a Roman Catholic priest whom Hoole had met in one of his visits to Seringapatam. Under the teaching of Mr. Hoole he was led to renounce the Roman Church, and was received as 'a Missionary on probation' to labour among the Portuguese in Madras, with the expectation that he would soon acquire the use of Tamil. But he made little or no effort to learn that language, and in 1820 he was relegated to the position of a 'Supernumerary.' He removed to Cananore, and there attempted to raise funds for building a chapel. His death in the same year relieved a situation which threatened to become embarrassing.

With the arrival from England of the Revs. J. F. England and T. J. Williamson the prospect improved. Within a year the latter had been able to deliver his first sermon in Tamil, but shortly after his wife, a lady of great talent and charm, died. Williamson was completely broken down by his bereavement, and sailed to the Cape of Good Hope that he might recover, but he died at sea, and two Missionaries of great promise were thus taken away. Mr. England had been destined by the Committee for Trincomalee, but with the consent of the Synod he remained at Madras, as it was feared

that his health would not stand the climate of Trincomalee. In 1826 he was sent to Bangalore, where since Mowat's removal in 1823 no work had been attempted. For departure from the instructions of the Committee the Madras Synod was severely censured by the Secretaries in London, and a 'fine' of £40 was imposed upon Mr. England. This met with a polite but forceful protest from the Synod that distance from England made it impossible to wait for letters from the Secretaries before taking such action as the health of a brother might make necessary. With reference to the Committee's resolution reducing Mr. England's allowance for the year by one-third, the Synod 'respectfully submits that they find themselves unable to enforce the resolution referred to.' Such passages between the Administrative Board and the Missionaries on the field only served to accentuate the already unhappy feeling between them. The staff in Madras was thus, in spite of the reinforcement sent out, exactly where it was before. There were two men, of whom Hoole was still suffering from the effects of fever. Yet extension was still the order of the day. In 1823 Hoole had visited Poonamalee, a town about thirteen miles from Madras. There he found a number of pensioners from the Army, to whom he preached in a thatched hut erected for the use of Christian Natives. In 1825 a plot of ground was given by the Commandant on the station for the building of a Methodist chapel, which was opened in 1827, nearly the whole cost of its erection having been met from local subscriptions. A devout soldier, Sergeant Kelly, was the chief agent in securing this chapel, but he died before it was completed. Another extension in Mission property took place at St. Thomas' Mount, where a valuable site was given to the Society by a Mrs. Isaacke. Here, too, in 1829, a chapel was built, three thousand rupees towards its cost being raised locally, but the living Church still consisted of soldiers and persons of mixed nationality. In 1828, before this chapel was erected, Elijah Hoole returned to England. As we have stated, he delighted in touring, and as a bachelor he was better able to do so than other Missionaries. There were few towns within the triangle Madras-Negapatam-Bangalore which he had not visited. On one of these tours he received kindly and courteous attention from the Abbé Dubois, who sent him the MS. of his *Letters on Christians*

in India for his perusal, together with an expression of regret 'that a young man, such as he had heard me described, should have devoted himself to so hopeless a task as that of the conversion of the Hindus, and his earnest recommendation to me to take the earliest opportunity of returning to England.'¹ Hoole never returned to India, but he did admirable service in the missionary cause during the years in which he acted as one of the Secretaries of the Society (1834-1872). While he was in India he used his knowledge of Tamil to excellent effect by undertaking a number of works in that language. Such were the Tamil version of the Rules of the Society, Wesley's abridgement of the Anglican Liturgy, and a selection of Wesley's Hymns and the Second Catechism. Although he left no Church in India, he did much for the Church of the future.

The letters which passed between the Madras Synod and the Secretaries of the Society during the next few years are letters which it is impossible to read without sadness. The Missionaries, reduced in number, exhausted by their labours, and depressed at the failure of their work, wrote piteously begging for an increase to the staff, pointing out that their strength was dissipated by their labours among the English-speaking population, and that while such labours continued their Mission to the Hindus could never be successful, while they themselves were distressed by the thought that they were unable to fulfil their obligations to them, or to the Church which had sent them to evangelize the heathen. They frankly confess their failure to acquire the language of the country, but point out that such failure was inevitable under the burden of their labours among the others. There was at first some show of response to this appeal. It was announced that four Missionaries would be sent out at once, and this news was received on the field with an outburst of gratitude which was as pathetic as their appeal. It was the elation of desperate men in prospect of relief. 'Never since the formation of the District had they such powerful motives to bless God and take courage.' But when the four men arrived it was found that two of them had been sent to begin a new Mission in Calcutta. That city had been visited by James Lynch shortly before he left India, and with his

¹ *Missions in Madras, Mysore, and South India*, by Elijah Hoole, p. 156.

sympathies strongly enlisted on behalf of Europeans in India he had reported favourably as to the prospect of success in Calcutta. To that city accordingly the Revs. Thomas Hodson and Peter Percival were designated. The other two were the Revs. Samuel Hardey and Thomas Cryer ; but as one of these was to fill the vacancy caused by Mowat's retirement the addition to the staff consisted of a single Missionary. They therefore renewed their appeal. In answer to this they received a harsh letter complaining that the Missionaries wrote in general terms and made no definite suggestion, so that the Committee found it difficult to understand their meaning, and suggesting that it was for the men on the field to put forward a detailed scheme, with reasons for its adoption. Thereupon the Missionaries went over the different stations one by one, but in the preamble to their letter they declare that the system followed up to that time was 'founded in error, has been maintained at enormous expense, has been the cause of disappointment, and if persisted in will be productive of indelible disgrace.' The recommendations they made were startling. They were that Madras should be given up as a centre of work among Tamils, and that one Missionary, preferably the Chairman, should remain there, to work among the Europeans, and to undertake the financial administration of the District. English and Tamil work in Bangalore they would abandon, as there were Military Chaplains in the Cantonment, and the Tamils were 'camp followers who were changed every four years.' If the Committee desired to establish a Mission in that part of India it should be limited to work among the Kanarese people. The work at Negapatam they would retain, since that town was the centre of a large agricultural district, and at Melnattam, a village twenty-five miles from Negapatam, a number of Romanists had joined the Methodist Church. Further, it was proposed to establish at Negapatam 'a Head Native School' for training teachers, catechists, and other agents. Whatever may be said as to the details, this was at any rate a definite scheme, and one which the Secretaries had themselves invited. But when the Synod assembled in 1835 no reply to the letters of the two preceding Synods was before them. They did not know whether they were to carry out the scheme they had proposed. Meantime two of their number had

broken down in health, and were only awaiting permission to return to England. Their official letter of that year is the most painful of a long series of painful letters. Their repeated calls for help had failed to secure any practical relief. In their bereavements and personal afflictions they had received not one word of sympathy or encouragement from the Mission House. The inference they draw is that the Committee purposed to abandon the Mission to India.

A hundred years separate us from the days in which the Methodist Mission to India was begun, and in seeking to understand the causes of the slow progress made we must confess that the administration in London left much to be desired. Doubtless the Committee was seriously embarrassed on finding that its commitments in the East were so much greater than it had anticipated, and prior to the sailing of Dr. Coke for India by far the greater part of missionary subscriptions had been obtained through his personal influence. The home organization of the Committee was in only its initial stage, and demands from other fields for help continued to come in. Further, they were still more embarrassed by their separation in time from the field of work. Months elapsed before an interchange of opinion could pass between them and their representatives in India. But when all this has been said, and due allowance made, there are two facts which emerge from the documents of those years. The first is that the Committee had no definite policy before it for its operations in India. It followed a system of opportunism, and was too much influenced by the hope of securing financial support from the field itself. The second is that the Secretariat was often harsh and censorious in dealing with the men sent out. The Missionaries were afraid of taking any step on their own initiative, lest they should be censured, and they waited in vain for any definite guidance from the Mission House. Committed to a scheme of work which, they saw, would only hamper them still more in attempting to evangelize the Hindus, broken in health and depressed in spirit, with no word of sympathy from those who directed their efforts, they deserve our commiseration, rather than our reproach, that the long years passed, and there was no harvest to bring into the garner of the Church. In their desperation they renewed their efforts to secure local ministerial help, and if their acceptance of

candidates for the Ministry was hasty, and issued in failure, we can scarcely upbraid them. In 1831 Mr. Abraham Ambrose was proposed as a suitable candidate for ministerial office, though there had been some hesitation on account of his matrimonial engagements, but seven years after he was suspended for moral failure. In 1841, on his profession of repentance, he was restored to the ministerial position, only to disappear in the following year. Two others came forward during the 'thirties. One of these was Mr. John Guest, and the other was the first Tamil Minister to be received—Mr. Christian Arulappa. But the conditions offered to candidates for the Ministry were onerous. After a probation of four years, during which they were not expected to marry, they might be received into full connexion, but there followed another term of four years, after which they were to be examined by the Synod, and, if found satisfactory, they might then be ordained by the laying on of hands, and duly commissioned to administer the sacraments. When these rules were finally passed by the Committee both of the Assistants immediately resigned.

Two other European Missionaries belong to this period. The Rev. Alfred Bourne arrived in 1827 and the Rev. William Longbottom in 1829. Both failed in health after a few years of service. Bourne returned to England in 1834, but never recovered, and died two years after. Longbottom went to Australia, where he lived to do good service until he died in 1849.

While Bourne was in Negapatam he received a deputation from certain villagers of Melnattam, asking that a Missionary might be sent to instruct them. They had been members of the Roman Church, but now wished to become Protestants. This was in 1830, and great hopes were entertained that at last the Mission was about to obtain a foothold among the Tamil people, especially as there were several persons, not Romanists, under instruction for baptism. Twelve months later a small chapel was built and opened, and Bourne baptized twenty persons. Melnattam was considered to be 'a key-position' in the surrounding district, and the eager Missionaries at once began to talk of 'mass-movements' towards the Christian Church. Nine miles from Melnattam was the town of Manargudi, and here, too, there were individuals who were

inclined to receive baptism. Of Manargudi we shall have much to say in a later chapter.

The hopes inspired by the accessions at Melnattam were never fulfilled, and that which brought them to nothing was caste. The social barriers erected by this system were not destroyed when converts entered the Church of Rome, and the Romanists of Melnattam who now entered the Methodist Church brought with them a measure of observance which would have speedily destroyed the sense of brotherhood in Christ Jesus. Pariah members of the Christian community were expected to accept a position of inferiority in public worship. Thomas Cryer, who was the Superintendent of the Negapatam Circuit in 1830, very properly set his face like a flint against all such attempts to recognize caste in the Christian Church, though in doing so he was obliged to forgo the service of a Christian teacher in one of his schools. In the paucity of such agents this was no small loss. But as a result of the attitude of the Missionary the report was at once spread abroad that all the Melnattam Christians had become Pariahs. Betrothals and marriages were disannulled in cases where the parties were of different social grades, and the attendance at public worship rapidly dwindled away until a mere handful of people were left. In all this it is significant that the disaffected were all those who had seceded from the Church of Rome.

In 1835 the Revs. G. Hole and T. Haswell arrived in Madras. The former was transferred the following year to Ceylon, but the latter was able to remain in India until 1849, when he returned to work in England. But what gave the Missionaries even more encouragement than this addition to the staff was a letter from the Secretaries, signed by the Rev. John Beecham, which suggested at least the outline of a policy to be followed, and which also was expressed in terms of sympathy sadly missing in former letters. The chief items of the letter were as follow :

1. Two European Missionaries were to be appointed to each station.
2. The head Native school at Negapatam was sanctioned, and an annual grant of a hundred pounds was voted for the purpose.
3. The occupation of Mysore was confirmed as 'urgent.'

4. Two stations between Madras and Negapatam were 'contemplated,' and the towns of Sadras and Porto Novo were suggested.

The letter then goes on to say that it was hoped that these resolutions would dispel the idea that the Committee were likely to abandon the Mission to India ; that it had been compelled to concentrate attention on the West Indian Missions for the purpose of adapting them to new conditions arising from the emancipation of the slaves. It closes with the words :

We hope in future to be saved from the pain of seeing ranks thinned by sickness, without daring to give you scarcely a word of relief, lest words unaccompanied by deeds should seem only a mockery of your grief.

At the Conference which followed on the writing of that somewhat apologetic letter it was decided to send out at once five Missionaries to Madras. The five were the Revs. Jonathan Crowther (whose office was described as that of 'General Superintendent of the Society's Mission in India and North Ceylon'), W. S. Fox, J. K. Best, M. T. Male, John Jenkins, and R. D. Griffith. Two years after four more were sent to the same field. These were the Revs. G. U. Pope, William Arthur, John Garrett, and E. G. Squarebridge. It seemed that at last the Committee had decided to give adequate support to those who had worked under such great disadvantages.

It will be noticed that the appointment of Mr. Crowther implied the supersession of Mr. Carver, and this was accentuated by the appointment of the latter to Melnattam with one of the new arrivals, Mr. Fox, as a colleague. Carver was also expected to supervise the work at Trichinopoly. A year later he was sent to begin fresh work at Porto Novo, where iron works had recently been started. This move, however, came to nothing. Within two years the station was abandoned.

Carver felt that he had been harshly treated in sending him to Melnattam. The village was small ; there was no properly constructed road by which to approach it. It had no market, and supplies were obtained with difficulty. Carver complained that after so many years of service he had been 'penalized' in being sent to such a place. Fox complained

that there was no work which he could do, and begged for a transfer.

The Mission in South India had not yet come to the close of its difficulties, and the opening years of the 'forties were years of peculiar distress. W. S. Fox had been compelled to seek the recovery of health by a sea-voyage, from which he did not return. He died and was buried at sea. Three others resigned their connexion with the Methodist Church under peculiar circumstances. About this time there was much discussion in Madras with reference to Church orders and the validity of sacraments administered by those who were not of the Anglican Communion. Trouble had arisen, too, in connexion with the burial of Nonconformists in the public cemeteries. The first to withdraw from the Methodist Church were the Revs. Robert Carver and G. U. Pope. The former says in his letter of resignation, 'After serving the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for twenty-six years I am led through long experience and deep reflection to perceive with regret that, however beneficial that system may be in a Christian country, its operations in the East are not attended with the advantages expected from them. I beg therefore to tender to the Society most respectfully my resignation.' He adds that he had ever considered himself a member of the Anglican Reformed Church although connected with the Wesleyan Society, which he thought to be 'a valuable adjunct to the Establishment.' These secessions were followed by that of the Rev. J. K. Best four months later, and several Assistant Missionaries followed suit. These last were members of the East Indian community, and there was much correspondence between the Wesleyan Superintendent and the Anglican Bishop as to the reception of these into the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel without inquiry as to character from those under whom they had served. There were similar secessions from the London Missionary Society. The most notable of those who thus joined the S.P.G. was the Rev. G. U. Pope, the brother of the Methodist theologian, whose name is still held in great reverence and affection. Dr. G. U. Pope remained for many years in India, where he became known as a great Tamil scholar. He finally retired to Oxford, where he took up work in Tamil, and was University Reader in that language for many years.

There were losses during the same year in the Mysore Mission which will be related in due course. Suffice it to say here that of the nine men sent out towards the close of the 'thirties only Crowther, Male, and Griffith remained, while of the Missionaries in Madras prior to their arrival Carver and Longbottom had gone. This was an extraordinary dispersal of a particularly strong contingent. The plight of the District was as bad as ever.

The Committee evidently expected much from the appointment of Mr. Crowther. He had already served in the Ministry for fourteen years when he accepted this appointment, and it was thought that his experience, tact, and counsel were what was most required in India at this time. They considered that the comparative failure of the Mission was due to the youth of the Missionaries rather than to their own lack of policy. Crowther was therefore appointed to take up work more especially in English, but he had also to supervise the work carried on in Jaffna, Negapatam, and Bangalore. As the two last-named stations were distant from Madras nearly two hundred miles, and as travelling was done by the slow and irksome vehicle known as the 'palanquin,' it may be imagined that his journeys entailed considerable spells of absence from head quarters; and while he was thus away from Madras the burden of the English work fell upon his colleagues, so that there was no great relief derived from having a man definitely set apart in this way for work among Europeans. He arrived in Madras under circumstances which were little short of calamitous. His ship, with a large missionary party on board, was cast ashore fifty-seven miles south of Madras. Mr. Griffith, one of the Missionaries, and the ship's surgeon made their way to Madras, and measures were at once taken for the relief of the passengers. Carver and Hole set out from Madras with palanquins, and the Mission party was found at a point about seventeen miles from their ship. What those miles must have meant to the women and children, flung ashore, where the language spoken was quite unknown, without provisions or any of the necessaries of travel, we may easily imagine. At length they reached Madras, and ultimately the greater part of their luggage was salvaged from the stranded ship and sent after them. But anxiety and exposure brought on Mr. Crowther an attack of dysentery, which for some time prevented him from taking up his onerous duties.

About this time the English-speaking congregation of Blacktown developed a strong animus against work among Hindus, and attempted—sometimes in ways that were open to reproach—to secure for themselves the Missionary of whom they approved, whatever his colleagues might think as to his proper destination. The two branches of work, the English and the vernacular, were thus thrown into mutual antagonism. Crowther at first sympathized with the Blacktown congregation, though he took no step which favoured them in their contention. He also felt that the whole system of missionary education stood in need of drastic reforms, but he made no effort to introduce them. It was not long before he, too, began to complain of unsatisfactory communications from the Mission House. Questions raised by him were disregarded, or the answers were so long delayed that the workers became restless and suspicious. Crowther points out that at this period of Mission work in India most of the Societies were at variance with their representatives on the field. Doubtless the imperfect knowledge of the conditions of work in India, together with the long intervals which of necessity elapsed before inter-communication was possible, accounts for the general feeling of dissatisfaction. Not even yet were the true lines of approach to the citadel of Hinduism clearly seen, though there were one or two signs which indicated that they would presently be discovered. While Pope and Best remained in the Mission they concentrated on street-preaching, and their efforts began to make an impression on Hindus, who up to that time could well afford to ignore the attempts made to reach their people. The preaching of the Gospel by Missionaries qualified to speak the language of the people among whom they worked—that was the first line of approach. The second was that which unfortunately has so often been considered to be a conflicting method. The beginnings of educational work appeared in Negapatam, where a movement in favour of higher education was started among well-to-do Hindus, who offered to pay good fees if Griffith would undertake the education of their sons.

Another encouraging item is found in the fact that Samuel Hardey had by this time won the affection and confidence of the people, after a hard struggle against the recognition of caste in the head Native school. He hoped that it would be

possible to enlarge the latter, though he saw clearly enough that this would mean setting a man apart for this work exclusively.

Crowther's chairmanship was not of long duration. His health, seriously affected by shipwreck, had never been very good, and in 1842, after five years of administration, he returned to England. If no special feature of his administration appears in the records, it was nevertheless of advantage to the Mission that during a period of extraordinary difficulty their chief was one who so fully possessed the confidence of the Committee. It is remarkable, too, that even in those troubled years the young men saw visions which kindled both hope and enthusiasm. Thus we find a Missionary of sound judgment, always based on a wide and sympathetic outlook, the Rev. R. D. Griffith, writing in 1840 :

The missionary apparatus is complete, and all that is required is that it be put in motion. . . . Short as life is, I am almost certain that if the Church at home by increased and persevering prayer secure us these promising aids, the present generation would not pass away without hearing of such an enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ as is not recorded in the history of the world.

Crowther was followed in the Chairmanship by the Rev. Joseph Roberts, who had served in Ceylon from 1819 to 1831. After twelve years spent in the home work he came to Madras in 1843, served faithfully both his Lord and the Church for six years, and died at Palaveram in 1849. He was a man 'of fine physical appearance, of considerable force of character, and he had a gift for languages and a passion for preaching Christ to the Hindus.' These are great qualifications for missionary work, and Roberts made full proof of his ministry. It is recorded that from that day to this he has been represented on the Mission field by one or other of his children, his grandchildren, and his great-grandchildren. It was during his Chairmanship that the head quarters of the Madras District was moved from its first position to that which it still holds at Royapetta. The Mission House in Madras has always been a true home, not only for those who served in the Madras District. It has always had a welcome for brethren on their way to or from other Districts, and its rooms have been hallowed by the passing of those who have given life itself

as the pledge of their service. Perhaps the outstanding event of this period of administration was the issue raised by the candidature of two Tamil Agents who adhered to the observance of caste considered as a system of social distinctions. Of this test case for the Methodist Church in South India we have written fully in the chapter in which caste has been discussed,¹ and we shall not go over the ground again. For Missionaries feeling acutely the limitations imposed upon them by the paucity of men employed in aggressive work among a multitudinous people, it was a hard necessity which drove them to reject the service of two men, who in most respects seemed qualified for admission into the Ministry of the Church. But to Roberts and his colleagues it was a matter of conscience. With infinite regret they took up the only position which seemed open to them, and doing so they saved their own souls, and the Methodist Church of South India.

Of the Missionaries sent out during the 'forties the greater number were sent to the Mysore country to develop the work among the Kanarese people. Those who were attached to the Madras District were the Revs. J. Pinkney and J. Gostick in 1843, and Ebenezer E. Jenkins in 1846. The last-named was destined to leave an indelible mark on the whole structure of Missions in India, and his enthusiastic advocacy of their cause after his return to England in 1863 profoundly affected the Methodist Church. He was most effective as a preacher in English, and on his first arrival gave some little anxiety to his colleagues on account of his expressed desire to be appointed to Madras rather than to Negapatam, to which place he had been sent. He is described as 'an estimable young man, but too sensitive for this fervid climate.' The Chairman, recognizing his special gift, wisely removed him to Madras, and in that city he soon acquired immense influence on account of his sermons preached in the Blacktown Chapel. He had mastered the art of addressing a congregation, and he never lost it. His subject-matter was always well chosen and admirably thought out; while his piquant phraseology enabled him to carry conviction to his hearers. An enthusiastic disposition made him sometimes more optimistic than the facts allowed, but of the hold which India had upon his imagina-

¹ See p. 138.

tion and affection there could never be any question. In 1877 he was appointed to be one of the Secretaries of the Society, and in that capacity he paid an official visit to the East in 1884-1885. Another addition to the staff was found in India. Mr. Peter Batchelor had come to that country to serve as a layman in connexion with the C.M.S. Press in Madras. In 1837 he came forward as a candidate for the Methodist Ministry. He was accepted, and in 1838 he was appointed to Bangalore. He afterwards served in most of the Circuits in the Madras District. Of his marriage with Miss Twiddy, and of his later service in South Africa, we have already written.¹

Joseph Roberts was the first Madras Missionary who died on the field, though others had died while engaged in the service. He had gone to Palaveram for the sake of his health, but was worn out by excessive toil. His powers of recuperation were exhausted, and in 1849 he entered into his rest. In a letter dated April 15, 1849, R. D. Griffith writes bitter words of the passing of his Chairman. The Committee about this time discountenanced the return of Missionaries on furlough even in cases in which they were entitled to claim it, on the ground that the return of so many men from the field had 'a most injurious effect on the friends at home,' and shortly before his death Roberts had said, 'If I went home I should be ruined by the Committee.' Griffith himself had suffered from this action of the Committee, and his feeling was accentuated by the death of Roberts under such circumstances.

The Chairman next appointed was the Rev. Samuel Hardey, who had been on the field since 1829. He presided in the Synod until 1853, when he retired to Australia, and afterwards spent some years in South Africa. Three years after the death of Roberts the Madras District was called to bear another grievous loss. The Rev. Thomas Cryer—one of the saintliest men who have ever served in the Mission field—had taken furlough in England, and returned to India, arriving in Madras on October 1, 1852. The day after his arrival he was attacked by cholera, and after suffering for four days he, too, passed from the scene of his earthly service. His grave is to be found in the Cathedral Cemetery side by side with that of his friend Joseph Roberts. The record of his character and service is as follows :

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 20, and Vol. V., p. 36.

In zeal and vigour he was seldom surpassed. In spite of opposition before which an ordinary spirit would have quailed, in spite of the long delay of prosperity, in spite of most acute family and personal afflictions, his heart was undaunted. Few Missionaries excelled him in power of utterance, in adroitness of effect in dealing with the sophisms of Brahmans, in indignant invective against the corruptions of heathenism, and in persuasive appeals to conscience.

Such were some of those who laboured, with but a scanty fruitage to reward their labour, in the early days of the Methodist Mission in India.

The returns of membership in South India for the year 1849 may here be given. In Madras there were no Native Ministers, Catechists, or Local Preachers. There were a hundred and sixty-one members, but it is not stated how many of these were Tamils. In Negapatam and Manargudi there were two Catechists and forty-two members, with about fifty on probation—the latter representing the disaffected Christians of Melnattam. In the Mysore State, on the Tamil side, there were a hundred and forty-eight members; but here again no distinction is made between Tamils and persons of European descent. On the Kanarese side there was one Catechist and thirty-seven members.

The best comment on these results is to be found in a letter from the Rev. E. E. Jenkins to the Committee, written in December, 1849:

Of the laborious zeal of the Missionaries I make no doubt; but the reports from their stations for many years back show that there are vital defects in our methods of directing missionary labour. For where are our Native Churches? In which of the four places—Madras, Bangalore, Negapatam, and Manargudi—have we made anything like a permanent impression on the Hindu population? . . . I will admit that in one or two instances, perhaps, the Gospel has left a triumph as well as a testimony; but no system was in operation to maintain the stand which Truth might have commanded. There was no religious establishment to wall round and protect the seed, which perhaps here and there betokened promise. Preaching in the popular sense of the term was the only efficient means in use; for I regard the class of schools adopted as inoperative; nay, in some instances noxious—I mean those in which a Hindu schoolmaster is employed to teach Christianity. Had there been a school of superior aim, immediately and constantly under the experienced eye of a Missionary, the strictly evangelistic work of the circuit would have been supported, and its fruit preserved.

He then reviews the different centres of work, showing the meagreness and inefficiency of the agencies employed, and concludes with the words: 'My heart is moved for our Tamil Mission, and I feel it a duty from which I cannot escape to tell you the whole truth, to represent things as they are.' It must be confessed that the record up to the close of the 'forties was not one which the Church can regard with feelings other than those of humiliation and distress. Better days were in the providence of God to come, but that which might have been will remain to keep before our minds the frailty of human judgement, and the necessity of long and prayerful consideration before embarking upon schemes which are creditable rather to the enthusiasm than to the judgement of those who devise them.

While missionary operations in the Tamil Districts of Madras were thus caught 'in the doldrums,' an extension in the Native State of Mysore had been begun, and as this was until 1848 administered from Madras, and affected by changes in that District, its earliest history belongs to this chapter of our record. The earliest Protestant Mission in the Mysore State was that of the London Missionary Society, two Missionaries of which arrived in Bangalore in 1820. Their first efforts were not rewarded with success, for reasons into which we need not enter here, and it was not until 1827, when a Missionary was transferred to that city from Bellary, that a real start was made by that Society. We have seen that Messrs. Hoole and Mowat were appointed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society to begin work in Bangalore in 1820, and in 1821 they duly arrived at their destination. They were, however, like their brethren in Madras, distracted from their main purpose by the spiritual needs and claims of Europeans. A number of these were found in Seringapatam, the historic fortress of which had been occupied by the British after the downfall of Tippu Sultan in 1799, and the attempt to minister to them made anything approaching concentration in Bangalore most difficult. Mowat and his wife took up their residence in that town, but Hoole was continually touring between it and Madras. The story of his tours may still be read in the volume published by him in 1844, and it affords the reader a vivid description of missionary experience during those times. But with the exception of his first journey Hoole's tours were not of historic

importance. They did not lead to the forming of a Church in any one of the towns he visited, and we need not here make any further reference to them.

Methodist soldiers in Bangalore had secured a small property in the Cantonment, where they used to assemble for worship prior to the coming of Mowat. A renewal of the grant of this site was obtained, and a small school was built upon it. In this building Tamil services were begun, but in 1822 Mowat and Hoole were removed, and the Mysore Mission was suspended. It was resumed in 1826, when the Rev. J. F. England was appointed to take charge of it under circumstances already related. By that time the schoolhouse in the Cantonment had fallen into decay, and the only place which England could find was a stable on the Mission compound which he adapted for purposes of worship. Here the devout soldiers of regiments stationed in Bangalore, together with other Europeans, assembled for worship, but the surroundings were not such as to attract any but those who were so desirous of worshipping together that they were content to meet in a stable. For a long time England was unable to obtain better premises. The terms, under which the area covered by the Cantonment had been taken over from the Native State by the British, declared that the territory occupied was to be used 'for military purposes,' and it was held that such terms foreclosed the acquirement of land by Missionaries. Presently, however, properties held by individuals began to be offered for sale, but now a further difficulty arose. By this time the Missionary Committee had issued strict injunctions that no property was to be acquired without their expressed sanction, and twelve months would pass before permission could be received in answer to a proposal to purchase any property that might come into the market. It was not until 1829 that at last premises were secured which allowed for regular worship under seemly conditions. England had given forcible expression to his views that English work in Bangalore should be reduced to a minimum, and in asking for a colleague to be sent to his assistance he had urged that he should give himself up entirely to the study of Tamil. When in 1830 the Rev. Thomas Cryer and his wife arrived some little friction arose between the two brethren on this point, as Cryer naturally wished to take some part in the work of preaching in English. His contention

was not furthered by the scorn which he heaped on 'the Etruscan Church' which England was by that time erecting. Relief was felt by both men when Cryer was transferred to Madras in the following year. The Rev. Samuel Hardey was appointed in his place, and the chapel was opened for worship on December 25, 1831. But England had exhausted himself in its erection; his health gave way, and he returned to the home work in 1832. Hardey took charge of the work in Bangalore.

Then, in the providence of God, there appeared on the Mysore field a Missionary who was to give form and stability to the new Mission, and after forty-four years of service was to retire with the unique satisfaction of seeing the Church, which had scarcely obtained a foothold in the Bangalore Cantonment when he arrived, fairly established in the greater part of the province. The Rev. Thomas Hodson was sent in 1829, together with the Rev. Peter Percival, to open a new Mission field for the Methodist Church in Calcutta. Both men were possessed of gifts and qualifications above the ordinary; this above all, that each was able to form a definite policy in directing missionary operations, and each had both force and determination in carrying out the policy formed. Each was gifted with a facility in acquiring language, and though Hodson remained in Calcutta for only three years, he was in that time able to obtain a thorough knowledge of Bengali. In 1832 the Mission to Calcutta was given up, and the men were sent, Percival to Ceylon and Hodson to Bangalore, where he was to initiate a Mission to the Kanarese people. The explanation of this withdrawal as given by the Committee was twofold. In the Report we read that 'results'—only three years had elapsed, and both men had to acquire the language—'results had not come up to expectations, and the funds required for its maintenance may be more usefully directed to further the work in other fields.' But in a letter from the Secretaries we read that 'the gloomy and desponding representations of Mr. Percival induced the Committee to relinquish Calcutta.' Probably the latter fact unduly affected the Committee, and made it ready somewhat hastily to despair of 'results.' However that may be, the Mission to Calcutta was closed, and it was not reopened until 1860.

Before Thomas Hodson left Calcutta he wrote to the Committee a long and most important letter. This is an historic

document, for it is at once a criticism of former policy and a manifesto of what should be followed in the future. It is of interest to observe that the lines of work he afterwards laid down—not always with success—in the Mysore State closely followed—*mutatis mutandis*—those which he outlines while still in Calcutta. After commenting on the fact that having been at pains to acquire Bengali he is now to be sent to a country where that language is not spoken, he asks to be assured that by the time he has acquired the use of the Kanarese language he will not be transferred to some place where only Tamil is spoken. Then he goes on to say :

I have frequently written to you concerning the plan of our Indian Missions, and the more I see of it, and the more I think of it, the more I am convinced that it is a bad one. . . . Do you ask me what are the evils complained of? I will tell you, as I have told you before, and as I shall continue to tell you, until you understand ; for I am persuaded that as soon as you understand the case you will immediately act upon it.

1. We have no means of raising up a Native agency.
2. The Missionaries have laboured more for the English than for the heathen.
3. The Missionaries are stationed too far apart.

He then goes on to give flagrant instances in support of each of these statements, and their perusal must have brought home to the Secretaries that it was high time that radical changes in their methods of directing the work were made. But Hodson was constructive as well as critical, and he proceeds to outline a scheme for Mission work in India.

1. Instead of six Missionaries scattered into five or six Circuits a hundred miles apart, let there be six Missionaries appointed to one Circuit, containing three or four Stations not more than four miles apart, and in the midst of a Native population.

2. At three of these stations let there be a house and a school on the same premises, and a chapel as near as possible ; each Missionary to teach in the school every day, and let services for the instruction of the heathen be held in the chapel four times a week.

3. At the most central station let three brethren reside. Let there be two chapels to be used as in other stations, but

instead of an elementary school let there be one of a higher kind, to receive promising boys from the other schools. Let each of the three Missionaries be directly appointed to teach in this school three hours every day, the teaching to be of such a character as shall prepare the students for the work of the Ministry.

This may be called the 'intensive method,' as distinguished from the extensive method hitherto followed. Hodson is very clear as to the urgent necessity of securing an indigenous Ministry, but he protests that education as then carried on is utterly futile for producing such a Ministry. He anticipates objections from those who would not like so much teaching as this scheme would bind them to take up, and also from those who 'having spoken great swelling words of vanity concerning the effects of the present system, do not wish to acknowledge their error,' and he closes with the hope that the Committee will adopt the plan he proposes.

This letter marks the close of a system foredoomed to failure, and the beginning of a new policy in Indian Missions. From this time the Committee began to insist upon Missionaries giving their chief attention to Hindus, and though its commitments in the Madras District were too great to allow of an immediate reversal, they sent out to Hodson's assistance in the carrying out of his scheme a generous supply of able Missionaries. After arriving in Bangalore, where for one or two years he exercised a general supervision of the work done on the Tamil side, Hodson was authorized to make a tour of the country covered by the Governments of Mysore and Coorg, that he might select a suitable centre for the Kanarese Mission, and his choice fell upon Gubbi. To those who visit Gubbi to-day that choice must seem a strange one, nor can it be claimed that it has been justified by results. But it is easy to see that his selection of this town was in accordance with the principles he had laid down. There was no European population in Gubbi to divert the Missionaries' attention, and Brahman influence was at a minimum. It was the centre and market for a large number of villages whose inhabitants, it was hoped, would more readily give heed to the things spoken by the apostles of that time. But Hodson did not see—probably in those early days of his ministry he could scarcely be expected to see—that in placing his centre among the people of the

middle class he was confronting a conservatism more unyielding perhaps than any to be found in India.

But Hodson was far from rigid in his views. He never intended the work at Gubbi to foreclose operations elsewhere, and presently we find him opening a Kanarese school for boys in the Bangalore Petta, where Kanarese was the language spoken. Two years later he acquired twenty acres of land just outside the city. On that site the many agencies of the Mission in later days found their respective homes. One of the first of these was an English school for the higher education of Hindu students.¹ Hodson had discovered that a move in this direction might be made with advantage. Hardey's return to England left the Tamil work in Bangalore without a Missionary to direct it, and the Synod of 1834 had even proposed the abandonment of the work. Hodson, however, undertook the supervision of it, but he limited his efforts on the Tamil side of Bangalore to teaching in an Anglo-Tamil school which he opened in the Cantonment. This was most successful, and now, at the request of Hindu gentlemen of good position, he opened a similar school on the Kanarese side. At first this was held in a rented house situated within the walls of the Fort, but it was difficult to do much in that school while he continued to reside in the Cantonment. He sought permission to change his residence that he might have readier access to the Kanarese people. In 1835 he preached his first sermon to these.

The Committee was full of sympathy, and promised to consider any proposal he might make, but even now they were unwilling to give up work among the English. Thereupon Hodson asked that four additional men might be sent out for work among the Kanarese people. In 1837 we find him at Gubbi, living in a tent while a small thatched cottage was being built. He had for his assistant the Rev. C. Franklin,² and these two proceeded to preach in the streets of Gubbi and in the surrounding villages. The Tamil work in Bangalore was taken up by the Rev. Thomas Cryer, though the architecture of the chapel still continued to vex him.

In 1838 the additional men for the Kanarese Mission arrived,

¹ Both Hodson and Percival came under the influence of Duff at this time.

² Mr. Franklin afterwards seceded from the Methodist Church and joined the S.P.G. under circumstances scarcely creditable to himself.

but, alas for Hodson's hopes, they were two instead of four. The Revs. John Jenkins and M. T. Male were first instructed to reside in Bangalore until a house could be built for them at Gubbi. In addition to these the Rev. P. Batchelor joined Cryer in Tamil work in Bangalore. There was now much discussion as to the occupying of Mysore City, and Hodson considered that if this were done Coorg might be added to the new Circuit! He was, however, opposed to beginning work in Mysore City on the ground that a Missionary of the L.M.S. was already there, and as an alternative he proposed that work should be begun at Kunigal, a small town twenty-five miles from Gubbi, and, like the latter, the centre of a large village population. The Synod, however, decided against Hodson, and appointed him to begin the work in Mysore City. For some time the L.M.S. continued to be represented in the city, but after a while the Missionary was withdrawn, and from that time to the present the capital was left, as a Mission field, entirely to the Methodists. In 1839 further additions to the staff enabled the Synod to complete its scheme. The Rev. John Garrett joined Male at Bangalore, where the latter was still suffering from dysentery contracted on his voyage out. The Rev. William Arthur was sent to join Jenkins at Gubbi, and the Rev. E. G. Squarebridge was appointed to Mysore City. The plan of having two Missionaries in each centre was now complete, though it did not long remain so. Hodson soon made his personal influence felt in the capital. The Raja himself became most friendly. The latter had established an English school in the city, and Hodson began work in the same direction by opening a school in his own house. When presently the head master of the Raja's school was made tutor to the young Prince, the Raja not only handed over his school to Hodson, but also provided him with a suitable house, and promised an annual grant for its maintenance. This arrangement continued until 1850, when the direct relation of the Raja's school with the Mission was brought to an end. Male had paid a visit to the Hodsons in Mysore in the hope that a change of air would be beneficial to his health, and in 1840 he returned to Bangalore quite recovered. He was then sent to join William Arthur in Gubbi, Jenkins being brought into Bangalore. The move was unfortunate. Male's children were delicate, and subject to attacks of

croup, and at Gubbi there was no medical aid available within a two days' journey. In a few brief months the two little graves, so familiar to those who have since occupied the Mission house at Gubbi, marked the price paid for the privilege of service. Almost immediately after, Male was one day hastily summoned to Kunigal, where Squarebridge was fighting a grim battle with death. The latter had spent one year with Hodson in Mysore City, and during that year had made excellent progress in learning the Kanarese language. He said of himself that during that year he was 'as happy as it is possible for a human being to be.' His removal in the following year to Kunigal was a sore trial to him; but, like the good soldier that he was, he obeyed. Kunigal was an unhealthy station, and the sanitary arrangements in the unfinished bungalow were far from satisfactory. He was attacked by cholera, and the life so full of promise was closed. The sorrows of 1840 were not yet ended. William Arthur had given himself up to the study of Kanarese with an ardour characteristic of his temperament, and the strain upon his sight proved to be more than he could bear. It was hoped that complete rest on the Nilgiri hills would enable him to recover, and he spent some months at Ootacamund, but medical opinion was insistent that if sight was to be saved he must return at once to England. In 1841 the brief term of his service in India came to a close. One sentence written by him will serve to indicate the feeling with which he left India: 'Gladly would I have resigned every hope of seeing in this life a single relation, had the Lord only counted me worthy to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. But His will was otherwise.' It was a brief term of service, but within the few months India had laid hold upon both mind and heart, and he fully acknowledged her claim. His service for India was not yet closed. From 1851 to 1868 he served as one of the Society's Secretaries, and the glow and passion of his heart, as well as his mental grasp of Hindu life and thought, may be seen on every page of the volume he published in 1847, entitled *A Mission to the Mysore*.¹ Thus by the close of 1840 the prospects of the Kanarese Mission were clouded over. Hodson remained in Mysore with an 'Assistant' to

¹A new edition of this work, edited by the Rev. Henry Haigh, was published in 1902.

help him, and Male, with another 'Assistant,' remained at Gubbi. Jenkins and Garrett were in Bangalore. The Missionaries were depressed by reason of their losses, and even more so because as yet not a single convert from the Kanarese people had come forward to gladden their hearts by a confession of Christ.

In one of his earliest letters to the Committee Hodson had pleaded that in sending out Missionaries for Mysore one might be selected who had a knowledge of medicine, and another who understood the technicalities of printing. In seeking to begin medical work in 1833 he was far ahead of his times, but among those sent out in 1839 was John Garrett, and he had been a printer before entering the Ministry. Towards the close of 1840 a press was set up in the Mission compound in Bangalore, and its management was entrusted to Garrett. This was the first printing-press set up in the Mysore State, and for thirty-two years it issued vernacular and English books which were invaluable in the schools of the Mission, to say nothing of the printing of the Kanarese Bible in 1845. This press was given up in 1872, under circumstances which will come before us, but its work was taken up again in a press which was set up in Mysore City. In those earliest days Garrett did excellent work in this department, and it was a matter of infinite regret that charges were brought against him which he failed to meet, and he resigned his connexion with the Society in the following year.

The decade of the 'forties was an unhappy one in the Mysore Mission. Hodson's health was obviously failing, and in 1843 he returned to England, where he remained for ten years. The Committee was slow in responding to his repeated pleas for a minimum of two men in each Circuit, but in 1842 the Revs. J. Gostick, E. J. Hardey, and Daniel Sanderson were sent out. The first-named was delayed *en route*, and arrived on the field in 1843. He spent four years at Kunigal, and then his wife's health compelled him to take her to England. He never returned. In 1846 the Revs. B. Field, T. B. Glanville, and J. Morris arrived. But Field, after two years in Gubbi, returned to the work in England with broken health, and Morris, after four years of service, also withdrew for a time, owing to failure of health. Two years later came the Rev. J. M. Cranswick, whose temperament made him ill-suited to

such work as India demands. After one year at Gubbi he returned, without waiting for permission, a depressed and despairing man. The death of Squarebridge while alone at Kunigal led to much discussion as to whether single or married men should be sent out to India, and some of the probationers already on the field sought permission to marry before the term of their probation had expired. Refusal created a spirit of discontent. About this time several of the 'Assistant Missionaries' resigned their position, and attached themselves to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. To add to all this, Mr. Male, who after Hodson returned to England was alone in Mysore City, became so friendly with the Raja that he was admitted by the latter to some knowledge of his personal embarrassments. He came under suspicion, and the British officials were annoyed at the position he occupied in the private affairs of the Raja. He was charged with entering into political intrigue, and though this was never proved, and was indignantly denied by Male himself, he was severely censured by his brethren at the Synod. All this was distinctly depressing, and still the long-desired harvest of much faithful sowing was delayed. It began to look as though the Kanarese people were wholly irresponsive to the appeal of the Gospel. But this delayed response was in reality due to characteristics of the Kanarese people, and to social conditions in the Mysore country, which we must now consider.

The Mysore country is situated on the tableland between the Eastern and the Western Ghats, and in consequence enjoys the annual blessing of two monsoons—'the early and the latter rain.' The people inhabiting this favoured country naturally gave themselves up for the most part to agriculture, and their irrigation works, many of them constructed in far distant days, have often compelled the admiration of European engineers. But the tiller of the soil is notoriously conservative in temperament, and his mind is less impressionable than that of one who is engaged in the ever-changing conditions of industry and city life. The Kanarese mind is thus less likely to be moved at once by appeals made by the teachers of a new religion. There is also less of the serf in the average labourer or small cultivator. In some parts of the District such conditions are not unknown, but for the most part the Kanarese Pariah is fairly independent ;

in good seasons he is prosperous, and may even be wealthy. Christianity does not hold out to these any prospect of betterment in material wealth. On the contrary it entails, when accepted, the loss of property. For the Hindu law of inheritance ordains that if a man abandons the faith of his ancestors, he thereby forfeits any claim he may have upon ancestral property, and in a notorious judgement of the Mysore Court, to which we have already referred,¹ he also ceases to have any control over his own children. Even among the lowest classes of the Pariahs a man often faces the loss of all things, if he would follow Christ.

Under such conditions it does not seem likely that there will be anything deserving the name of a 'Mass Movement' among the Kanarese people, unless indeed some 'Breath of God' should pass over the fields and gardens, and quicken in the hearts of those who till them that spiritual hunger which Christ alone can satisfy. With the exception of a quite modern movement to the south of Mysore City conversions were made one by one, and, where they proved to be genuine, the motive which led to decision was wholly religious and spiritual. All this was clearly enunciated by the Rev. W. H. Findlay when he visited the Mysore District in his official capacity as Secretary of the Society in 1906. In his report of that visit he says :

The low castes, to whom in Haidarabad we devote all our strength, are found in scanty numbers in Mysore, where our business is with caste populations, sturdy conservative peasant-farmers, acute and cultured Brahmans, independent and indifferent shopkeepers, and the like. The steadily pursued aim of District policy has been to spread through this mass of caste Hinduism the leavening influence of Christian education and Christian literature, while at the same time seeking a hearing, as far as might be, for the direct appeal of the Gospel. Wide dissemination of truth, aiming at the gradual transformation of the community as a whole, has been preferred to methods that would give more rapid numerical results.

The first convert among the Kanarese people was 'Chikka,' afterwards known as 'Old Daniel,' the washerman of a little village near Gubbi, of whom William Arthur wrote words of insight and sympathy and love. Only by such cases of individual conviction of sin and through faith in Christ did the

¹ See p. 148.

Kanarese Church grow to the dimensions observable to-day. The long waiting tested the faith of those who sought to lead the people to Christ, and gave ample occasion to the critic for pointing out the disparity between the amount of money spent in missionary operations and the number of converts secured.

Hardey and Sanderson were at Gubbi in 1843, but towards the end of the year Hardey was desperately ill, and Sanderson was depressed and ill-content with his appointment to Gubbi. Gostick, when he at last arrived, was appointed to Kunigal, but resided at Gubbi until a house could be got ready for him at Kunigal. After the trouble arising out of Male's intimacies with the Raja he was removed to Gubbi, and Sanderson was sent to Mysore City. An indication of coming changes in the stations was given in the Synod of 1844, when the Chairman, the Rev. Joseph Roberts, after visiting the Circuits in the Mysore District, strongly advised that Tumkur should be occupied instead of Kunigal. By this time Hodson, Jenkins, and Arthur were all in England, and, as was the case in Madras, the return of Missionaries was deplored by the Secretaries in terms which seemed harsh and unfeeling. In the case of all three their return was amply justified. Their places were filled by the appointment of the Revs. Benjamin Field, T. B. Glanville, and Joseph Morris in 1846. Three years later the Mysore Mission became a separate entity. Up to this time it had been administered from Madras, but in 1849 it came under independent administration, the Rev. John Garrett being its first Chairman.

IV

PARABLES OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

(i.) THE MADRAS DISTRICT : ' THE SOWER '

The kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

Behold the sower went forth to sow ; and as he sowed some seeds fell by the wayside. . . . Others fell upon the rocky places. . . . Others fell upon the thorns. . . . And others fell upon the good ground.—MATT. xiii. 4-8.

This chapter is a story of the sowing of the good seed of the Kingdom in a wide and varied field. The result differs with the soil into which the seed may fall. The human heart may fail to grasp its own relation to the seed ; it may be shallow, or choked with noxious growths. The seed in each case is the same, as are also the care and purpose of the sower, but only those who are simple and sincere will reveal in themselves the harvest which rewards the sower's toil.

It was in the decade of the 'fifties that the dawn of a brighter day began to appear in the Madras District, but at its commencement the prospect was dark enough to give point to a familiar adage. True, additions had been made to the staff. The Revs. J. Pinkney (1843-1862) and J. Little (1844-1859) were both able to complete a long and honourable term of service, and the Rev. Arminius Burgess (1852-1869), who followed early in the decade, also served with great efficiency and distinction. The Revs. J. Hobday and P. J. Evers were the only two Assistant Missionaries, but they proved to be of higher type than those hitherto mentioned. The only Missionary on the field in addition to these and the Chairman, the Rev. Samuel Hardey, was the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, and this was the staff which 'occupied' Madras, Negapatam, Trichinopoly, and Manargudi, each with its quota of English congregations, schools, and other agencies of missionary work.¹ It is,

¹The Rev. John Kilner was brought from Ceylon in 1849, but he had then no knowledge of Tamil.

therefore, not surprising that 'concentration' was the order of the day. Stations such as San Thomé, St. Thomas' Mount, Royapuram, and Poonamalee were left to other Societies, and the Missionaries in Madras confined their attention to Royapetta and Blacktown. In the former the high school, so much advocated by Dr. Jenkins, was opened, and we shall trace its development into the college to which his name was given. A boarding school for girls was also opened, and this, too, was destined to grow into an institution of great value.

The return of Thomas Cryer from furlough was all the more eagerly expected because of this shortage in the supply of experienced Missionaries, but almost as soon as he landed in the first week of October, 1852, he was attacked by cholera. For twenty-two years he had given himself without stint in the service of his Lord and Master, and he had it in his heart to serve still further, but he was not to fulfil his purpose, and he died on October 5, 1852. He was a Missionary of extraordinary zeal and vigour. He did not spare the corruptions of heathenism when he encountered them, and he excelled in his use of the Tamil language. To him the preaching of 'the Cross' was the only but sufficient method of bringing men to realize the death by which men live, and to that topic he gave himself up with all his heart. All other instruments were to him not to be compared with the 'preaching of the Cross.' Like another greater apostle, he determined 'to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' His loyalty won him great respect, and his love for men won him many hearts.

His death was a terrible blow to the depleted group of Missionaries in Madras, and when this was followed the next year by the sudden departure of the Chairman, the prospect before the District was gloomy to a degree. Samuel Hardey was a man of beautiful character. 'Gentleness, courtesy, saintliness'—such were the traits his brethren found in him. But he was much more than would be indicated if the record stopped at that point. He was no mean scholar in Tamil, and his devotion to the service of the Church was unlimited. After leaving India thus suddenly to save his life, he served for many years in Australia and in South Africa, and crowned a long and laborious life by a triumphant death in 1878. The Rev. Arminius Burgess arrived in 1852, and was associated with

Dr. Jenkins in Madras. No attempt to preach in Tamil was possible, but the Blacktown Chapel was crowded on Sunday evenings by those who delighted to listen to the great preacher of that day. On the side of evangelistic work among the surging crowds of Madras there was nothing to be done but to wait for reinforcements from England. But misfortune seemed to thwart every endeavour. In 1855 the Rev. R. D. Griffith, who was already known as an able financier, a firm disciplinarian, and an able thinker, arrived to take the place of Samuel Hardey in the chair of the District. He, too, had just landed when he was smitten down. He hastily returned to England in the hope of saving his life, but he died almost immediately after his arrival. The District was again deprived of its administrative head, and the Committee instructed the Rev. Thomas Hodson, who in 1854 was returning to the Mysore Mission, to remain in Madras and to administer both Districts until they should find a suitable Chairman for Madras. All this was depressing enough. It seemed as though the work in Madras would never 'get going.' But just as in the earliest days of spring there comes a day on which, though no definite signs that winter has relaxed its grasp are apparent, men nevertheless feel that 'spring is in the air,' so by the middle of the 'fifties a spirit of hopeful anticipation made itself felt among the hard-pressed men in Madras. In 1855 the Revs. W. O. Simpson and Robert Stephenson arrived, the latter to take charge of the English work at Blacktown, and the former, with his big heart filled with a passion of love for the Hindu people, ready to give himself up wholly to their service. It may safely be said that effective work among the Tamil people began with his coming to Madras. Pinkney was bravely 'holding the fort' in Trichinopoly, and his quiet persistence was beginning to tell. Conversions began to rejoice the hearts of the Missionaries. Springtime was surely close at hand.

Both Manargudi and Melnattam were derelict stations in 1855. In the former the chapel was represented by a mound of earth, and in the latter most of those whose admission into the Methodist Church had awakened such bright hopes had relapsed into heathenism. Melnattam was a sad instance which Dr. Jenkins might have used if he had needed to give point to one of the wisest utterances he ever made when he said: 'In India everything depends upon effort never diverted,

never interrupted, never diminished.' But even in these two stations there were signs of revival. Many years were to pass before they became centres of strong and fruitful work, but they were never abandoned as hopeless fields for the tillage of the Church.

Simpson went for a few months to Negapatam, where he took charge of the English school. His broad mind, deep and genuine sympathy, and his genial humour at once began to win for him an extraordinary influence over his students, but he did not remain long in Negapatam. While there he was diligently learning Tamil, to such effect that he became most proficient in the use of that language, and few could equal him in preaching to those whose minds and hearts he swayed in the streets of Indian cities much as he afterwards did in the crowded chapels of his own country. The following year he was sent to Trichinopoly.

The year 1857 will always be marked in the annals of India as the year of the Great Mutiny. In the records of the Church it indicates the beginning of a new era in missionary operations in a land where infinite regret goes side by side with infinite hope. The Christian Church can never stand apart from the struggles of humanity. It is implicated in every movement, whether of nations or of classes within the nation, and every apocalyptic conflict reveals Him who is at once the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. When the double shock of the outburst of barbarity, and of the deplorable reprisals which followed it, had passed, England turned with a new interest to consider the people whose destinies were so closely interwoven with her own, and the Christian Church took upon itself a heavier burden of responsibility for the evangelizing of India.

A light was thrown upon the attitude of the Government of India in matters of religion. The loudly proclaimed 'neutrality' of the East India Company had been compromised by timid concessions made to idolatrous practice. Financial grants made to temples, as well as considerable gifts offered by prominent officials of the Company, were interpreted by some as being prompted by fear, and by others as a recognition of the supremacy of Hinduism. It was a just retribution for an unworthy policy of showing something more than toleration towards Hinduism, and something less than consideration

towards Christianity, that when the outbreak came the incident chosen for its justification was found at the very point which the Government had sought to guard by an attitude which often compromised their position as representatives of a Christian nation. So convinced were the people of Government favour toward their religion that in the Queen's proclamation, which 'closed the incident' of the Mutiny, one paragraph which to a European signifies the coldest religious impartiality, suggested to Hindus the active protection of the Government for every custom, however revolting, and for every idol, whatever form its worship might take. There followed religious riots in Travancore and Tinnevely which had to be suppressed by the employment of military force. So difficult is it to overtake the issues of a wrong policy in the past, and so easy is it for the East to misunderstand the West.

At the time of the Mutiny Methodist Missions had not extended beyond the south of India, and, though there was abundant anxiety, that part of the country passed through the great crisis without any serious outbreak. But the immunity of its own representatives did not tempt the Methodist Church in England to stand aside from the responsibility thus laid upon the Church Universal. A large sum was contributed towards the relief of sufferers, and the Missionary Society resolved to increase its staff of Missionaries. There is something like a confession of fault in the Committee's Report for the year 1858 :

It had long been felt by many that this vast field had not hitherto received its due proportion of the means of the Society, and when such a call for a new effort on its behalf arose it was felt that a continuance of its past neglect would be inexcusable.

It would have been well if this enlightenment had come in time to prevent the heart-break of many a Missionary, and the unnecessary sacrifice of many lives. The Committee resolved to send out ten men at once, and, if their funds allowed, to send out twice as many in the course of the following year. But of even greater value than this reinforcement was the fact that the Church now began, together with the British public generally, to study more intelligently the conditions of life and thought in India ; for where that point is assured,

the flow of sympathy and the urgency of prayer in the Church on behalf of its ministry across the seas is bound to follow.

There were other movements indicative of quickened interest in Missions which greatly added to the efficiency of workers in India. The Christian Literature Society for India and Ceylon, whose publications have immeasurably strengthened the Missionaries in their work, was formed in 1858, the Earl of Shaftesbury being its first President and the Rev. William Arthur writing its first appeal. Since then this Society has established branches in most of the provinces of India, Burma, and Ceylon, and its publications appear in more than twenty languages spoken within the area in which it serves its noble purpose. The same year saw the formation of the Women's Auxiliary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. This has meant the coming of light and hope and joy to countless thousands of the women of India, and its future is as unlimited as is the field which it has set out to claim for Christ.

The list of the Madras stations in 1858 presents a happy contrast with that of preceding years. The Revs. W. R. Cockill, J. Jones, and T. Robinson were associated with the Rev. E. E. Jenkins at Royapetta, and they had in addition the collaboration of the Rev. P. Evers, an Anglo-Indian Minister.¹ In Blacktown the Rev. S. Symons had joined Robert Stephenson. Batchelor had returned to Negapatam, and he had as his assistants the Rev. A. Levell, one of the new recruits, and the Rev. E. Gloria, an Indian Minister. W. O. Simpson was at Trichinopoly with the Rev. G. Hobday, another Indian Minister, to assist him. For the first time in its history the Circuits in this district were fully manned. Conversions, too, began to follow on the preaching of the word. In 1857 a Brahman student of W. O. Simpson's, while the latter had charge of the School in Negapatam, escaped to Madras and was there baptized. This was the distinguished Indian gentleman known in after years as Devan Bahudur Subramanyam Iyer, who became Administrator-General, and who gave to the Society the Kalyani Hospital, named in memory of his mother. Probably the fact that his baptism took place in Madras and not in Negapatam accounts for the absence of excitement on the occasion. But in the following year Viziarangam, a

¹ It was hoped at first that an indigenous Ministry would be found in the Anglo-Indian community, but with a few notable exceptions the men chosen for this service proved to be unsatisfactory.

Mudaliar by caste, who was attending the school in Royapetta, came forward and confessed his faith in Christ and sought for baptism. His parents did their utmost to persuade him to abandon the idea, but the young man was faithful to the allegiance he confessed. When it was found impossible to deter him from the carrying out of his purpose the Mission house in which he had taken refuge was besieged and stormed by an angry mob which was determined to remove him. The two Missionaries, E. E. Jenkins and W. R. Cockill, only escaped by a hasty retreat over the wall of the compound and into the bungalow of a neighbour, and the agility of Dr. Jenkins seems to have been something of a surprise to himself. Viziarangam was fortunately able to conceal himself from the mob, and was shortly afterwards baptized. The Mission house was wrecked by the crowd of infuriated persons, and it was thought desirable to bring the ringleaders to justice. They were duly punished by the magistrate. Other conversions followed, and almost for the first time the pulse of healthy, vigorous life was felt in the Church. Plans for extension began to be considered by the Missionaries in Madras. The first actual extension, however, took place in the neighbourhood of Negapatam, where land was acquired at Tiruvalur, a town of which we shall have more to write later on.

Under the care of the Rev. Arminius Burgess the Royapetta School continued to develop, and the girls' boarding school also gave great satisfaction to those who were at its head. After the death of the Rev. J. Roberts in 1849 Mrs. Roberts continued to reside in Madras, and gave herself up to the work of training the girls in the school. She continued this beautiful and efficient service for ten years, returning to England in 1859. Her patience, wisdom, and kindness were all employed in forming the character of her beloved pupils.

Towards the close of 1859 Dr. Jenkins, as Chairman of the District, visited the outlying stations, and we cannot do better than accompany him in our endeavour to understand the stage reached at the close of this eventful period. After a journey of *five days* he came to Trichinopoly, where Cockill had joined Simpson; and, with the Rev. E. Gloria to help them, the Trichinopoly staff was as strong as could be expected. Like a wise Superintendent, Simpson had set Cockill almost entirely free from other duties that he might give himself up

to the study of Tamil. Simpson had also initiated a system of fixed localities for street-preaching, acquiring inexpensive shops in the bazaars, and holding services in such places at fixed intervals every week. The school was in an initial stage, but Simpson might be trusted to create a school out of the most unpromising material, and in Trichinopoly the material was excellent. The Native Church was very small; only seventeen members were returned in 1859.

Manargudi was occupied by two Indian Ministers, the Revs. Joel Samuel and G. Hobday. In this town the Mission premises were in a sad state of disrepair. 'House, furniture, garden, and grounds are an utter discredit to us.' Jenkins felt that 'Somehow he have wronged Manargudi.' For one thing, the Mission house was too far from the town. That defect was put right by the purchase of a good site just outside. For this the sum of £15 was paid. But that which had brought about the failure at Manargudi was not the remoteness of the Mission house, but the uncertainty of tenure on the part of its occupants. Nothing so troubles the mind of the timid persons who may wish to join the Church as the reflection, only too well grounded, that their teachers and protectors of to-day may be gone to-morrow. There were thirty-seven boys in the English school—no great number, but the germ out of which a worthy college, bearing a worthy name, was to come. There were only four members of the Church in Manargudi. Melnattam was a 'wilderness.' The poison of caste had destroyed the fellowship of the Church, and its material setting had been ruined by neglect. But Jenkins hoped that better days would come, and was unwilling to abandon the station. It was in this decade that we first find a mention of Tiruvalur, a town situated between Negapatam and Manargudi. Here a site had been purchased in the hope that it would be possible to appoint a Missionary to this town before long.

Negapatam, where Batchelor was stationed with the Rev. Alfred Levell, a newly arrived Missionary, was in a far more hopeful condition, though the observance of caste was still prevalent among the members of the Church, and prevented that fullness of communion which is the life of Christians. Both the school for boys and that for girls—the latter well cared for by Mrs. Batchelor—were prosperous. There were a hundred and fifty-nine pupils in the one and fifty-five in

the other. The influence of caste is clearly seen in the returns of membership. While the number of those attending public worship was two hundred and seventy, the members were only four.

From Negapatam the Chairman returned to Madras. Here the membership was a hundred and forty-eight, being about equally divided between Blacktown and Royapetta. The total number of pupils in the schools was five hundred and seventy-two. It cannot be said that even now, forty-five years after the arrival of James Lynch in Madras, the increase in the Methodist Church of this District was in any way commensurate with the efforts that had been made to found it.

In 1863 W. O. Simpson was brought to Madras, and he at once set about giving to the Church something more of an indigenous and less of a foreign character. One step in this direction was the introduction of Christian hymns, composed in Indian metres and sung to Indian tunes, in place of the often bald translation of English hymns sung to tunes that were foreign to the people and entirely out of harmony with their own conception of musical arrangement. This was a wise and most important step to take, but Simpson soon saw that the true key to his problem was to be found in the character and quality of the Indian Ministry, and at that time a Tamil Ministry did not exist. Such training as had been attempted had been spasmodic and imperfect. Naturally no result had followed. Simpson obtained permission from the Chairman to experiment for one year. He took a house with adjacent buildings suitable for the accommodation of students, and gave himself up to the work of training them. It is an unhappy feature of the administration of those days that before he could obtain permission to attempt what was universally admitted to be an essential feature of any Mission in India he had to accept a personal responsibility for any additional expense that might be incurred. His four students were Subrahmanyam, Gunaswami, Kalyana Raman, and Kuppuswami Row. The three first-named were Brahmans, and the fourth was of the Sudra caste. Simpson's 'Theological Institution' contained first-rate material. Both Kuppuswami Row and Kalyana Raman subsequently entered the Ministry, and for a long time stood high in the esteem of their brethren. It is grievous to be obliged to record that both of them came under

temptation, and their conduct was such that their separation from the Ministry became necessary.¹

Another event of 1863 may be recorded here, for though at first it seemed to lead to nothing, it was nevertheless the first movement in a direction which led to a fruitful field. That event was a visit paid by the Revs. E. E. Jenkins and George Fryar to the Telugu country bordering on the River Godavery. The jubilee of the Society was at that time being celebrated in England, and one result of the meetings held was the gift of a hundred and eighty thousand pounds by the Methodist people for missionary work. It was hoped that some of this generous gift might be used for the beginning of missionary operations in the Godavery region. But the only immediate result of that contribution, so far as the work in India was concerned, is to be found in the sending of two Missionaries to Calcutta. It is true that five thousand pounds was set apart for 'the Godavery Mission,' but nothing more was heard of that Mission for fifteen years. Jenkins and Fryar travelled up the Godavery River for two hundred and twenty miles until they came to Sironcha, which they strongly recommended as a station 'to be occupied with the least possible delay.'

Yet another event of a year in which the Church was evidently 'feeling after' an extension of its activities was the appointment of the Rev. John Jones to begin work in Karur. In 1861 a request for a school had come from that town; and, a suitable site having been given by the Government, it was determined to make a start. A small Society of twelve persons, who had come from other places, was already in the town, and the Synod felt that it could not neglect the double claim. Such was the beginning of what was to become a most fruitful work in after years. This year was also the last that Dr. Jenkins spent as a Missionary in India. Thenceforth his work was to be found in England, and he accomplished it with the same distinction as had characterized his service in India. An even more serious loss befell the District in the following year. Simpson's furlough was due, and he left India, never dreaming that he was not to return. But the failure of Mrs. Simpson's health left him with no alternative to remaining in England.

¹ See *The Life of the Rev. W. O. Simpson*, p. 176.

W. O. Simpson was a man of the open heart and of the open mind. Ready in sympathy, which was never feigned, he quickly won the love of all with whom he had to do. The heavy shadow which fell upon his home during his furlough was never allowed to depress those who were admitted into fellowship with him, and this obliteration of all that is born of self-pity or self-consideration, making him a genial companion even when the shadow on his own heart was deepest, was the secret of his personal influence among Hindus. His mind was as open as his heart. He was quick to see the meaning of things. Imagination—one of his great faculties—enabled him to grasp issues hidden from the generality of men, and he added to this a natural force of expression which made him one of the most effective speakers of his day. More than most men he had the secret of moving an audience, but this gift was never allowed to degenerate into any form of meretricious oratory. Such gifts and graces in combination gave him a commanding influence over his students in India. Their love went with their respect and reverence, and it seemed as though he was destined to be a great power for good in South India. But God had other purposes for His servant. In the Huddersfield Synod of 1881 the call came in a moment, and in a moment it was answered, and W. O. Simpson passed into the immediate presence of the Master whom he had loved and served.

Of the Missionaries sent to this District in the 'sixties there were at least two who left a distinct and permanent mark upon the Methodist Church in South India. The Rev. Henry Little arrived in 1862, and was stationed in each of the several Circuits of the District in turn, until in 1874 he came to Karur. Here he was to build his great memorial, for he was still in the Circuit when the great famine of 1877 passed like a destroying angel over South India.¹ How he gathered the pitiful orphans together, and tended them with a father's heart, and out of these helpless creatures of suffering built up the Industrial Schools of Karur, will be told in another chapter.² In 1881 he was appointed to be Chairman of the undivided District, but in 1885, when the division was made which gave Negapatam an independent administration, he remained in Karur as Chairman of the newly formed District, and continued to serve

¹ See p. 229.

² See p. 230.

there until 1893, when he returned to England. The close of a long and fruitful Ministry came in 1912.

Equally distinguished was the career of the Rev. William Burgess, who came to Madras in 1867. To him it was given to inaugurate the Methodist Mission in Haidarabad, and in 1888 he was appointed Chairman of that District. There will be much to say of his administration when we come to tell the story of Haidarabad. In 1902 we find him in Rome, where again he served in the Chair of the District, returning finally to England in 1918. Others there were who served faithfully, and by quiet persistence in the face of grievous disappointments succeeded at last in lifting the work in Madras out of the Slough of Despond into which it had fallen. Both Henry Little and Robert Stephenson had much to say as to the causes of this desponding effort which had resulted in failure. For 'failure' is the only word which can be used when we find the Chairman of the District, Robert Stephenson, in 1865 pointing out that 'We have been fifty years in India, but have done no more than lay the foundations of a Native Church—if, indeed, so much as that can be said without exaggeration.' In a very able letter he claims that the explanation of this is twofold. The Methodist Church had been called to take up work in Madras, where the distractions and concentrated wickedness of a great city abounded, and along the course of the River Kaveri, where Brahmanism was in great power. That is to say that the two forces of materialism and priest-craft were at their strongest in the two sections of the Madras District. Even thus the result might have been different but for the second reason, which was that the work of the Missionaries had been inadequately and irregularly sustained. The policy of the Mission House in England had been strangely defiant of the two great principles of missionary work in the East. Those principles were concentration and continuity, and neither had been observed. This is a voice from out of the distant past, but it has its warnings for to-day.

Henry Little in an unfinished article writes in a more trenchant style to the same effect, but goes on to claim that in spite of the disappointing experiences of the past the same fatal weakness was apparent again in the new work being taken up in the north of India. The facts which he passes in review have been already before us, and we need not repeat

them. It certainly has not been for want of clear, vigorous, and sometimes indignant protests that the fatal policy of diffusion of effort has been followed. Better days were to come to the Methodist Church in South India, and the spirits of good and faithful servants, long since entered into the joy of their Lord, now rejoice over that for which they toiled and prayed during the long years of hope deferred.

In 1867 Stephenson, who was now the Chairman of the District, visited the Circuits outside Madras, and his journal gives us a succinct account of their condition. Though eight years had passed since Dr. Jenkins had made a similar tour, the recurrent notes in Stephenson's journal are those of struggling Missionaries and Mission buildings falling into decay. In spite of the cheery, hopeful spirit of the writer, the resultant picture is that of a Mission starved both in men and money. The Jubilee Fund had brought no relief. The observance of caste was still maintained by the Christians of Negapatam, and they finally invited the German Lutheran Evangelical Mission to begin work in the town. On their doing so they attached themselves to those who would deal more tenderly with their caste prejudices. A mere remnant of a once large congregation continued to worship in the Wesleyan Chapel. Stephenson, however, saw as clearly as Simpson had done that the real cause of weakness in the Church was to be found in the condition of the indigenous Ministry, and he was the first to take a practical and official step towards organizing and giving a definite position to Lay Agency, out of which he hoped that the ordained Ministry would come. He inaugurated annual meetings of Catechists and other Agents; a course of study was laid down, and it was resolved that greater attention be paid to the moral and spiritual qualifications of candidates for admission to this particular agency. But the Madras District was still in sad plight. The year 1867 was a year of disaster. No less than five Missionaries were that year obliged to return to England owing to failure of health, and the annual Report shows an actual decrease in the membership of that year. A new and much needed girls' school at Royapetta, and the increased attendance in the boys' school at Negapatam, due to the withdrawal of the S.P.G. in our favour, were the only cheering items in the records of the 'sixties.

Stephenson had been in the District since 1855, and for the first six years he had ministered to the English congregation at Blacktown. In 1861 we find him at Trichinopoly, delighted to take up work in the vernacular. In 1865 he was appointed Chairman, but in that year he was compelled by domestic affliction to return to England. Ten years after he returned to Madras, greatly to the joy of his colleagues, to resume the Chairmanship. But this was only for two years; he left India finally in 1878, and retired from active work in the following year. 'Self-discipline, sincerity, gentleness, and enthusiasm'—such were the outstanding features of his character, and he was as kind and as courteous to his Indian colleagues as to his European brethren. He was succeeded in the Chair of the District by Arminius Burgess.

Another Missionary who was able to remain in this District for a considerable period was the Rev. George Fryar. He came to Madras in 1860, and remained on the field for twenty-two years, during the last two of which he was Chairman. He was a devoted and enthusiastic Missionary, and it is said of him that he could speak Tamil as easily as any Hindu in Madras. He lived a long life of seventy-five years, and passed to his rest in 1910.

Any report of work in India given by Dr. Jenkins was certain to be of interest, and his felicity in giving expression to his always suggestive thought made it delightful reading. Not the least of these stimulating documents is that which he gave to the Committee as the result of a visit paid by him to the scene of his former labours in 1876. By that time the tide of missionary enterprise was setting strongly in favour of education, and Dr. Jenkins was too convinced a missionary educationist not to respond to the movement. But he also saw the perils attending too exclusive a devotion to this branch of the work. He feared that the desire of Hindus for education was due not so much to a thirst for knowledge as to a desire to qualify for office under Government, and in order to secure the social and financial advantages accruing therefrom. Finally he gives his judgement in favour of making the best of the movement in the interests of Christianity, and hopes that the Church will lead the movement and not allow its enemies to do so. He writes with characteristic enthusiasm of the prospects in Manargudi, where the high school was

rapidly attaining a premier position among schools of its class, and he urges an extension of the school premises on the excellent site already in the possession of the Mission. Of the education of girls and women he writes with equal hope and confidence. Fifteen years before no attempt in this direction had been made, but in 1876 there were sixteen schools for girls in the District, with more than eight hundred girls in attendance. He comments upon the need of following up this work by zenana visitation, and deploras that no attempt has yet been made to reduce this form of Mission work to system. Last of all he comes to the depressing question of the Indian Ministry. During the fourteen years preceding, only three men had been received into the Ministry, and of these one had come from another Church. The reason for this failure in building up a Native Ministry he finds in that

We have never made the training of Native Ministers a distinct branch of Mission labour. If we have the courage and patience to review candidly the history of our Missions in the East, it will not be easy to reconcile the non-existence of such an institution with fidelity to the memory and sacrifices of the men who began our Indian work sixty years ago, with the claims of the greatest missionary field in the world before them.

But here Dr. Jenkins forgets that those Missionaries were hampered at every turn by the policy of the home administration, and by the failure to provide either the men or the means necessary for such a work. The Missionaries would have moved eagerly enough, but when the least attempt to depart from the lines laid down by the Committee was almost certain to evoke a letter of censure, we may well regard the non-existence of such an institution as casting no reflection whatever upon the fidelity of our first Missionaries in India. But there was no question as to the soundness of his judgement that however the fault of the past might be adjudged, there was 'an urgent necessity' for the work to be taken up without further delay. 'The time has come for the immediate establishment of a theological institution for South India.'

At the time when Dr. Jenkins wrote this important letter the Missionaries at work in the District were as follows. Robert Stephenson was Chairman, and with him in Madras were three newly arrived men, James Cooling, G. M. Cobban, and J. M.

Thompson, each of whom was to play an important part in the developments of the future. William Burgess was in charge of the training institution for Native Ministers, twelve students being in residence, but for that year he was absent on furlough. George Patterson was the Methodist representative in the Madras Christian College. The Tamil Circuit (Madras North) was manned entirely by Indian Ministers under the superintendency of James Hobday. Richard Brown was stationed at St. Thomas' Mount. In the Negapatam section of the District A. F. Barley and R. S. Boulter were in Negapatam; G. Fryar and T. F. Nicholson were at Manargudi. John Dixon was at Trichinopoly and Henry Little at Karur. The staff had never been stronger, and all the omens were in favour of successful work, though the membership returns continued to be small. There were only two hundred and fifty-two Native members and a hundred and forty-eight English.

At the Conference of 1871 the Rev. James Gillings was appointed Chairman of the District. We have already referred to the service which this Missionary rendered in North Ceylon during the years 1844-1853. After eighteen years spent in Circuits in England he returned to Madras, and for five years served as Chairman. He spent the evening of a long and useful life, in the course of which his gentleness and fidelity won him many friends, on the Nilgiri Hills, where he ministered to the British soldiers stationed at Wellington. In 1897 he passed suddenly to fuller life.

Arminius Burgess, writing in 1870, took a hopeful view of the work in both Negapatam and Manargudi. Owing to the withdrawal of the S.P.G. from their school in the former, our school, at that time in charge of Henry Little, was the largest in the District with the exception of the school at Royapetta, and Brahman and Pariah sat together in the class-rooms—this in a town in which even the Christian Church had been rent asunder on account of caste prejudices. There was a change at Manargudi also, but of a different character. It was to be found in the attitude of Hindus towards the Mission. That attitude had been for many years one of suspicion and hostility, but the people had now come to look upon the Missionary as their friend. At this centre the work had so developed that Manargudi was no longer an out-station of the Trichinopoly Circuit, but had become itself a Circuit,

with out-stations of its own, in each of which a Catechist was stationed and a school opened. A truer knowledge of Christianity and an appreciation of its spirit and aim had been diffused throughout the surrounding villages, and this was a prophecy of the great harvest one day to be gathered in this field. At Tiruvalur, where for sixteen years Missionaries had laboured without success, a young Brahman was converted, and was sent to Madras to be trained as a Mission Agent.

In 1877 Henry Little came to Karur, the station with which his name will always be associated. He found a reception far from cheering. The house was small and dirty, full of yet dirtier furniture, exposed to heat, glare, and the observation of every passer-by. It was a perfect picture of discomfort. The schoolhouse was on the verge of collapse. Worst of all, though work had been done in Karur for fourteen years, the Church had gained no hold on the life of the town, and Missionaries were openly taunted with failure by Hindus. There was a congregation made up of two or three Christian families. In the providence of God Henry Little was to change the whole aspect of things in this Circuit, and even to map out a scheme of extension which was to prove extremely fruitful in far distant days. It must be confessed that his initial difficulties were discouraging, but he had a stout heart, and a grain of determination in his character stood him in good stead. The famine of 1877 gave him an opportunity he was not slow to grasp.

The great famine of 1877 was felt far to the south of Madras. Throughout the basin of the River Kaveri there was a condition of suffering which taxed all the resources of Government in its measures of relief. In the south there was a terrible loss of life, as the starving people migrated from more seriously affected districts only to die by thousands on their way. Government had set up relief camps, but many reached these only to die of exhaustion. Orphan children became a pitiful feature of the camps. Missionaries at work in the areas affected were prompt in bringing a Christian compassion to bear upon this mass of suffering, and a comprehensive scheme of relief was formed. The Girls' School at Royapetta was merged in an institution to be called 'The Children's Home,' with branches at St. Thomas' Mount,

Karur, and Manargudi, girls being admitted to Royapetta and boys to St. Thomas' Mount, but both boys and girls to the other centres. In 1878 more than four hundred and ninety children had shared the shelter and comfort of these homes, but owing to death, and the reclaiming of children by relatives after the famine, only two hundred and thirty remained at the close of that year. It is interesting to note that all those admitted to the homes at Royapetta and St. Thomas' Mount were Pariahs, while in the other centres all but two were Sudras. In the southern districts, where the famine was more severe, the provision usually made under the caste system was not forthcoming. Gradually the effects of the famine passed, and it was found that the accommodation provided at Karur was sufficient for all orphans who had survived, and by that time Henry Little had thoroughly organized a system of industry to meet their case. The children from the other centres were therefore removed to Karur. Presently land for cultivation was purchased at a distance of some seven miles from Karur, and as the youths and maidens grew up marriages were arranged between them, and the young couples were settled on the land. A small but increasing Christian community was thus formed, and the Church began to take its place as a factor in the life of the neighbourhood. A work undertaken from motives of pure philanthropy resulted in a precious nucleus which grew into a definite Christian community. Out of the dearth there came a harvest for the Church.

More and more the relation of the southern to the northern division of the District called for consideration. The latter covered an area of nearly three thousand square miles, with a population of a million and a half; the southern covered more than seven thousand square miles, with three and a quarter millions of people, mostly in small towns and villages. The two sections were two hundred miles apart, and between them lay two large and populous Districts, Salem and South Arcot. There was no probability that the two sections would ever become contiguous, the work in Madras pointing to an extension rather northwards than southwards. The difficulty of working these sundered sections with a single staff was very great, in spite of the fact that Tamil was the language spoken in each. The whole staff would scarcely

have manned either of the two divisions. On the ground of both economy and efficiency the separation of the two sections seemed desirable, and so in 1885 Negapatam and Trichinopoly were constituted a District apart from Madras, and the new District was put under the care of the Rev. Henry Little. The subsequent development of this District will appear in another chapter. For the present we continue to follow the course of events in Madras.

Up to the decade of the 'eighties the Church in that city had scarcely fulfilled the hopes entertained when the pioneer Missionaries appeared in it. It became entangled in obligations imposed upon it by its location in a great city, and its movement away from the difficult centre was restricted by a scanty provision of both men and money. In 1880 the Madras District, apart from the sections centred in Negapatam and Haidarabad, returned a Native membership of two hundred and fifty-six, and there were in addition about a hundred English members. This was a scanty harvest after sixty-five years of work. But in the providence of God the time had now come for the Methodist Church to break the bonds which had hitherto bound it, and to move into the more fertile field of village life. The men who were to lead that Church in its exodus were already girding themselves for the enterprise. A small community of Telugu-speaking people had joined the Church in Madras, and in 1876 we find William Burgess studying their language, little guessing in what distant fields he was to use it ; and in Madras, for the time engaged in ministering to the English-speaking Methodists, was George Mackenzie Cobban. This last-named Minister had already travelled four years in English Circuits when he came under the influence of W. O. Simpson. In some respects the two men were not dissimilar. Each had a strong and confident bearing, a happy temperament, a ready wit, and a large and tender heart. In 1876 Cobban offered his services to the Missionary Society and was sent to Madras. In 1881 he was appointed to Tamil work, being put in charge of the Madras North Circuit. He found in the villages lying within the area of his Circuit a population of a hundred and fifty thousand people, among whom no Christian work of any kind was being done, and his first step was to appoint Catechists to work in one or two centres, with the result that in one village alone about fifty persons were baptized.

In a letter written in 1881, in acknowledgement of a gift from Mr. J. S. Budgett which had enabled him to make this start in the village, Cobban expressed his opinion that 'whole villages will enter the Church when we can fully give ourselves to work among them, and are ready to send men to instruct them.'

The new field was well chosen. It was not too far removed from Madras; it was unoccupied by any other Society, and while fairly wide, extending forty miles north and west of Madras, it offered an opportunity for concentrated effort—the very form of work which has proved to be the most fruitful in India. That letter of Cobban's was brought before the Committee, and it had great weight with its members. An appointment was at once made which, under the blessing of God, was to issue in a large ingathering of precious souls into the kingdom of Christ. In 1882 the Rev. William Goudie was sent to Madras. At first he was appointed to minister to the English congregation in that city, and this duty he performed with the force and fidelity which characterized him to the close of his life, but at the same time he applied himself to the study of Tamil, and when the time came he passed out into the villages, a veritable apostle to the Pariahs.

Meantime Cobban was insistent upon securing another Missionary to help him in his work, and pleaded almost pathetically for 'a small grant for evangelistic work.' If the Treasurer would say 'Impossible,' his reply was that it was imperative and 'the impossible must be done.' Could the vision of the coming harvest have been then given to the Methodist Church the response would have been both immediate and generous. As it was, Cobban had to wait. In the report of the year 1886 the movement from the centre was indicated by the statement that there was 'One wanted' for Madras North, and that Cobban had been appointed to Tiruvallur.¹

This town was the centre of the village area which Cobban had so much at heart. It prided itself upon its temple. Its priests were Brahmans, proud in their consciousness of power, and unscrupulous opponents to the coming of Christian teachers within their domain. They set themselves with bitter hostility to resist any attempt which the Missionary might make to bring freedom to the hapless people whom they and their

¹ Not to be confused with Tiruvalur in the Negapatam District.

forefathers had dominated for centuries. But the work was of God, and nothing can bring that work to nought. The Church in the Tiruvallur Circuit now numbers hundreds of devout Christian people, invested with the dignity of freedom and rejoicing in Him whose gift it was, and as we write the proposal is being made to erect in Tiruvallur itself, hard by the temple whose priesthood had used every means of thwarting the Christian Missionary, a Christian church which is to stand as the memorial of William Goudie. For though, during the furlough of Mr. Cobban (1886-1888), Madras North had claimed the service of William Goudie, and this had necessitated his residing in Madras, when Cobban returned Goudie was released, and took up his residence in Tiruvallur, the first European to reside in this stronghold of Brahmanism.

Towards the close of 1884 Dr. Jenkins again visited India. This time the visit was 'official,' as he was now one of the Secretaries of the Society. Following on his report, a considerable improvement in the finances of the District took place. There was better provision for the houses of Indian Ministers as well as an increased grant towards this particular agency. A more generous provision for educational work was also promised, and the Royapetta School was raised to the status of a second-grade college. The Rev. James Cooling had steadily developed that school until it was felt that the range of its influence should be increased, and the Rev. W. B. Simpson—the eldest son of W. O. Simpson—was sent out in 1885 to assist Mr. Cooling in this extended work. When the latter returned to England for furlough his place as Principal was taken by the Rev. A. S. Geden, but the falling income of 1888 made retrenchment necessary, and the last-named Missionary was recalled in that year. His stay in India had been short, but, short as it was, India had profoundly affected both his mind and his heart, so that in after years he was able by the works which he published to do much to make the life and thought of India known to students in England. His coming on to the staff had another effect; it made it possible to release Simpson from college work and to appoint him to evangelistic work in the villages. His heart was set upon this, and in 1889 he was sent to Madurantakam, a large town on the South India Railway, about forty miles south of Madras. Here there was already a small high school, and later on Simpson opened a

training institution for the preparation of candidates for the position of Catechists, the companion institution for training candidates for the Ministry remaining in Madras, under the care of Mr. Cobban. But Simpson, like his father, was a great evangelist, and delighted in preaching in the villages of his Circuit. The Church in Madurantakam at that time was small, consisting of the members of four Christian families residing in the town. A slightly larger Christian community was to be found at Tachur, one of the villages near. Thus by the close of the decade the work had moved out of Madras in two directions, and in each there was distinct promise of success. Goudie was in the north-west and Simpson in the south, while midway between them, connected with the St. Thomas' Mount Circuit, there was a most hopeful work being done at Teiyur. Of this Circuit the Rev. J. R. Ellis had charge. T. H. Whittamore was the Minister in charge of the English work, and evangelistic work in Madras was not likely to be neglected by Mackenzie Cobban. The District had entered upon a new era, and the days of depression were over. Women Missionaries of this period were Miss Lyth—afterwards Mrs. Hudson—and Miss Hutcheon, and the beginnings of medical work were to be found in a dispensary, of which Miss Palmer had charge. About this time 'the Hindu Tract Society,' of which we have written in another chapter,¹ was much in evidence, and attempts were made to break up meetings which were being conducted by Missionaries. Such efforts, however, soon died away. The successful efforts to lift the Pariah out of his 'dunghill' had become convincing proof of the truth proclaimed by the Christian evangelist, and it was not long before it received both the attention and the commendation of the Madras Government.

The 'nineties opened with some amount of disappointment and distress. In England the unhappy missionary controversy had caused a shrinkage in funds, the effects of which were felt on the Mission field in severe financial restrictions which were most unfortunate at a time when the Church was being called to provide for a rapid extension of operations most fruitful in results. It was a time, too, of scarcity almost amounting to famine, and pestilence followed hard on the heels of hunger. The Madras District was also confronted

¹See p. 290.

with the loss of two Missionaries of experience and, each in his own sphere, of great force. The strength of Mackenzie Cobban had been lavishly used in the service of Christ, and the strain upon it had proved to be excessive. In 1891, after a service of fifteen years, he was compelled to return to work in England. George Patterson had never been very robust, and he had been threatened with a 'breakdown' more than once, but he still held on to his work in the Madras Christian College, and for some years was editor of *The Christian College Magazine*, a journal of great influence in South India. He, too, was ordered to return to England and to give up all thought of another spell of work in India. It was during his editorship that there appeared in the *College Magazine* the papers which disclosed the frauds practised upon the public, under the name of 'Theosophy,' by Madame Blavatsky and her coadjutors.

But though the loss of these Missionaries was severely felt, the year 1891 was one of great increase in the Church. More than three hundred persons had been baptized, and the number might have been greatly increased but for the caution exercised by the Missionaries in admitting into Church fellowship only those of whose sincerity and honest conviction they were assured. The movement in the Tiruvallur Circuit continued to spread, and the village of Ikkadu began to be known as the centre from which the waves of Christian life and power were spreading over the whole neighbourhood. A description of the general features of this movement appears in another chapter,¹ and to avoid repetition only the outstanding events which appeared in its course will be attempted here.

A children's home for both boys and girls was opened at Ikkadu in 1889. Such homes are very necessary features of Missions in India, if the youth of the Church is to be conserved for clean and healthy manhood. Later on the two sexes were separated, the boys being housed in a commodious building erected by Mr. Goudie in 1902 and known as 'the Southern Cross School.' From this school boys were drafted every year to be trained as village teachers. At first they were sent to Madurantakam, but later on to the institution at Guindy. During Goudie's furlough he spoke with overwhelming force of the work in these Pariah villages, and his burning words carried

¹ See p. 396 ff.

conviction to the minds of his hearers. He received many gifts for the furtherance of his work, and on his return he was able to build a hospital at Ikkadu. This was 'a large and graceful building,' and the first lady doctor to take charge of its ministry of healing was Miss Palmer, to whose work in Madras reference has already been made. This hospital was to be greatly extended in after years. As Mr. Goudie says, 'It was built by the love of Christian people, and stands as a monument of that love to all who may either receive or observe the ministry of kindness for which it was erected.'

William Goudie was not one of those who draw a sharp line of distinction between evangelistic and educational work. He saw that the teacher in the school, no less than his brother in the village, was proclaiming the Gospel of love in Jesus Christ, and he was not tempted by the paucity of baptisms in the college to decry or to disparage the work done on the educational side of Missions in India. In his opinion the ideal Missionary would have 'the head of a philosopher and the heart of an evangelist.' Thus we find this great evangelist to the Pariahs making provision in his Circuit for educational work among the higher classes by taking over from the Free Church of Scotland Mission a high school that had been opened in Tiruvallur, thus completing the chain of missionary agencies in the Circuit under his charge. Every year now brought its harvest to the Church, and in some years it was so bounteous that there was not room enough to contain it. In the ten years which followed 1884 the number of Tamil members had increased from three hundred and eighty-nine to twice that number, and there were in addition nearly four hundred and fifty on trial for admission to the Church. There were six Indian Ministers where there had been none, and thirty-nine Catechists where there had been nineteen.

Several Missionaries great in gifts and in attainment joined the staff of the District during the 'nineties. F. W. Kellett, a brilliant scholar and a devoted Christian Minister, filled the vacancy in the staff of the Christian college which had been left by the retirement of George Patterson, and A. C. Clayton took the place of Cobban. Thomas Little was appointed to St. Thomas' Mount, and C. H. Monahan joined William Goudie at Tiruvallur. In addition to these Mr. W. E. Hoare came out as a missionary layman to serve as Vice-Principal in the

Royapetta College. At the close of the decade the following were also sent out: the Revs. G. W. Cox, C. Pollard, H. W. Raw, J. Breeden, H. Waldron, R. E. Grieves, and A. O. Brown. The Committee was now determined to keep the Madras staff at full strength.

In 1888 the need for retrenchment had led to the closing of a high school in Triplicane, a crowded part of Madras where Brahmans in particular resided. In 1899 an opportunity for beginning work again was accepted, but with this reoccupation of an abandoned position there went an urgent request for the special appointment of a Missionary to take up evangelistic work among the more educated classes. The need for such work was apparent to all. No one could speak of 'Elliott of Fyzabad' as other than 'an out-and-out evangelist,' yet when he visited Madras in 1898 that which impressed him most was the educational work which was being done in that city. He wrote of his impressions in the Christian College, with its thousand students, and of his equally vivid impressions in the Wesley College at Royapetta, with its six hundred students coming every day face to face with the Jesus of the Gospel story, and this is his conclusion of the whole matter:

I am profoundly convinced of the need of a specially qualified and gifted man for the work among educated Hindus. There is a great field here ready to harvest.

Another evangelist—William Goudie—in reporting the transactions of the Decennial Conference held in Madras at the close of 1902, says:

The Committee recognizes that in Mission schools and colleges many thousands of the most promising young men of India and Ceylon have come under the reconstructive forces of the Gospel of Christ, and have so far yielded to those forces that many of them are not far from the kingdom of God. The teachers of the Gospel to growing young boys have prepared the soil and sown the seed which it falls to the lot of other workers to watch and water, until they bring it to a beautiful and abundant harvest in the lives of full-grown men. It is coming to be recognized that the work of Mission schools and colleges is not complete in itself, but needs as its complement the work of earnest and enlightened evangelists especially adapted to deal with educated minds. The Christian Church is slow to recognize the responsibility which she has incurred in her schools and colleges, where she has not only disturbed the faith of many thousands of young men, but has also quickened the

faculty of moral discrimination without imparting the power of moral choice. There is no part of our missionary economy where we permit greater waste than here. We are creating a class of men who know the truth and cannot choose it, who know the right and dare not do it, and we are before God responsible in a great measure for the moral culpability inseparable from this unhappy condition of mental enlightenment and spiritual impotence. The Committee was surely wise in adding its voice to that of the Education Committee in an earnest appeal to the Churches to set apart men of special aptitude for this work.

The Missionary Committee in England was slowly coming to the same conclusion, and in the 'Policy of Advance' set forth in 1901 the following item in the programme appears :

To provide for the appointment of a man, if the right man can be found, for evangelistic work among the educated classes in Madras, among whom there is splendid opportunity for bringing to fruition by special agency the missionary influence of our schools and colleges.

But the Missionaries on the field could not wait for the discovery of 'the right man' in the Churches at home, and in that same year two Missionaries, each of them already overburdened with work, began evangelistic work among the students of Triplicane. They were the Rev. G. G. Cocks, at that time Principal of the Royapetta College, and F. W. Kellett, whose appointment to the Christian College we have already noticed. They began modestly enough, but the work grew rapidly, and before the Centenary year there was in this swarming hive of Brahman youths a Christian Institute, with its hall for preaching and lecturing, its library, reading-room, and recreation-room, in addition to a small hostel and rooms for two Missionaries. The Christian influence of this Institute can never be tabulated, but it remains an indisputable fact.

Alas! Long before it reached its full development the two who had most to do with its inception were taken away in the fullness of their vigour. Kellett died during his furlough in 1904. He was one of those rare souls who add to great learning a child-like heart. A Double First at Cambridge, University Prize-man, and Fellow of his College, the simplicity of his nature was his outstanding characteristic. The work he did—and it was always done with amazing efficiency—was prodigious, and there can be little doubt that the overtaxing of his

physical powers was the cause of his early death. 'In twelve short years he compressed labours and achievements that would have given distinction to a long lifetime, and won a position of unrivalled influence and usefulness.' So runs his record. But the charm of a selfless life can never be put into words, and one who shared his life at school, at Cambridge, and again in India can only bow reverently at the grave of his friend, who 'in meekness of wisdom' seems to him to have touched the highest point of Christian life and character. It was entirely fitting that the Institute at Triplicane should be dedicated to his memory, and bear his name. After his death many distinguished scholars have served in this Institute, some of whom are still on the field. The vacancy on the staff of the Christian College was filled in 1906 by the appointment of Mr. F. E. Corley.

Even before the passing of Kellett his companion in the work at Triplicane had run his course and won his prize. The Rev. G. Gower Cocks was appointed Vice-Principal in the Royapetta College in 1900. He, too, had won the love of his students, and their affection was strong enough to break through all the bonds and restrictions of caste, for Christians, Muhammadans, and Brahmans bore his body to its grave. It will be enough to quote here the words of his Chairman, the Rev. William Goudie, in an obituary notice: 'I shall offend no one if I say that in twenty years I have not seen any young Missionary in India whose life seemed to me to promise more.' This was in 1902. Kellett died in 1904, and in 1906 yet another young Missionary of exceptional power was taken away. The Rev. H. W. Raw had not the scholarship of the two just mentioned, but in devotion and in unselfish labour he was worthy of standing with them. In 1906 an alarming outbreak of cholera took place in Madras, and Raw was unsparing in watching over the flock committed to his care, with the result that not one of them was attacked. But in his care for them he was exposed to infection, and the disease quickly ran its course. Thus within the space of four years three young Missionaries of exceptional promise were taken away. The District was sorely bereaved.

Side by side with the extension of work beyond the environs of Madras an intensive work had gone on in the older Circuits within the city. The Royapetta chapel was enlarged in

1905 at a cost of three hundred pounds, all but forty of which was raised by the congregation. In the Madras North Circuit the chapel, incommodious and, because of its position, unsuitable for worship, was replaced by a new chapel three times as large and attractive in appearance. There was also a movement in favour of building a similar chapel at Pursewalkam, a neighbourhood in which many Tamil Christians resided. But more significant than this was the growth of the living Church into the freedom and power of maturer life. Both of the Circuits in Madras became self-supporting in 1902. Their stewards were in consequence admitted to the administrative and financial sessions of the Synod. This gave an increased sense of responsibility to the Indian Ministers in charge, and among the members the spirit of co-operation with the Ministry was greatly furthered. The indigenous Church was now no longer a dream, and the Church, rejoicing in its independence, at once began to undertake missionary work on its own initiative. A District Sustentation Fund and a District Extension Fund, the one to assist other Circuits in the direction of self-support and the other to promote evangelistic work among those who were still out of the way, were both set up and worked by Christian laymen. The organization of the Methodist Church was now well on the way to completeness, but it still remained an open question what modifications of the system which obtained in England could be grafted on to Church life in India, and whether the Churches in India could at this stage enter upon all the privileges and responsibilities which characterize Circuit life in England.

Such questions, however, could be trusted to work out their own solution so long as the life is true to its source and keeps its goal steadily in view. The forms of Church organization may differ in the East from those that are familiar to all in the West, yet the meaning and purpose may be the same as those which have given to the Methodist Church both its place and its power.

At the close of 1902 the Decennial Conference of Missionaries in India, Burma, and Ceylon was held in Madras. The number of delegates who attended was two hundred and ninety. These represented every phase of work attempted by the Church and a great variety of racial affinities. So varied and so vast were the matters to be discussed that it

was found necessary for each question to be dealt with in preliminary Committees, the resolutions of which were presented to the Conference for discussion, amendment, and acceptance. It would cover many pages of this record if we were to attempt anything approaching a detailed account of the resolutions of this Conference, and yet whether we consider them as marking the stages reached by the Methodist Church, or as the bases for new enterprise, they are historical documents of first importance. A mere enumeration of them will suggest to our readers how far-reaching are the issues involved and how complicated are the problems which await the Church when it accepts the responsibility of evangelizing a country like India.

There was the question of the Indian Church now approaching adolescence, and, in some districts, maturity. To what extent could that Church be trusted with autonomy, and what should be the relations between the indigenous and the European Ministries? How far was it wise to organize the Church on bases that had proved of value in the West? To what extent would it be safe to go in seeking a more Oriental element in Church organization? Did the large accessions from the Panchama class of Hindu society mean 'the proletarianizing of the Church,' and did such accessions make the approach of other classes more difficult? Had the time come for the Church to fall into line with the trend of thought and feeling in political circles, and, following on the lines of self-determination, to establish a 'National Church,' in which all denominational characteristics might be merged?

The next question was that of evangelistic work. Was it true that 'the Brahman has had his day,' and no further appeal should be made to him? What were the best methods of conducting this work? Should the Church adopt the method of the itinerating evangelist? Or was a more local, continuous, and concentrated effort likely to be of greater value? How far should this work be attempted by the European? How far could it be left to the Indian evangelist?

Education. Did the money spent in this department and that spent in village evangelism stand in due proportion? What was the limit to be observed? Did the school necessitate the college? And ought not every educational establishment to have as a sequel to its effort an institute in which the

preparation of the mind accomplished in the School might be followed by more direct appeals for decision? Women's work came next, with the closely associated branch of medical work. Industry and literature were matters of immense importance in a Church the members of which had been so severely restricted in the one and entirely neglected in the other. Last of all came the question of Mission comity in a country in which practically all Christian denominations were represented by missionary workers, while not a few were to be found at work who recognized no distinctive Church organization, but were individualistic, and therefore irresponsible, in their efforts.

Such were the questions with which this great Conference dealt. Towards its close it adopted a manifesto to the Societies represented, and while the general tenor of this is one of grateful recognition of the blessing of God on the work of His Church, there are at least two clauses which touch the Methodist Church closely. In the former of these the inadequacy of the missionary staff for the work of evangelizing India is set before the Societies, and the Conference declares that 'It is the opinion of sober and thoughtful and zealous men that in order to carry on thoroughly the work now in hand, and to enter the most obviously open doors which God has set before His Church in India, the Missionary staff in the country should be at least *doubled within the next ten years.*' It is for the Methodist Church to say how far it has complied with this judgement of those who knew best the conditions of the work before the Church in India. To say nothing of the need of obeying the call of God, compliance with this resolution is necessary for the conserving of lives that are efficient and productive of the highest good. To take an illustration from the history of the District before us in this chapter, we would revert to the early death of one of the ablest and most devoted Missionaries ever called by God to labour in India. F. W. Kellett felt the burden of Hindu students lie heavily on his heart. Time after time for many years the Madras Synod had urged the home Committee to take up this work, but each time the Church failed to respond. Kellett was already carrying a burden of work which would have exhausted three men of average capacity, but when the Church did not answer that urgent call he

added the work in the Triplicane Institute to his already excessive burden. When his colleague, Cocks, was taken from his side, he continued that work alone. Then he came home to die. The historian contemplating such events can but wonder when the Church will awake to the fact that often its most efficient servants are borne down by toil, and that the observance of mere economy should make that Church insist upon relief being both given and accepted.

The second clause in the manifesto to which reference must here be made is that in which an appeal is made for voluntary service on the part of those who have the means of self-support. 'We would appeal to Ministers and educationists, and other men of scholarship, to doctors and nurses, to writers and journalists, to men of organizing power and business experience, to Christian ladies and gentlemen possessed of private pecuniary resources, to ask themselves whether they cannot hear a call of God to this work.' The Methodist Church may well give heed to such an appeal. It is able to respond adequately if it have the heart to do so.

But we must turn from questions of policy to the men who administered it, and reference should be made to some of the Chairmen of the District during the latter part of the century. At the beginning of the 'eighties Henry Little was Chairman of the two divisions of the District. As we have seen, he became Chairman of the Nepagatam District when that District became independent. In Madras the Rev. George Patterson was appointed to act as Chairman, but on the return of the Rev. James Cooling from furlough in 1888 the office was handed over to him, and from that time until his death in 1915 he was, except during intervals of furlough, the Chairman of the District. He had joined the staff in 1876, and during the first period of his service he was wholly engaged in educational work in Royapetta. James Cooling was one of the most unobtrusive of men, but behind his innate modesty there were ranged powers of no mean order. Few could equal him in the grasp of details and in the power of co-ordinating them, relating each to principles that were perfectly clear to his mind. His judgement was always sound, and both in the Synods of the Church and in the Senate of the University it always carried weight. Men came to see that they might safely rely upon him, and he received the suffrage of all who

came under his administration. Few Missionaries have been more trusted by Indian colleagues, and that is not the least tribute to his wisdom, his unselfishness, and his sympathy. It was given to him to preside over the Synods of the District during the years in which its former depression passed away, and the Methodist Church in Madras entered upon its long-deferred season of harvest. How much of the wisdom with which the Church was guided during the perilous time of prosperity was due to him will never be known, for he was not the man to claim any share in the general success, and those who shared his counsels in those days have also passed away, but there is no doubt that the combination in him of caution and yet of progressiveness was invaluable at a time when the Church embarked upon an enterprise the issues of which still remain incalculable. In the official record of his service it is said that 'No man ever served the Society more faithfully, and few more ably.' That record is true.

The Missionaries who joined the staff of the Madras District after 1900 were the Revs. D. G. M. Leith (1901), J. P. Shrimpton (1902), G. P. Gibbens (1903), J. E. Neill (1905), J. S. M. Hooper (1905), R. F. Burrow (1907), G. H. Findlay (1907), C. W. Hickson (1908), H. Ashcroft (1908), J. Passmore (1909), W. A. Kirkman (1911). Of these many are still on the field in 1923.

The period during which the Madras District began to reap its abundant harvest saw also the gradual formation of an Indian Ministry characterized by zeal, ability, and devotion. In a letter written by William Goudie in 1887 he refers to the need, which he saw was likely to become most urgent, of an increased and better qualified supply of pastors, teachers, and evangelists, and then he touches upon what had been the weakness of the District when he says :

We have depended long enough on the malcontents of other Missions, and must look to providing and training our own. It is in my opinion desirable to be patient and advance slowly, working with men whom we have brought up and on whom we can rely, rather than to move quickly, depending on men who have come to us only yesterday, come to us for hire and ready to leave us to-morrow at the call of any higher bidder.

Happily the Indian Ministry of the succeeding years was one which fulfilled his heart's desire. Most of them were men who

gladdened the hearts of their European brethren in the service of Christ, and some were conspicuous in adding to great mental gifts and force of character a rich spiritual experience which made them Pastors of great influence in their respective Churches.

With a Ministry of this quality it is no wonder that the harvesting proceeded apace, and that the older Churches, as well as those newly formed in the villages, felt the tide of strong and healthy life course through the channels of their organization. Of the training of these, and of the large number of Catechists and teachers required as the work in the villages increased, we have written elsewhere,¹ and we must here content ourselves with recording that in the Centenary year there were in the District seventeen Indian Ministers, forty-eight Catechists, and two hundred and sixty-seven teachers. These are numbers which put the Madras District well in advance of all other Districts in India in the all-important matter of Christian agency.

Before we close this chapter of our record we must, however, briefly consider the development of the two chief centres of village work during the decade immediately preceding the Centenary of the Society. The Church in Madurantakam will always be associated with the name of W. B. Simpson, the worthy son of a worthy father. Hither he came, as we have seen, in 1889, to find that his new field was 'virgin soil.' Eight years before work had been commenced here, and a small congregation of twenty persons was transferred from another Society to ours, but there had been nothing approaching 'effective occupation,' and such work as was attempted was carried on mostly in the schools, of which there were three, one for girls, and two, a primary and a high school, for boys. There were more than five hundred villages in the Madurantakam Taluk, and into these went the warm-hearted Missionary, with his great gift of friendliness and with his love for Christ. In 1894 the Training Institution was removed to Madurantakam, and two years after Simpson had the joy of presenting as candidates for the Ministry T. Subrahmanyam and Devadasan David, while three others were passed into the grade of Probationary Evangelists. A home for destitute children was also added to the spheres of influence in the

¹ See p. 167.

Circuit. Even in the space of two years the membership of the Church had trebled, and there were indications of still larger increase in the villages. But in 1897 a great blow fell upon the Circuit. Simpson was compelled, owing to the failure of Mrs. Simpson's health, to return to England. His influence as founder of the Mission in this centre was so unique that it was feared for a time that the growth of the Church would suffer a severe check. Happily this fear proved to be unfounded. The increase continued and was accelerated. In 1902 the membership was more than a hundred. The second hundred was reached in 1907, and in the Centenary year there were in this Circuit three hundred members in full fellowship, with two hundred and forty-five on probation; the Circuit thus standing, in point of numbers, next to Tiruvallur and Madras South, and giving every promise of still further growth. The joy of gathering these persons into the Church fell to Simpson's successors, A. C. Clayton and R. E. Grieves.

To Simpson what seemed to be the close of his Ministry in India was a great disappointment, but the Missionary in him would not be denied, and in 1903 he offered to return and to serve in the Tamil Districts of South India for three years, leaving wife and children in England. The service which followed was quite unique in the history of the Madras District. Together with his friend and colleague, the Rev. T. Subrahmanyam, Mr. Kuppuswami Row, and one or two others he itinerated in the Madras District, in Negapatam, Bangalore, Secunderabad, and Ootacamund, seeking in each place to deepen the spiritual life of the Tamil Churches. In this he was markedly successful, and many who were Christians in name entered into such an experience of the power of Christ in their own lives as they had never known before. The last year of the three was given to the holding of conventions for Hindus in each of the cities already mentioned, and while results in this series of services could not be so easily seen, the work done by these Missionaries can never remain without result. At the close of the three years Simpson returned to England and took up work again in an English Circuit, but this was not for long. The call came to him almost as suddenly as it had come to his father, and so he passed—a man with a big heart overflowing with love for all men, but most of all for the sons and daughters of India.

Meantime Goudie had not been idle at Tiruvallur. His iron constitution enabled him to accomplish what was far beyond the power of other men. His long and tireless stride carried him over the tracks that led to distant villages, where men would fain learn what God's thought for them might be in Christ. After those shepherdless sheep in the wilderness went the shepherd who was to bring them help. 'His own thought drove him like a goad,' but that thought was occupied with but one object—the uplifting of the fallen, the championing of the friendless, the proclaiming to Pariah and to Brahman the dignity of manhood and its fulfilment in Christ. In 1892 he was again on furlough, and his amazing utterance greatly moved the Church at home. It was 'amazing,' for the voluminous flow was more than mere volubility. There was thought and force and passion in his plea for the Pariah. When he returned he set to work to consolidate all that had been done, and to erect suitable homes for the many agencies of the Church. It is impossible within the limits of these pages to trace the work in Tiruvallur in anything like detail. Some idea of its development may be gathered from the mere numerical increase. In 1890 there were ninety-six Church members in the Circuit, with as many more on probation. In 1900 the numbers were three hundred and eighty-four and two hundred and eighty-seven, and in 1910 there were six hundred and sixteen full members and four hundred and forty-seven on trial, while at Nagari, which was an offset from this Circuit, there was a Christian community of two hundred more. The pastoral work entailed was very great, for Goudie was far too wise to ignore the peril of admitting men into the Church without securing for them some measure of instruction in Christian truth, and without making some effort to build them up into a worthy Christian life. Ikkadu became a centre of extraordinary Christian activity, and that within the years of one man's service there should have arisen the homes in which that activity was exercised was a matter which brought both joy and surprise to all who contemplated the fact. In 1904 we find the following enumerated: A Mission House, a Hospital, the Burnham Children's Home, the Southern Cross Home, the Lace Hall, and 'a beautiful Chapel, strong and shapely.' When Goudie first came to Ikkadu, the only place of worship was a mud hut, thatched

with leaves, and standing within the unwholesome precincts of the Parcheri. That was in 1889, so that within fifteen years all these substantial buildings had been erected. The Mission was splendidly housed, and the despised Pariah, who had no place within the temple of Tiruvallur, and was not allowed to enter within the walls of a Court of Justice, even when his case was before the magistrate, now found himself freely admitted to the privileges of social life, to civilizing conditions, and to his place within the house where God's honour dwelleth.

Two of the buildings mentioned call for special notice. Part of the 'edification' of the Church consisted in providing its members with employment that was free from the degradation to which they had been subjected. To do this for the women was specially difficult. In 1894 Miss Priestnal (afterwards Mrs. A. C. Clayton) came from England to begin the work among women, and the industry of lace-making was taken up, not as a charity, but on well-defined business principles. The industry was well chosen. It was within the compass of the women, and by its very nature brought an element of refinement and artistry into lives that had been wholly destitute of such things. The contrast between the women who took up this work, sitting in a decent room with clean garments and hands at their cushions, and those of their sisters who still remained engaged in work which coarsened both body and mind, had to be seen before it could be fully appreciated, and in their midst, imparting skill to their fingers, and bringing to bear upon them the countless charms of Christian womanhood, moved their teacher with a heart full of love for her sisters in Christ. Lest any of our readers should be tempted to think that directly religious influence does not go with such industry, we invite them to read the article written by Mr. Monahan which appeared in the *Notices* of 1901, and entitled 'Pentecost in a Parcheri.' A single sentence is all that we may include in our pages :

The wonderful change that has taken place amongst the women would have been impossible but for the work that Mrs. Clayton—then Miss Priestnal—and Miss Scott have been doing amongst them for the past six or seven years. Some of those who have been converted were once out-and-out 'children of the devil.'

In 1901 Mr. May of Bristol built the 'Lace Hall' in memory of his daughter, the late Mrs. Wood of Sheffield. It is a beautiful memorial of a beautiful life.

The other building which we must notice is 'The Southern Cross Home for Boys.' In Melbourne Dr. Fitchett—a name known far outside the boundaries of the Methodist Church—was at one time the editor of a religious journal known by the name of *The Southern Cross*. Mrs. Fiddian, an Australian lady who had married a distinguished officer in the Indian Civil Service, and who was well acquainted with our work in South India, suggested to Dr. Fitchett that the readers of his journal might provide a home for the boys of the Tiruvallur Circuit. The matter was taken up with ready enthusiasm, and the Methodists of Melbourne were thus linked with the Methodists of Ikkadu. Such links are no fetters. They are rather the connexion through which the thrill of life passes from end to end of the Methodist Church. It is thus that in Christ 'the whole body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.'

The medical work in Ikkadu was not the least valuable of all that was undertaken here, but of this we shall speak in the section of this History which deals with medical work in all the Districts.

The growth of the Church in the Tiruvallur Circuit, with out-stations so far apart, made the question of division an urgent one, and after some hesitation in considering the claims of other towns it was decided that the new centre should be at Nagari, a large market-town about thirty-four miles from Tiruvallur. Nagari first appears in the report as a separate Circuit in 1907, with the Rev. G. Percy Gibbens as its Superintendent. The town had previously been visited from Tiruvallur, and a Christian Church had come into being. This consisted of a hundred members, with a hundred and fifty others passing through their period of probation. Medical work had been done here also by lady doctors from Ikkadu, and it was an immense convenience to them when a Dispensary, the gift of an Indian lady, a member of the Church in Madras, was opened in 1908.

In 1906 the time came for William Goudie to return to

England, and it is difficult to say who suffered more by his departure from the work he had begun—the people who thus lost their friend and their guide from bondage into freedom, or the guide himself. They were indeed to see his face again, and the reception which he received when he returned as Missionary Secretary in 1920 was one which princes might have been proud to accept. He was followed as Superintendent by the Rev. C. H. Monahan, who worthily continued the work begun by his predecessor. The Church continued to grow, and in 1913, if we include the members at Nagari, there were seven hundred and eighty fully accredited members in a Circuit in which Goudie found but fifty-three, when he first commenced his most fruitful ministry in 1889.

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In looking back over the history of the Methodist Church in Madras during the hundred years of its existence, we cannot fail to be impressed with the happy contrast between its temper and outlook during the first fifty years, and that which characterized it during the second half of the century. For more than fifty years the Church was limited almost entirely to English residents in the city of Madras. Its Tamil element was slender and entirely without influence in the life of the community. There was no Indian Ministry. If during the 'fifties it had disappeared, scarcely a ripple on the surface of that life would have remained to show that a goodly ship had foundered there. The European Missionaries resembled the crew on a ship that is 'water-logged.' They could record no movement, and had little prospect of it, in the vessel in which their hope was embarked. It they did not apologize for their existence, they were often apprehensive that existence itself might cease. And yet the closing years of the century reveal to us a Church full of life. It had both movement and power. Force and vision characterized its operations. It was comprehensive in the agencies it employed, and a spirit of intensity made itself felt in every enterprise. Breadth and depth were equally apparent in its work. Nor was height lacking in it. With one hand it was reaching down to the all but bottomless pit into which the Pariah had fallen, and with the other it laid hold upon God, the source of its uplifting power.

The student of history will notice that the earliest signs of

improvement appeared in the 'eighties. Applying the test of Church membership he will find that while in 1880 there were two hundred and fifty-six Native members and two Indian Ministers, in 1913 there were two thousand two hundred and forty-two members and seventeen Indian Ministers, while in addition there were more than twelve hundred persons on probation for admission into full membership. The student will also notice that it was in the 'eighties that the Church broke away from the entanglements of city life and began to work among the villages. But it would be a mistake to attribute this sudden growth entirely to the accessions found in the villages. The work among these had its reaction upon the work in the city. With the coming of hope, energy had increased in the longer established centres of the Mission in Madras. The membership at Royapetta had quadrupled, and the Church was self-supporting. There were Churches of more than a hundred members in both Georgetown and Pursewalkam. Throughout the whole District the pulse of life was regular and strong.

What was the cause of this sudden and wonderful growth? We shall not forget that God has His purposes, and His 'set time' for their fulfilment; that His Spirit 'bloweth where it listeth.' But when we consider the human agency employed we are bound to take into consideration the fact that this development began with the coming of two men into the work, and that they were able to move out into the villages. It was Mackenzie Cobban who showed the way out of the house of bondage, and it was William Goudie who led God's Israel into the promised land. It is no disparagement of others who laboured with equal devotion, and at a time when circumstances did not allow of enlargement, to connect with the special service of these two the bounteous harvest which has at last rejoiced the heart of the Methodist Church. Each had vision and force of character. Each was consumed with passion for humanity in Christ. And each had a heart which, like the heart of the Eternal, was 'most wonderfully kind'!

When the Centenary of the Society was celebrated in England there was a poetic fitness in the appointing of William Goudie to organize that celebration. In the wisdom and providence of God, it was largely he who had brought the work of James Lynch to good effect. During the course of

that celebration he had much to say to the Church, but it was out of the abundance of his heart that he spoke, and never a word of that wonderful utterance was lacking in conviction and sincerity. The conception of this History was part of his scheme for a worthy recognition of the way in which God had honoured the service of a great multitude of His servants, so many of whom had been faithful unto death. The Church honoured the service of this great Missionary by electing him to preside over its assemblies. But God had other thoughts for His servant and called him to honour more abundant. He died suddenly on April 9, 1922.

We shall build his memorial in Tiruvallur, where so often he confronted the pride of Brahmanism, and meekly endured its insults, but his greatest memorial will be found in the living Church which under the guidance and blessing of God he led into the freedom with which Christ makes His people free.

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If the 'Kingdom of Heaven' means, as we have been taught, 'the unseen spiritual laws by which God governs and blesses His creatures,' then the Parable of the Kingdom which finds its illustration in the story of the Methodist Church in Madras is the Parable of the Sower. The Sowers of the seed for a hundred years found every detail of our Lord's Parable to be true to fact. They knew of the shallow soil which quickly responded in a superficial allegiance which as quickly withered away. They sowed where the enemies of their holy husbandry destroyed that which had in itself the secret of life, and their thorny patches met them everywhere. But they came at last to hearts that were receptive. The harvest was abundant, and the fruits of the Spirit gladdened the sowers' hearts. Many had gone forth weeping to the village or the school where they cast the seed of the Kingdom of God, but they came again transfigured in a rejoicing Church.

(ii.) THE NEGAPATAM AND TRICHINOPOLY DISTRICT: 'THE
DRAW-NET'

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

The Kingdom of God is like unto a draw-net which was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind, which when it was filled they drew up on the beach; and they sat down and gathered the good into vessels, but the bad they cast away.—MATT. xiii. 47.

The story of the following chapter shows the gathering in to the Church of Christ of men from very diverse classes, Romanists, Brahmans, Sudras, and Pariahs. Of these some have remained; others have been 'cast away.'

The early history of what we now know as 'the Negapatam and Trichinopoly District' has already been before our attention. Up to the year 1885 it formed the southern section of the Madras District, and as such its story is closely interwoven with that of the Church in Madras. At the time of separation there were four chief centres of work with a small cluster of out-stations attached to each. The Rev. W. H. Findlay was then the only European Missionary in Negapatam, where he had charge of the educational department. The pastorate of the Native Church and the evangelizing of the villages round this centre devolved upon the Rev. A. Wesley Samuel, but the general superintendence of the whole work rested upon Mr. Findlay. This excessive burden was relieved in the following year by the appointment of the Rev. J. M. Thompson to take charge of the vernacular work, and by that of the Rev. A. A. Thomas to assist Mr. Findlay in the high school, which had then been raised to the rank of a second-grade college.

The second Circuit in the District was Manargudi, and here we find the Revs. T. F. Nicholson and E. P. Blackburn, but in the following year the former had returned to England, and the latter was transferred to Trichinopoly. Manargudi was left to the superintendence of a Missionary who had joined the staff that same year—the Rev. E. Woodward.

In Trichinopoly the Cantonment Circuit was without a Missionary. The vacancy was filled as we have indicated by the appointment of the Rev. E. P. Blackburn, but for the year 1885 the Rev. R. S. Boulter was in charge of the two Circuits in this large city.

The remaining Circuit was that of Karur, where the Chairman, the Rev. H. Little, resided. He was assisted in the work of the orphanage and in general Circuit work by the Rev. F. W. Gostick.

Of Indian Ministers there still remained on this field those well-trying and most faithful servants of the Church, the Revs. E. J. Gloria and George Hobday. The former had entered the Ministry in 1854 and the latter three years after. Gloria passed to his reward in 1895, leaving behind him a name for efficiency as a preacher in Tamil and as possessing a distinct gift in poetry. The latter gift was shown in his editing of the Tamil hymn-book. Hobday lived until 1912, having spent the last twelve years of his life in retirement at Ootacamund. He too was a most effective preacher in Tamil, and was a man of peculiar force and independence. Such was the staff of the new District in 1885. The Church membership was four hundred and thirty-two, of which number one hundred and thirty were to be found in Karur.

Two years later the home Committee evidently considered the further division of the District, but this suggestion of theirs was thought to be premature by the men on the spot, unless the Committee was prepared to increase its staff in both sections and to make a considerable addition to its financial grant. In common with the other Districts in India Negapatam had received considerable increments in this last as a result of the Secretarial visit of the Rev. Dr. Jenkins in 1884. Ten vernacular schools received an annual grant of ten pounds each, and an increment of two hundred pounds a year was made towards raising the high school at Negapatam to the grade of a college. About this time too it was being considered whether Manargudi was not likely to prove a better centre for higher educational work than Negapatam, and in 1898 the college was removed to that centre, with results which will be recorded in due course. In addition to these educational grants there was a welcome addition of fifty pounds on behalf of the Indian Ministry, and the

sum of fourteen hundred pounds for 'Plant.' This latter was greatly needed, and indeed for years afterwards the Mission buildings in this District left much to be desired. So late as 1909 an experienced Missionary of another Society said to the Rev. W. S. Dodd: 'If the Holy Spirit works in the buildings you have in your Circuit, it is a miracle of grace.'

Perhaps the most hopeful work in the new District in 1885 was to be found at Karur, and of the industrial development in that Circuit we have written in another chapter.¹ Henry Little's success in this department must have been most gratifying to him, but it was not allowed to obscure the goal which he had in view. His great concern gathered round the evangelization of the villages. In 1889 we find him touring in the Konga-nad, a district to the south of Karur, and choosing centres for evangelistic work. Two of these were Dharapuram and Kangayam, and others were chosen with the eye of a strategist and the heart of an evangelist. In most of these the work was dropped after a few years, and Kangayam was handed over to the London Missionary Society. The sequel is full of instruction for the Methodist Church, and though its most impressive features belong to a period subsequent to that which is covered by our record a reference to it may be allowed. The Local Report for 1922 shows a Christian community in Dharapuram alone of three thousand five hundred and fifty-seven, with nearly twelve hundred others under instruction with a view to baptism. The movement towards the Christian Church indicated by these figures, which are understated, obtains throughout the whole of the Konga-nad, in which district some two millions of people are to be found, and it is said that 'within a few years the whole of this village population should be gathered in, and others will certainly follow.'

But let us now return to Henry Little touring in a bullock-cart through this same area in 1889. Twenty years had passed since he first came to India, and they had been years of all but continuous disappointment, often of vexation of spirit. The field which had fallen to him was one of peculiar difficulty. Hinduism was entrenched in positions which were apparently impregnable. The very temples, vast, elaborate, and wealthy, seemed to mock at the puny efforts of the Missionary finding

¹ See pp. 161 ff.

his house of prayer in a thatched shed. Caste influence was at its strongest here, and like some indigenous weed threatened continually to invade the vineyard of the Lord and to destroy the Christian fellowship that was slowly forming. But the Missionary never lost heart. His confidence in the triumph of the Gospel of Christ remained unshaken, and he 'staked out his claim' in the Konga-nad in the Name of Christ. But the Church, which had commissioned him to do this very service, failed in its support. One after another the villages he had claimed for Christ were abandoned, and only after twenty years have passed is his prescience justified and his hope fulfilled. The Methodist Church of to-day rejoices in an overflowing harvest gathered in what seemed to be the least fertile field in India, but that Church may well ask what her harvest might have been if she had given a worthy response to the Missionary lying awake in the jolting cart, and thinking all through the hot and breathless night of the people to be won for Christ in the Konga-nad.

In the educational work of the District W. H. Findlay had already a position of great influence. He had joined the staff in 1882, and was appointed to take charge of the high school in Negapatam, where the quality of his scholarship soon made him widely known and greatly respected. But by the time he had been four years in the country he found himself burdened with the superintendence of the Circuit, and until the close of the year 1899 he had only one colleague—a young Missionary of two years' experience.

The Church needs to visualize the burden thus placed upon one of the most gifted of her servants. The high school was quickly raised to the grade of a college, and this alone was considered a sufficient charge for a single Missionary, but we must add to it the care and oversight of the English and Tamil Churches in the city and all the elementary schools of the Circuit. In 1886 in Negapatam alone, to say nothing of the schools in the villages, there were twelve of these, each with its demand upon the administrative care of the Superintendent. Then there was the work of preaching in the streets of Negapatam, and visits to the surrounding villages for evangelistic purposes. Findlay was never very robust, but it is to be feared that this outrageously excessive burden completely undermined his strength. There was no elasticity

left in his physique ; he had been strained beyond the limits of a perfect recovery. For his most sensitive and most conscientious nature made it impossible for him to 'take things easily' ; the intensity which characterized both his thought and his emotion kept him at full stretch, and a richly stored mind and a generous heart were never able to give forth all the treasure they held. So much as he was able to give, and it was no small measure, may remind the Church of what it has lost through its own failure to use wisely what was given so unstintingly. In 1890 he was recalled to England to give evidence on behalf of his fellow Missionaries in the unhappy 'controversy' of that year, and while in England he was able to secure for the Negapatam College the service of the Rev. E. E. Webster as Principal and of Mr. W. W. Sawtell as Vice-Principal. In 1892, on the retirement of the Rev. Henry Little, he was made Chairman of the District, and continued to serve in that capacity for eight years more, when, on his return to England he was elected by the Conference to the office of Secretary to the Society. This office he held until 1910.

The foundation of the college in Negapatam was due to him, and when, as we shall see presently, the college department was transferred to Manargudi it was in recognition of the part he had played in its earlier history that his name was given to that college.

It must not be supposed that Findlay did not recognize that the situation in Negapatam during the 'eighties was unfair. 'Unfair'—not to himself, though from our point of view that was true—but unfair to the work. In a clear and vigorous letter which he wrote in 1892 he says, with the somewhat whimsical humour which he so often used,

'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it *feebly*,' appears to be our motto. We have been content as a Society with a desultory scattering of the seed, that may go on, as at Negapatam, for seventy years without producing any obvious and considerable effect on the town and neighbourhood ; it is time we made plans like practical men, set before ourselves definite aims, and calculated the means required to accomplish them, and then applied those means. Do not think I am merely lamenting over the straitness of the Society's funds, and trying to rouse you to increased generosity. What the Society needs more than increased funds, it seems to me, is increased understanding.

In the 'Official Letter' of 1887, in which his hand can be

clearly seen, he shows with unsparing clearness the contradiction between words and deeds in the policy of the Committee,

'During recent years Native Agency—Ministers, Evangelists, Catechists—has been multiplied manifold. This is a policy urged by the Committee on the score of efficiency and economy, yet the Committee has cut down the grant for the Training Institution to fifty pounds. . . .

'Compactness of disposition and thoroughness of working,' this is the policy that you suggest to us, and that we aspire to follow; and when our Stations are so linked together and so strongly manned that this ideal shall be attained; when our District shall have its twenty Missionaries to the million instead of two; when you shall have sent forth as strong a force against the huge population that surrounds us as your fathers and ours sent against the few thousands of Fiji, or as you are now sending against the few myriads of Ceylon; in that day we have not the least doubt that we shall see the Kingdom of God come with power.

It is to be questioned whether the Church in England had grasped the conditions imposed upon Missionaries by the mere fact of population. As Findlay said, what was wanted was 'more understanding.'

Another Circuit in this District to which our attention must now be turned is Tiruvalur, of which frequent mention has been made in an earlier chapter. It had been decided to set up a Medical Mission at this centre, and in 1887 Mr. R. H. Crane, a Native Christian apothecary holding a Government certificate, was appointed to prepare the way for the Rev. H. S. Lunn, M.D., who was then on his way to take up this work. It seemed that there was presented here a providential opening for a Medical Mission. The land required was already in possession, with a house suitable for a European standing vacant upon it. Easy communications by rail with Negapatam, Tanjore, and Kumbhakonam would greatly enlarge the scope of such an agency. The outlook was one of peculiar hopefulness, and the happiest anticipations filled the hearts of the Missionaries. It was thought that later on it might be found desirable to make Kumbhakonam the centre of this work, but that a start might be made at Tiruvalur. Kumbhakonam was a large and populous city, a stronghold of Brahmanism and hitherto untouched by any Christian agency. But during his first year in the country Dr. Lunn—now Sir Henry Lunn—suffered from attacks of fever, and he urged the

Committee to make Kumbhakonam the centre at once; he therefore asked for special grants to be made towards the establishing and maintenance of a Medical Mission in this city. The Committee at once voted ten thousand rupees for this purpose, with an additional allowance of a hundred pounds a year for maintenance. But before any beginning could be made at Kumbhakonam, and without completing one year of service, Dr. Lunn returned to England on the ground of health failure. The unhappy Missionary controversy which followed has been so fully dealt with in Vol. I of this History¹ that no further reference to it is necessary here. The hopes and anticipations with which this projected service had been accompanied were dashed to the ground, a considerable expenditure of funds, sorely needed in other parts of the District, had been made to no purpose, and for many months the hearts of the Missionaries had been saddened.

The work, however, was not abandoned. In 1889 the Rev. H. Hudson, who held medical diplomas, joined the staff, and made a fresh start. For some time tentative work was taken up at both Tiruvalur and Trichinopoly, but in 1893 it was decided to make Manargudi the medical centre. Here Dr. Hudson laboured until 1899, when ill-health compelled his return to England. By that time the Rev. Elias Daniel, an Indian Minister, who had received medical training under Hudson's tuition, was able to take up the work, and in the Centenary year he was still engaged in this service. The medical work at Manargudi is the only medical work in India which is carried on directly under the auspices of the Missionary Committee,² all other hospitals and dispensaries being under the direction of the Women's Auxiliary. It has never reached the point of efficiency or the range of operation expected at the time of its inception. It may be that future days will bring the fulfilment of many hopes in this connexion.

In the 'eighties the Methodist Church at Trichinopoly did not show many signs of growth. As we write these signs are abundant, but for many years such increase as was from time to time recorded resulted mostly from among those who were members of the Church of Rome. Trichinopoly was one of the great centres of Xavier, and in many of the villages round

¹ Vol. I. pp. 142 ff.

²The medical work at Sarenga was begun after the Centenary year.

his converts were to be found. As a rule their ignorance and superstition were as great as that of their non-Christian neighbours, and infinite patience was demanded in the instruction of those who for one reason or another decided to abandon the Roman Church and to enter the Protestant fellowship. Trichinopoly was in point of population second only to Madras in South India, and again the Missionaries stationed here were overwhelmed by the sense of a vast population which they could not hope to evangelize. At one time the presence of British soldiers, forming the garrison of the Fort, brought to the Missionaries a further limitation of their powers in evangelizing the Hindu people by reason of the time and labour spent in ministering to their spiritual needs, and after their removal a small English congregation remained. In work among the surrounding villages a hopeful centre was found in Porathakudi, where the population was largely composed of Romanists, and after the baptism of a hundred and twenty persons an Indian Minister was appointed to this village in 1898. Both here and in the village of Alithorei, the gathered fruit was in the main the product of a faithful Christian of the name of Daniel. He was an evangelist of rich experience and of most fruitful service. The influence he wielded, especially among the young men of the villages, was very remarkable. Many a villager in after days spoke of himself as 'one of Daniel's converts.'

For some years a training institution had been maintained at Trichinopoly. It was never very large, but while it remained in existence it served a useful purpose, and some of the best evangelists in the District were trained in it. Two of these afterwards entered the Ministry. In 1899 it was still in being, with the Rev. J. S. Wesley Shrewsbury acting as Principal, but at the close of that year the health of Mrs. Shrewsbury was such that both were obliged to return to England, and the training institution disappeared from the pages of the annual Report. The District was unable to maintain such a supply of students as would justify their setting apart a man for this work.

The decade of the 'nineties was one of hard struggle. The staff was depleted, and as the remaining Missionaries took up the extra burden, cases of 'breakdown' naturally followed. In 1896, of the seven Missionaries on this field three were still

learning Tamil, so that the vernacular work of the District—so far as European Missionaries were concerned—fell upon four men, one of whom was the Chairman, the Rev. W. H. Findlay, burdened with the cares of administration, and living from day to day on the verge of a physical collapse. In 1892 Henry Little returned to England after a long and fruitful ministry of twenty-nine years. The orphanage and industrial school at Karur will always be associated with his name. Like most administrators who have survived their contemporaries and perhaps two or three subsequent relays of reinforcement, he was towards the close of his service inclined to be somewhat dictatorial in administration, but allowance can always be made in such cases, and nothing can detract from the strength and unselfishness of his ruling. He was wholly surrendered to the cause of the Church committed to his care, and his fatherly tenderness to the orphans whom he gathered together at Karur in the days of famine will never be forgotten. When he left India in 1892 the Chairmanship passed to the Rev. W. H. Findlay, but he too was obliged to seek some measure of restoration to health, and it looked as though the District would be left without a Chairman of any experience, the Rev. J. M. Thompson having by that time also returned to England. Under such circumstances the District was glad to accept the offer of service for one year from the Rev. J. A. Vanes of Bangalore, who with rare diligence had added the use of Tamil to that of Kanarese. Vanes was on the eve of returning to England for furlough, but was willing to postpone this for a year in order to serve his brethren in another District. When the year had run out Mr. Findlay had not yet returned, and for a few months Mr. Cooling acted as Chairman. When Findlay did return he was almost at once stricken down with fever, and quite unable to attend the Synod in which he should have presided. Two other members of the Staff suffered from the ill-health of their wives. The Rev. James Lewis was obliged to return to England on this account, and the Rev. E. Woodward was called to pass through the sorrows of actual bereavement.

The Missionaries sent out to the District about this time, some of whose names have been already mentioned, were the following: E. Woodward (1886-), E. Webster (1887-1910), James Lewis (1889-1894), A. A. Thomas (1885-), A. H.

Davey (1894-1910), H. T. Lazenby (1894-), J. S. W. Shrewsbury (1891-1899), H. Guard Price (1894-1899),¹ and A. Smith (1897-1913).

It will be noticed that the period of service in this District, perhaps the most trying to the health of Europeans, was distinctly lengthening.

A prominent feature of the Negapatam District is to be found in the Findlay College at Manargudi. As we have seen Mr. Findlay began his ministry in the High School at Negapatam, and College classes were begun there in 1885. But even before that time it was becoming clear that Negapatam was never likely to be popular with Hindus as an academic centre ; up to a certain point there was growth, but beyond that there seemed to be no room for expansion, and the limit reached was far from satisfactory. For two years, 1896-1898, there were no College classes. Meantime the High School at Manargudi had so prospered as to show that the true centre of higher educational work was to be found in that town, and in 1898 the College department was transferred from Negapatam to Manargudi. The work was assigned to the Rev. A. H. Davey who up to that time had been appointed to the English work in Negapatam. This Missionary had the special gift which marks the successful teacher ; he soon acquired an extraordinary influence over his students, and his return from furlough in 1898 was made the occasion of a demonstration on the part not only of his students but also of prominent Hindus in Manargudi. When the Rev. Joseph West as Chairman of the District visited Manargudi he said in his report of his visit : ' Mr. Davey stood easily revealed as the very self-possessed and capable pivot round whom the whole institution moved harmoniously.' In 1900 Davey took over a Hindu School which had been a somewhat troublesome rival in the days before College classes were opened, and this acquisition greatly strengthened his hold upon the student population. The number of students rapidly increased until in 1901 there were five hundred on the rolls of the College. The College buildings were painfully inadequate. Some of the classes were conducted in mere sheds thatched with palm-leaves. Steps were, however, taken to remedy this defect, and in 1914 a more worthy building was erected with a hostel

¹ See p. 341

attached. The Madras Government highly appreciated the work being done in this College and gave the handsome grant of a thousand pounds towards the cost of building.

In 1909 this happy and prosperous college was thrown into confusion. The kindly feeling shown towards the Missionaries was displaced by angry demonstrations and rioting, in the course of which the Mission Chapel was burned to the ground. Some eighteen months before, two Brahman students who had come under the influence of the Rev. J. J. Ellis decided that for them there was no way open but that which led to Christ. Since the memorable conversions which had taken place in the time of the Rev. W. O. Simpson's ministry only one convert from Manargudi had entered the Church. That convert was a young man now well known and respected both in England and in India, the Rev. Theophilus Subrahmanyam. As his conversion had taken place when he was absent from Manargudi, there had been no great commotion in the town. But in the case before us feeling was very different. Every sort of inducement was held out to the young men to abandon their intention, which was well known among their friends. But neither threats nor promises availed to turn them from their purpose of giving themselves openly and completely to the Lord who had won their allegiance. For some time they quietly continued to follow Christ while still remaining within the bounds of the family life, but at last they decided that the only way in which they could be Christians without compromise was by breaking those bounds and leaving their homes. Thus they did, with the result that when their action became known the Mission premises were surrounded by an angry mob and the chapel was set on fire by incendiaries. As the chapel was a thatched building this was no great loss, and a better building soon took its place. Of the two converts, the younger, now the Rev. P. Rungaramanuja, since there was some doubt as to his age, subsequently returned to his home, where he continued to witness for Christ—no small test of his sincerity under such surroundings. He afterwards entered the Ministry, and after serving during the great war as Chaplain to the troops in Mesopotamia with great fidelity and efficiency, he was 'lent' by the Society to the Student Movement in India. In this very responsible position he is still at work. The elder of the two, John Krishnaswami, after enduring

every sort of hardship and insult, was finally received into the Church by baptism at Karur, and was sent to continue his studies in the Royapetta College in Madras. It is through such tribulations that the Brahman enters into the Christian fellowship. For him, in the opinion of his dearest, there is no shame comparable with that of confessing Christ in baptism, and it is when the individual dares to defy the law which his elders observe, and takes action in proof of his surrender to Christ, that the bitter hostility of Hinduism breaks through the surface friendliness which is so often shown to the Missionary.

The work of the College, of course, suffered serious dislocation; but within a very few years, when the popular feeling had died down, the students who had been withdrawn resumed their attendance. Some temporary set-back of this kind was certain to take place, but these conversions had another result which was greatly deplored. Mr. Davey took up a position in this matter which made it impossible for him to remain in charge of a Missionary Institution, and his brethren in the work recommended that he should return to England and enter the home work. This he was unwilling to accept. He withdrew from the Ministry and entered Government service in the educational department.

The best comment on the whole incident of these conversions from among the students of Findlay College may be found in the Report of a Secretarial visit paid by William Goudie in 1920. Writing of Manargudi he says :

It is at once disappointing and instructive to know that after close on a hundred years of work there is not in all this stronghold of Brahmanism a single indigenous Christian family, or resident convert won in the town. The Christian congregation is composed of imported Christian workers, and one or two Christian families beginning to be drawn to the place by openings for secular work. The situation is disappointing, but it offers no proof of failure. 'It is hard,' said my colleague to one of the Ministers, 'to think we have laboured so long without fruit.' 'Don't say that,' came the quick reply; 'you would not say "without fruit" if you had known Manargudi twenty-five years ago as I did, and could see it now.'

The fruit of our work has been great to eyes that could see and can judge over a long period. There are coming to Manargudi, as to many another city where converts are few, new thoughts of God, new ideals of life, with a hallowing of family ties, and a new sense of citizenship, and this as a result of Christian example and diffused Christian teaching.

But the story of mission work in the town constitutes a strong indictment of Hinduism. The work of the Missionaries has borne occasional fruit in converts, but converts' lives have never been safe among their own people, and Manargudi has invariably cast them out. The Hindu community can tolerate any irregularity or viciousness of life, but not the crime of being a Christian, so it finds itself without a resident convert at the present time, though sons of the town are doing distinguished service for Christ in a number of centres in South India.

We must now go back a little in our record of events. In 1899 the Rev. Joseph West, to whose service in North Ceylon reference has already been made, was appointed Chairman of the Negapatam District, and he has lived to see the all but barren field become one of the most fruitful in India. His coming brought to the hard-pressed Missionaries a spirit of cheer and hope, so that he was received by them as 'a man sent of God.' They spoke of 'his cheerful spirit, his brotherly sympathy, his deep piety and his earnest zeal in the work of his Master.' In describing his first 'episcopal' visit to the Circuits he contrasts, as was natural, the general aspects of the work in his new field with that which he had known in Ceylon. In India it was almost entirely among the outcaste classes that accessions to the Church were found, while in North Ceylon Christianity had affected all classes of the community. Even in Karur, where the church was most prosperous,

It is just the same. We work our own little plot with something of success, but having in the town no High School—the agency *facile princeps* for reaching the higher classes—Christianity scarcely touches the great bulk of the population.

The Missionaries sent out to this District after the year 1900, and who were still on the field in 1913, were W. S. Dodd (1900), R. Smailes (1903), A. W. Turner (1904), J. J. Ellis (1908), A. C. Hall (1911), and F. T. Shipham (1911). These made up a reinforcement which was great in quality and calibre, and under their ministry the District at last began to move. The increase in the ranks of the Indian workers, however, was small, and the number of Catechists was even less at the close of the period than it had been at the beginning. There were also a number of changes made in the stationing of the Missionaries, in spite of the fact that the better manning and housing of the Staff enabled its members to remain longer on the field than had been possible in earlier days. This was inevitable, as the

older men returned to work in England and under emergencies caused by furlough, but it lessened the local influence gained by Missionaries where continuity of service is secured. During this last period of our survey the membership in each of the chief Circuits showed a considerable advance. If we add those 'on trial' to the full members Negapatam showed an increase of seventy-four, Manargudi a hundred and forty-eight, Karur twenty-six, and Trichinopoly a hundred and twenty-nine. These Circuits were also divided—as village work within their vicinity developed—into sections indicated by the words 'City' and 'Mission,' and each of the 'City' sections made gratifying progress towards that independence which is marked by the support of its own Pastor. The increase in the Trichinopoly Circuit was specially remarkable. At the time when the District was separated from that of Madras the membership at this centre was less than a hundred. In 1913 it was two hundred and fifty-seven, and there were indications of a still larger ingathering from villages in this Circuit. The features of Church organization which are familiar in the Methodist Church, such as Quarterly Meetings, Leaders' Meetings, and representation in the Synods, began to appear, and they added to each Church an element of indigenous strength, which promised much for days to come. The development of village work necessitated the establishment of Boarding Schools at each of the chief centres, one for boys and one for girls, and they were made available for the poorer children of Christian people. Two District Boarding Schools of a higher grade were also established, the one for boys being situated at Manargudi and that for girls at Trichinopoly; the latter was afterwards raised to the High School standard, and its presence imparted a considerable amount of strength to the Church in that city. Such schools were entirely necessary if the youth of the Church were to be protected from moral contamination arising from the mass of degraded life around them, but they also became a happy recruiting ground for the army of catechists and teachers required as village after village began to move towards fellowship in the Christian Church. The work in the Konga-nad, for instance, could scarcely have been possible but for the supplies of teachers from Karur.

A happy, and in one sense a unique, feature of this District

is to be found in the Sunday Schools conducted in each Circuit. These are indeed to be found in each of the Methodist Districts in India, and they have proved their value in each. But that which makes this branch of Christian work peculiar in the Negapatam District is the fact that non-Christians and those of higher castes are in the habit of attending them. Thus in 1895 of the two thousand children attending the Sunday Schools half of that number were Sudras, three hundred were Brahmans and five hundred Christians, a few Romanists also attending. It is remarkable that in a District in which caste prejudice is so strong there should be this admixture of castes, and that, as we have seen, the Church should receive so many of its adherents from among those belonging to higher grades of the social scale. In this particular the Negapatam District offers a striking contrast with other Districts. It is a matter fraught with happiest omens for the future that this feature should appear in an area in which Brahmanism is to be found at the zenith of its power. The great temples of Srirangam, Madura, and Kumbhakonam are the symbols of its supremacy. Here, if anywhere, caste is to be found in its most uncompromising expression. Yet there is no District in India within the areas evangelized by the Methodist Church in which so many converts from the higher castes have accepted Christ and entered His Church. In the earliest days the Sudras seemed likely to enter it in numbers. From time to time Brahmans have risked everything to follow Christ, and in the decade immediately preceding the year of the Society's Centenary we have noted the beginnings of a movement by community among the most degraded and depraved of the Panchama Class. And this is why the Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven which is best illustrated by the history of the Methodist Church in this District is that of the Draw-net. Every class is represented in the gathering of the Church. Every sort of man is caught in the meshes of the Divine love. Some are found to be not worthy, and they fall back into the deeps from which they came; but upon others the Master lays His hand and claims them for His service.

(iii.) THE MYSORE DISTRICT : ' THE LEAVEN '

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

The Kingdom of God is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened.—MATT. xiii. 33.

The Gospel of Christ was a new and quickening power cast into the midst of an old and dying world, a centre of life around which all the moral energies which still survived, and all which itself should awaken, might form and gather ; by the help of which the world might constitute itself anew.—DR. TRENCH.

Of this the story of the Mysore Mission is a ' Parable.'

In the first decade of its separate existence the Mysore District passed through a period of manifold distresses. The Tamil Circuit in Bangalore was still attached to the Madras District for purposes of administration, and though at first this arrangement had its convenience, inasmuch as it kept Thomas Cryer in a Circuit where he would have been subordinate to Garrett, although so much his senior, if it had formed part of the newly constituted District, yet the expenditure of time and money involved by the Missionary's attending Synods held in Madras was considerable, and when in 1853 the Rev. Peter Batchelor succeeded Cryer in Bangalore, the Tamil Circuit was brought under the same administration as those in which the language used was Kanarese.

An incident in 1851 created a great deal of disturbance in Bangalore City. At that time the Rev. E. J. Hardey was associated with Garrett in that Circuit, and the former accepted from the Mussulmans of the city a challenge to a public contest. The lists were duly prepared, and all formalities observed. Independent judges were appointed, and it was agreed that if their verdict was given against the Christian he was to become a follower of the Prophet, while if it was given against the Kaji, his opponent, the latter would become a Christian.

A ' conversion ' on such grounds would have been of little value from a religious point of view to either side, and it is

strange that Hardey should have accepted a condition of this kind. In the first encounter the Mussulman quoted twenty passages from the Koran in support of his views, and as the Missionary had brought forward only fourteen from the Bible, the popular decision was that the former had already vanquished his opponent, and payment of the penalty was demanded. But the Muhammadan failed to appear for the later stages of this tournament. Probably he was annoyed because quotations from the Koran which were made by his adversary somewhat discredited the source of Moslem teaching in the opinion of the Brahmans present. Judgement was given against him in default. Each side thus claimed the victory. It is doubtful whether anything is gained by such encounters. Even though they afforded an opportunity for setting forth the teaching of Christ, the atmosphere is not one in which any hearer is likely to realize his personal need of a Saviour from sin.

Garrett was working the Mission Press hard in those days. In 1850 an output of fifty thousand tracts and school-books was reported, comprising nearly two million pages. Large profits were made, and these were used in enlarging the Press itself, and in financing other local objects, but the Home Committee claimed that they ought rather to have been credited to the Society in relief of their financial burdens, and the controversy that arose was not helpful to the general work of the Mission. A third house, necessitated by the Committee's order to concentrate in Bangalore, was one of these local objects, but Garrett was severely censured for using local income in providing for its erection.

Sanderson and Glanville were now in Mysore, the former occupied with the translation of the Bible into Kanarese, while the latter had charge of the educational work. But in 1852 Sanderson's health gave way ; he retired to the hills and was absent from Mysore nearly the whole year. In 1853 both he and Hardey returned to England, and, as Morris was recruiting his health in Australia, the whole of the work, begun with such high hopes of rapid extension, devolved upon Garrett and Glanville, each of whom was fettered by the departmental work in which he was engaged, Even Gubbi, chosen by Hodson as the chief centre of the Mysore Mission, was abandoned, the Mission house and chapel being sold. Four years were

to pass before work was again taken up in Gubbi. The protests of 'Old Daniel' were pathetic, but they failed to reach the Methodist Church in England.

In 1853, Mr. Liston Garthwaite, who had been trained as a teacher at the Westminster College, arrived in Bangalore to take charge of the educational work, for which the large grant of a thousand pounds per annum was being received from the Government. When it is remembered that at the same time the Mysore High School was financed by the Raja, it is evident that educational work in the Mysore State was not a charge upon the funds of the Society. At the close of 1853 a further step was taken by the Government. It was proposed to place all educational work in the State under the control of the Mission. A class for training teachers was added to the Bangalore school. Schools and teachers' houses at Mysore, Hunsur, and Shimoga, to be built at the expense of the Government, and according to any plan proposed by the Mission, were sanctioned. The opportunity thus afforded was a great one, but it was far beyond the powers of the Mission to accept it, and thus the greatest opportunity ever given to the Methodist Church for the efficient occupation of a definite field passed, never to return. By this time Hodson was on his way back, and Morris was returning from Australia. With Hardey's return confidently expected, it seemed as though the worst days of the Mission were over.

When Hardey returned to England he took with him a remarkable document signed in nine languages by prominent men in Mysore City. This was a petition for the establishing of an English school under the direction of the Mission. Towards the cost of building such a school Hardey had collected during his furlough the sum of two hundred pounds, and he hoped to secure a similar amount from local subscriptions after his return. He returned early in 1854, and on April 22 of that year a memorable meeting was held in Mysore City. Great interest and enthusiasm were shown, and the sum of a hundred and twenty pounds was at once promised, while a petition was forwarded from that meeting to the British Commissioner, Major General Cubbon, asking for a monthly grant of eight hundred rupees to be made towards the maintenance of the school. The meeting did not close without an attempt being made to secure the exclusion of the Bible from the school, but

Hardey was firm and declined to consider such a proposal. The British Commissioner, however, refused to allow the grant asked for, on the ground that the Raja's school was still in existence, and the Mission school would appear as a rival establishment. No help towards such an object was at that time to be expected from the Home Committee, and it looked as if the whole scheme would fall through. The school was nevertheless begun, and after a few years the persistent efforts of the Rev. J. Hutcheon were rewarded by a grant in aid. In 1857 it was decided to levy a fee from boys attending Mission schools, and this more healthy method of financing such establishments has been continued up to the present. But even thus higher education was carried on with the greatest difficulty.

There were other difficulties in the District. In 1854 Glanville and Morris had started a secular newspaper which they called *The Bangalore Herald*. They had done so on their own responsibility without consulting their Superintendent, and in disregard of Hodson's remonstrances when he heard of the venture. Prompt action was taken by the Committee, to Hodson's great relief. Glanville was removed to South Africa, and Morris transferred to Mysore City. In 1857 he left India, and some of his colleagues were relieved when he did so. Hodson, who was at first opposed to the employment of laymen as head masters in Mission schools, now swung round to the opposite position, and deploring the appointment of Missionaries to the work of teaching secular subjects, now asked for three well-qualified unordained men to take charge of the schools in Bangalore. Such men, however, were not easily found in the 'fifties, and to add to Hodson's difficulties, Garthwaite, the representative of such a class of agent, now asked to be relieved of educational work on the ground that his eyes suffered from strain. He also hoped that he might be recommended for ordination, and when the Missionaries refused to accept his offer he withdrew from the service of the Mission.

A still more painful episode now occurred. By 1856 Garrett had been seventeen years in Bangalore, and during that time had taken no furlough. His management of the Press had been most successful, and he was regarded by those who were outside of the circle to which he belonged as a Missionary of

great ability. He had also served as Chairman of the District during the absence of Hodson, and neither in the one department nor in the other had there been any check or adequate scrutiny of his administration. The issue was most deplorable. When in 1856 he did return to England the affairs of the press came into the hands of Sanderson and Pordige, and they felt it to be their painful duty to call attention to the financial accounts left by Garrett. The latter protested that he was able to justify himself completely, but though he returned to Bangalore for this purpose, he failed to do so, and thus one who in many ways had been a source of strength to the Mysore Mission suffered at last a sad eclipse, and his name shortly after passed out of the records of the District. In 1858 he resigned his position and withdrew from the Methodist Ministry.

All this was distressing enough. The first contingent of able men had either died on the field or returned to England disabled, and those who had taken their places proved to be disappointing, while the loss of Hodson's wise administration for ten years was severely felt. But in October, 1854, Hodson, at last relieved of duties in Madras,¹ returned to Bangalore to his own satisfaction and greatly to the advantage of the work. In the following year Sanderson also returned with restored health, and he was followed in 1856 by the Rev. Robert Pordige. In 1857 two others were sent to this District, both of them pre-eminent in character and of outstanding intellectual force. These were the Revs. John Shaw Banks and John Hutcheon. The impression they made upon their colleagues may be judged from the fact that the Chairman, when seeking further reinforcements, insisted in every letter that these two were 'exactly the type of man required for the work.' Hodson was determined to maintain a high standard in the missionary staff, and his insisting on this led to a certain amount of friction between him and the Secretariat, so that though the Government grant in favour of the Bangalore High School made it possible to receive an additional Missionary without cost to the Society, while another was required to fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Morris, the reinforcement was not sent.

Of the effect of the Mutiny on Indian Missions we have

¹ See p. 215.

written in another chapter. The Missionaries sent out to the Mysore District in 1859 were the Revs. J. H. Cummings, H. J. Sykes, and W. M. Armistead. But these had scarcely arrived before the Staff was again in the shadow of a great bereavement. The Rev. E. J. Hardey was a notable Missionary. He lacked, it is true, the gentleness of his brother Samuel¹; but, though his frank outspoken utterances sometimes got him into trouble, and on one occasion even earned for him the censure of his brethren, his defects were those of his qualities, and in kindness of heart and patient dealing with the humblest of the flock he was pre-eminent. He delighted in the work of an evangelist, and few have been more impressive. His great physical strength enabled him to endure fatigue until it seemed as though he could never be wearied. In March, 1858, his wife, who had long been in feeble health, had died, and in the last month of the same year, while he was touring with Hodson among the villages near the great Falls of the river Kaveri, he was attacked by cholera, and after a few hours of mortal agony the strong and fruitful life was closed. To-day his lonely grave stands by the roadside, a silent claim that the land for which he died be won for Christ. It is more than a claim: it is a pledge for the Methodist Church to redeem. It was with chastened hearts that the Missionaries assembled for the Synod of 1859, but that year was really the beginning of a new era for the Mission, and from that time its progress was continuous and marked by the consolidation of every position gained.

During the latter part of the 'forties the Missionaries received into the fellowship of the Methodist Ministry the Rev. W. Walker. Their experience of ' Assistants ' had been far from pleasant, but Mr. Walker won for himself the respect and affection even of those who had been most opposed to the admission of men who were ' country-born ' into the Ministry. He entered upon his work at a time when there was a general discontent with the status of Ministers recruited in India, and sharing in that feeling he withdrew for a time from ministerial work. But he still continued to serve as head master of the English School in Tumkur, and in 1852 he again entered the Ministry. His ordination followed in 1854. Though born in Madras, he had an excellent command of colloquial Kanarese,

¹ See p. 199.

and rendered good service at Kunigal, Bangalore, and Gubbi. He died while on tour in 1872.

After the withdrawal of Garrett the Mission press in Bangalore was under the care of the Rev. R. W. Pordige. Some idea of the work done in this department may be conveyed by the statement that the profits from the press, carried to the credit of the Mission, during the years 1857-1864 amounted to five thousand four hundred pounds. The labour entailed had been very great, and Pordige had contributed in no small measure to the efficiency of other Missionaries by his supply of Christian literature. In the multitude of publications special interest was taken in the new and enlarged edition of a Kanarese dictionary prepared by the Rev. D. Sanderson. The previously used dictionary was that of the Rev. W. Reeves, and it was found to be cumbersome, inaccurate, and deficient. In nine months Mr. Sanderson had prepared this greatly improved edition, which continued for many years to help young Missionaries over the difficulty of acquiring the language in which they were to preach.

Another happy incident in what was otherwise a somewhat depressing period was the return of the Rev. M. T. Male to the District in 1859. It will be remembered that the British Commissioner had disapproved of the relations between Mr. Male and the Raja of Mysore, and in consequence Mr. Male had returned to England. But the course of time had removed the objections raised, and the District was thus able to recover the service of an experienced Missionary. Male was appointed to Tumkur, from which station he visited Gubbi and Kunigal, both of which places held sorrowful memories for him. But what was most distressing was the derelict condition of Mission stations in which so much devoted service had been rendered. Now, in the providence of God, they were to begin in Tumkur a work which was to issue eventually in the formation of one of the largest Churches in the District, and in missionary institutions of great value. To those who visit in these days the different Circuits of the Mysore District it will appear strange that Thomas Hodson, in choosing a town to be the head quarters of the new Mission, should have passed by Tumkur in favour of Gubbi, and subsequent history has only accentuated his initial error. But it must always be remembered that Hodson was influenced by the two-fold

consideration that there were neither Europeans to distract, nor Brahmans to oppose, the Missionaries who might be sent to Gubbi, while both of these were to be found in Tumkur. Had he been able to foresee the future he would have found that the European element in Tumkur, so far from being a hindrance, would have greatly furthered his efforts. For during many years the chief British Officer in this town was one of many devout and godly administrators, who have been the savouring salt of the British rule in India. Major Dobbs proved to be the tried and devoted friend of all Missionaries who came in contact with him, and when there was no Missionary available to conduct service for the few Christians in Tumkur this Christian officer held services regularly for them in his own bungalow. In 1842 Male, who was then stationed at Gubbi, had opened an English school in Tumkur, a Government grant having made it possible for him to do so. But not even then was Tumkur recognized as a Mission station, and six years after it was still regarded as an annexe to the Gubbi Circuit. It was only in 1853 that the appointment of a Missionary to this more promising place began to be considered. By this time the school was prosperous, and there were indications that a school for girls would be equally so, but in the shortage of Missionaries more could not be done, and Hodson feared that Methodists would be forestalled in occupying this town by German Missionaries, who had appeared in Shimoga. It was the return of Male that made it possible to station a European Missionary in Tumkur. Mrs. Male at once opened a school for girls, and a boarding school for boys, started in 1856, was destined to have great importance in subsequent developments. But at first the work done did not differ greatly from that which was being done in other Circuits; accessions to the Church came slowly, just as they did throughout the Kanarese area. It was in 1876, the year of the great famine, that Tumkur became prominent among the Mysore Circuits, but that story awaits us in later pages.

The 'sixties were ushered in by the happy event of the coming of Christian women definitely set apart for the service of their sisters in India. In 1860 the Women's Auxiliary Society sent their first representative to India in the person of Miss Mary Scott, who was appointed to Negapatam, and in the same year Miss Hanna Wildish and Miss S. R. Churchward

were sent, the former to Bangalore (Tamil) and the latter to Tumkur. These were the forerunners of a noble army of women who have helped to raise the whole status of women in India, and have brought immeasurable blessing upon thousands of lives. It was in the same year that the first suggestion was made as to the desirability of opening work in at least two more towns which have now become centres of missionary service, each having its own distinctive feature. Early in 1860 the Revs. J. S. Banks and Daniel Sanderson proceeded to make an extended tour among the villages on the western side of the Mysore Province, and the account of this tour, given by the former, is marked by the keen perception, the temperate judgement, and the loyalty to truth which characterized John Shaw Banks to the very close of his long and honoured life. In the course of a tour extending over two months the two Missionaries visited many towns and villages in which the name of Jesus was unknown, but two towns were specially mentioned as offering favourable opportunities for Mission work. These were Hassan and Shimoga. It fell to Dr. Banks to begin the work in the latter of these three years after he had first called attention to it. Each of these now has its Christian House of Prayer, and each has in its midst the Church of the living God. At that time, however, there was no immediate prospect that either would be occupied, though the urgency of the plea sent to England by two of its wisest and most deliberate Missionaries was one of peculiar intensity of feeling.

In the journal of Thomas Hodson for the year 1861 there occurs an entry which should be noted here. It is to the effect that it was proposed to issue a small monthly periodical, to be called *The Harvest Field*. That journal was destined to become the organ of exchange of missionary experience and policy from one end of India to the other.

The disposition of the staff in 1860 was as follows. Bangalore (Kanarese) was strongly manned. In addition to the Chairman, Thomas Hodson, there was stationed in the city the Rev. M. T. Male. The Rev. R. W. Pordige was in charge of the press, and the Rev. J. S. Banks had charge of the educational work. The Rev. J. H. Cummings, who had recently arrived, was also here for a few months. The Tamil work in Bangalore was in the care of the Rev. J. Pinkney, assisted by

the Rev. S. Cocking, but the latter died in the following year. In Mysore City the Revs. J. Hutcheon and Jacob Marrat were stationed. W. M. Armistead and H. J. Sykes were in Gubbi, and Daniel Sanderson was alone at Tumkur. There were, in addition, two East Indian Ministers, the Revs. W. Walker and H. O. Sullivan, and two Native Assistant Missionaries. Eight Catechists and four Local Preachers completed the staff. The total Church membership in the District was two hundred and seventy-four, of whom no less than one hundred and eighty-seven were to be found in the Tamil Circuit. It will thus be seen that the Mission had scarcely yet, judging by the test of Church membership, begun to affect the Kanarese people. The number of pupils in the schools was comparatively large, amounting to one thousand two hundred and fifty-nine. The increase in the staff enabled the Missionaries to adopt a system of evangelistic touring, and to follow the historic method of going two and two. Male and Sykes, Hutcheon and Banks, and Sanderson and Armistead all made far-extended tours in the unoccupied area about this time, sowing the good seed of the Kingdom wherever they went. But the harvest was still delayed. Sanderson especially had the burden of an unfruitful Mission weighing heavily upon his heart. 'We cannot believe,' he writes, 'that the Lord of the harvest has ordained us to perpetual sowing—to year after year of monotonous fruitlessness. The preaching of the Gospel was received with an excess of bitterness, and with hideous blasphemies, while the moral degradation, inevitable where idolatry is the common practice, was apparent in the shocking indecencies which were regarded as a matter of no concern.' All this troubled the Missionary and led him to ask for the special prayer of the Church at home. In Mysore City there was the same bitter and blasphemous opposition, but here the darkness was somewhat relieved by gleams of light that told of a coming dawn.

Hutcheon was a great Missionary—great in his personal devotion, and in the concomitant power of winning the souls of men. He had also the gift of insight into movements which, though outwardly hostile, indicated nevertheless that growing sense of shame which foretells the birth of a consciousness of sin. In the Pariah quarter of Viranageri he had the joy of baptizing several converts. These, no less than if they had

been Brahmans, suffered the loss of all things. But they were sustained in their new-found allegiance by a power which was not of this world, and from the Pariah Church of Viranageri many a devoted Christian worker was recruited in after years. The little church in the city was now beginning to assume proportions. The only place of worship was a small schoolroom erected by Thomas Hodson in 1843. It measured thirty-three feet by fifteen, and the congregation of forty persons found it too small for their comfort. Presently we find Hutcheon pleading with the home Committee for a grant to enable him to build a worthier temple for the worship of God, and the new chapel was dedicated to that worship in 1871. The chapel still stands, though it has twice had to be enlarged, and a second chapel has been erected in another part of the city. On the educational side a Government grant had greatly relieved the situation in the high school, and there were in addition four vernacular schools in different parts of Mysore City. Mrs. Hutcheon had opened a school for girls, and a second school for these was opened in the Fort in 1869. Hutcheon had also opened a shop for the sale of Christian literature, and in a single year he had sold a hundred pounds' worth of books.

When the first baptism in Viranageri took place a group of some fifteen women were virulent in their abuse, and relentless in their persecution of the new converts. Their hostility was so pronounced that the Church gave itself up to prayer for them. Six years after one of these women came forward to confess her sin and to yield to the love of God in Christ Jesus. Within the next four years every one of those who had been such bitter opponents of the first converts entered by baptism into the very fellowship they had denounced. This fruit was largely the result of the work of women for women. The wife of the Rev. Abijah Samuel especially had visited the women in their homes, and had talked with them as only a woman can talk with women, until the bitterness died out of their hearts, and the love of Jesus took its place. So marked was the result of this service rendered by the Minister's wife that the employment of another agency came into view, and from that time the work of 'Bible-women' was recognized as not the least effective of those agencies already in operation. The first Bible-woman to be appointed in Mysore was Sanjivi, who for

many years, during which she was often severely tested, served with the utmost fidelity, and with a heart brimming over with love, her sisters who still remained in the darkness of heathenism. There was now in Mysore what may fairly be called 'an indigenous Church,' humble in origin, and despised by both Brahman and Sudra, but destined to become a true Church of Christ, rich in spiritual gifts, and ennobled by its consecration to the living God.

The 'sixties were also remarkable for the rapid extension of work in the education of girls. This was happily coincident with the coming of the workers sent out by the Women's Auxiliary, and their sympathy and zeal greatly furthered the movement. In 1850 there were only fifteen girls in the Kanarese schools of the District, and these were supported at the expense of the Mission with a view to securing their attendance. In 1859 the number had risen to eighty, but in 1869 there were five hundred and eighty girls in the schools, with the prospect of a still larger increase. We have already referred to two of those who had been sent out by the Women's Auxiliary, and they were followed by Miss Tobias, Miss Tregoning, and Miss A. M. Beauchamp. Of these five Miss Churchward, Miss Tobias, and Miss Tregoning all married Missionaries within a few years of their arrival in India; but though this meant for the Committee in England the difficulty, greater than it is now, of finding others to take their posts, their service, so far from being lost to the Church, only took a wider range. Who that knew Miss Tobias, for instance, after she had become Mrs. Hudson, could deny that her quick and brilliant mind, together with her deep and wise sympathy, were still enlisted on behalf of those girls whom she taught for so many years both in the girls' boarding school for Christians, and in the school for girls of high caste in Bangalore? And the same might be said of most of those who changed their names but never changed their interest and sympathy. Miss Beauchamp's ministry was a very remarkable one. Appointed first in 1868 to the school for Tamil girls in the Bangalore Cantonment, she gave one term of service to a similar school in North Ceylon. In 1885 she returned to Bangalore. In 1887-1896, a period broken by one year of furlough, she took up educational work in Shimoga, and for a part of that time she lived apart from the fellowship of those who belonged to

her own country. Thence she went back to Ceylon, where she completed thirty-seven years of service, retiring from the work at last in 1905.

While the Mission to the Kanarese people was thus passing through its many vicissitudes, and exercising the patience of hope, though hope was long deferred and patience seemed likely to be exhausted, the Tamil work in Bangalore had become established in the Cantonment, and the Church steadily increased in numbers and in moral and spiritual worth. When Thomas Cryer left this Circuit in 1850 the membership, including those of British birth, stood at a hundred and thirty-nine. The English school was still carried on, and vernacular schools for boys and girls were still in existence. Several Missionaries succeeded Cryer, but it was not until the Rev. E. J. Symons was appointed in 1864 that any one of these was able to spend more than three years in the Circuit. Two young Missionaries, the Revs. S. Cocking and S. Mornington, died during the first year of their Ministry. Symons, however, was able to continue at work until 1882, but within that period the English members were separated from the Tamil, and formed a separate Circuit. In 1880 the Tamil Church was the largest in the District, having a membership of a hundred and twenty-nine.

The Missionaries sent into this field during the sixties were : S. Cocking (1860-1861), J. Marrat (1861-1866), S. Dalzell (1862-1873), J. Greenwood (1863-1873), J. Stephenson (1863-1873), G. McCutcheon (1863-1866), J. Hudson (1864-1896), S. Mornington (1864), S. Symons (1864-1882), A. Fentiman (1866-1872), T. G. Sykes (1867-1869), J. Carr (1868-1869), G. Hinson (1868-1869), A. J. O. Lyle (1868-1873).

This is a long list, but it will be observed that many of these served for a very brief period, death, sickness, and other causes cutting short the term of service. The tradition of long service which now belongs to this District was not yet established. Because of this brevity of service on the part of so many it has been held that it was not until 1870 that the Mission became really effective. But in saying this it must be remembered that the efficiency of later years rested upon the experience gained, often at great cost, by those who laid the foundations upon which other happier men have built. Two notable Missionaries left India during this decade. Dr. John Shaw Banks withdrew in 1865. He afterwards became the much

respected and beloved theological tutor of Headingley College, and was elected to the Chair of the Conference in 1902. The Rev. Daniel Sanderson left in 1866 and was appointed Governor of Richmond College. These during the many years they were spared to serve the Church in England never lost their love for the Mysore District.

One very necessary feature of missionary work was strangely missing until the 'sixties, and even then it was far from that which it should have been, and that which it afterwards became. Definite training of Catechists and Candidates for the Ministry began in 1869, when this branch of work was taken up by the Rev. J. Stephenson in Tumkur. Five young men were in the class then formed for instruction in theology, while five others were being trained for the service of Catechists. It was hoped that the latter also would ultimately qualify for admission to the theological class. But, as in other Districts, it was, even after so many years, not yet clearly seen that this work was a first essential to a Mission which hoped to make Christianity indigenous in India. In the following year the class was removed to Mysore, and four years afterwards it was discontinued, and was not begun again until 1879. The training of Catechists was later on taken up by the Rev. C. H. Hocken in Mysore, and then by the Rev. B. Robinson in Shimoga. In 1901 the whole of this work was added to a normal school for teachers, and a suitable home for the two institutions was found in Hardwicke College, in Mysore City. Later still a true and stable foundation for the training of the two classes of agents was found in the United Theological Seminary and Normal School in Tumkur, while preparation for the service of an ordained Minister was admirably provided in the Union Theological College in Bangalore. The last-named institutions, however, belong to a quite modern period in the history of the District.

The District was now well furnished with buildings in which to house its many agencies. In 1871 Thomas Hodson estimated the value of Mission property in the Mysore at twenty-one thousand pounds, nearly the whole of which amount had been obtained in India, and with a strong staff on the field at the beginning of the 'seventies it seemed as though the Mission might now begin to gather a larger harvest than it had hitherto done; but it was in this decade that there fell upon the Mysore

country the stroke which resolved all Missionary effort into one desperate struggle to save human life, and to befriend a people threatened with extermination. The great famine of 1877-1878 swept away one-fourth of the Kanarese people. The roads were lined with the skeletons of those who had fallen by the way in their efforts to reach some place where food might be obtained, while in one month it was estimated that twenty-five thousand cattle perished. Children were offered for sale by their parents, and stories of cannibalism were only too well founded. Railways in India have made a calamity of such dimensions impossible in these days, but at that time no railway ran from the coast to Mysore, and though steamers from Rangoon discharged their cargoes of rice on the beach in Madras until thousands of tons were collected there, no means existed for distributing the precious food where it was so desperately needed. So much of the railway as was then built could move little more than two thousand tons in a day, while the Madras Government needed four thousand tons. Even when this partial supply reached the railhead there were no bullocks available for removing the grain to the many distant villages where the hapless people awaited death. The Government, both provincial and Imperial, did all that was possible. Relief camps were set up, and thousands of men, women, and children found in them both shelter and food. In England the story of woe elicited the greatest sympathy. A Fund opened by the Lord Mayor of London very soon amounted to half a million pounds, while among more denominational subscriptions that of fifteen thousand pounds was contributed by the Methodists of England for their fellow members in Madras and Mysore. Missionaries gave themselves up to the work of distributing relief as far as was possible, but by the time the famine had run its course there were twenty-five thousand orphans in the relief camps, and the Government was glad to allot these to the care of Societies whose credentials and resources were deemed satisfactory by the Famine Commissioners. Hodson took a hundred girls into the boarding school in Bangalore, and directed Gostick to take fifty boys and girls to Tumkur. Here they were received by the Rev. G. W. Sawday, and the desolate children found loving hearts waiting to receive them into a Christian home.

At that time the Rev. A. P. Riddett was stationed in Hassan, and the only building on the Mission compound which could be made available was a small stable. Into this he received twenty children, but other sheds were quickly run up, and more children were received, tended, and cared for. The physical condition of many of these was appalling. Dysentery, dropsy, and other diseases were rife among them, and the emaciated frame had scanty powers of recuperation. Mr. and Mrs. Riddett ministered to them with the tender solicitude of real parents, but every day had its funeral, and two hundred and fifty of the children died before conditions of health could be established. Others were received from the camps to fill their places, and the number of survivors was about two hundred. The same Christian work was done at Tumkur. In 1878 Gostick began the building of an orphanage, to which the Mysore Government contributed a building grant, and a maintenance grant for two years was received from the Lord Mayor's Fund in London. It was decided that all girls should find their home in Hassan and all boys in Tumkur. The necessary exchanges were made in 1878. Help and succour were not confined to Missionaries. English residents at the different centres gave liberally what help was possible to them, and showed a very true sympathy. The Native members of the Church also brought joy to the hearts of their Ministers by the intelligent and utterly unselfish way in which they served the needy children. The spirit of Jesus was manifest in His Church, and flung a ray of light across the darkness of those days.

Few, if any, of those children had ever heard the name of Jesus, but Christian Missionaries now stood to them *in loco parentis*. They were carefully instructed in Christian truth, and after a year or two of careful preparation they were received by baptism into the Christian Church. In each of the two orphanages industries appropriate to its members were set up, and as the youths and maidens grew up marriages were arranged, and presently small Christian villages came into being both at Hassan and Tumkur. These owed much to the wise counsel and loving care of G. W. Sawday and D. A. Rees, who had followed Gostick and Riddett.

This ministry of the Christian Church was rendered from no other motive than that of Christlike compassion for suffering

humanity. There was no 'calculation' in its service, no thought of advantage to be gained. But from that time to the present the Methodist Church has reaped a bounteous harvest as the fruit of its service of love. Those who stood outside the Church saw what must have been to them a revelation. They found their own religious leaders silent and helpless in the day of calamity. If they had sympathy—and we are far from denying it—they lacked the power to apply it. They were obstructed in any effort they might have wished to make by the pitiless rules of caste. What had Brahman priest to do with Pariah orphans? They were smitten with paralysis. Into the place which they should have filled the starving villagers saw the Christian Church come with ministering hands and tender hearts caring for the fatherless, and bending all its resources to the uplifting of orphan children to worthy manhood and womanhood. But there were further results. Within a few years the Church had a community to which it could appeal, and from which it could recruit the agents it needed in its work of evangelizing the country. Many a teacher and many a preacher of the Gospel of Christ was found among those thus rescued. From those days of famine the Methodist Church in the Mysore country counted for something in the communal life; the working of the leaven began to appear. In after years the two orphanages developed into industrial schools of first-rate efficiency, and in 1904 Mr. R. A. Stott, who had previously served in Karur,¹ was appointed to the Tumkur school, which he quickly raised to a position in which it commanded the respect of all classes for the work it turned out.

By this time the organization of the District was complete, and each of the chief centres within the area which had fallen to the Wesleyan Mission, with the solitary exception of Chitaldrug, was occupied by the Mission more or less effectively. It was not the whole of the Mysore Province which thus fell to our care. The L.M.S. had been at work in the province quite as long as the Methodists, and during the period in which work was done by both Societies through evangelistic tours there was little danger of overlapping, and the two Societies worked together with mutual respect and harmony. When, however, the stage was reached by both in which working from fixed

¹ See p. 162.

centres became necessary, the comity of Missions demanded that some division of the area to be evangelized should be made. This was done by mutual consent, and has resulted in harmonious co-operation. Both Societies continued to work in Bangalore, but a line was drawn from north to south through that city. The L.M.S. undertook the evangelization of the country lying to the east, while the W.M.S. limited its operations to the towns and villages of the west.

This meant that four-fifths of the Mysore Province was committed to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Within that area the burden of bringing the Gospel of the love of God within the hearing of His scattered children falls wholly on the Methodist Church. The area contains fifty-five *taluks*, or sub-districts, each *taluk* containing about sixty thousand inhabitants, and the aim of the Missionaries has been to station one agent in every *taluk*. That very moderate purpose has not yet been reached. But even if it were, the Church may well consider the position of the individual agent. Cut off by the restriction of caste from the general life of the community in which he finds himself, in some instances separated by many miles from his nearest fellow Christian, poor in this world's goods, and owing nothing to birth or social status, this one man confronts all the panoply and pageantry of established Brahmanism. And yet it has been through the ministry of such as these that God has repeated His former miracle. Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are called, but through those who are despised He brings to nought the vainglory of man and builds up the kingdom of His Son.

In 1878 the long-continued and able administration of the Rev. Thomas Hodson came to its close, and four years after his retirement he passed to give an account of his stewardship. We have already described the character of this founder of the Mysore Mission. If in later years he revealed something of the autocrat in his direction of affairs, it must be remembered that he had been, not only the founder of the Mission, but also its administrator for a great number of years. He shared with John Kilner in North Ceylon the distinction of not only having a distinct Mission policy in his mind, but of having also the power of carrying it into effect. It was given to him, after the first years of tentative measures, to see the Christian Church not only established in the chief centres of life in the

Mysore country, but also permeating that life and forming the ideals of secular government. The working of the leaven was distinctly seen, and after his departure its effects were even more pronounced. He was followed in the Chair of the District by the Rev. Josiah Hudson.

For the purpose of noting the growth of the Church a few statistics may be given at this point.

Chapels and other Preaching Places	..	..	32
Missionaries	..	..	15
Catechists	..	..	14
Local Preachers	..	..	15
Members in the Church	..	..	587
Scholars in Mission Schools	..	..	4,755
Attendants at Public Worship	..	..	2,102

The Missionaries who joined the Mysore staff during the 'seventies were notable men in many respects. Omitting one or two who resigned after a couple of years in the country, we find in the *Minutes* such names as those of C. H. Hocken (1873), J. A. Vanes (1876), D. A. Rees (1877), G. W. Sawday (1877), A. P. Riddett (1873), J. C. Sowerbutts (1873), Ellis Roberts (1876), H. Gulliford (1878), and Henry Haigh (1875). Of these Riddett, Sowerbutts, and Roberts had a comparatively short period of service, but of the others Vanes, Rees, Sawday, and Gulliford are still on the field as we write. Hocken served for more than twenty years, and Haigh for twenty-six. The last-named after his return to work in England was made one of the Secretaries of the Society, and was elected to the Chair of the Conference in 1911. These were all men of one mind and heart. Under the wise and kindly leading of the Rev. Josiah Hudson they began what was the formative period of the Mysore Mission, and the advantage of continuity of service on the part of men of sound judgement and unquestionable loyalty to Christ was incalculable. It was in this period that the effective training of an adequate Native agency was begun. We have already referred to spasmodic efforts made in this direction, but former attempts were defeated largely because the Native Church was not such as to provide the material to be shaped into instruments meet for the Master's use. For

the same reason the teachers in the Mission schools were largely non-Christian. The young men brought together at Tumkur were transferred to Mysore in 1870, and were placed under the zealous care of the Rev. J. Hutcheon until he left in 1871, when they were employed as Catechists. In 1879 a more stable foundation for this work was found in Bangalore, where eight candidates formed a class under the careful instruction of the Chairman. The opening of a modest hostel for Christian boys in Mysore took place in 1882, and it was hoped that this would prove to be a good recruiting-ground for the theological institution. The boys were under the pastoral care of the Rev. C. H. Hocken, but attended the classes of the high school which the Rev. H. Gulliford was then making into a first-class educational centre. This dual control was brought to a close in 1892, when Hardwicke College was opened. The stages were thus clearly defined, the elementary school being followed by residence in the Mysore hostel and an education in the Arts course of the Madras University, and this leading to the theological institution. Up to the year 1884 thirty men had been trained and were employed as Catechists. Six of them had passed into the ranks of the ordained Ministry. The need of trained Christian teachers was severely felt in a District in which education was so prominent a feature of the Mission policy. Something was done by means of a yearly examination which teachers in village schools were expected to take, but this entailed great labour for those who so examined them, and it was a relief when the Government instituted an examination of its own for all teachers in the province. This, however, did not give the distinctly Christian results so much desired, and in 1883 a normal school was begun in Shimoga. Later on, under the management of the Rev. B. Robinson, this attained a high degree of efficiency, and from the point of view of this branch of work alone the breakdown in the health of that most devoted Missionary was a great loss to the District. We shall see presently that both the normal school and the theological institution were admirably provided for in later developments. Another incident of the 'seventies was the giving up of the Mission press in Bangalore. It had been a great asset in missionary operations up to that time. Under the supervision of the Missionaries great improvements had been made in Kanarese typography, and many Hindu workmen

learned the art of printing in this establishment. But by the year 1870 there were other similar establishments in the Province, and all necessary printing could be done without entailing the separation of a Missionary for this special branch of the work. Twenty years after another press was set up, this time in Mysore City, in order to secure the advantage of a definite Christian factor in shaping the ideals and informing the minds of those who could not be reached in the ordinary way. This was to be attempted by the publication of a weekly Christian newspaper known as the *Vrittanta Patrike*.

Of the Missionaries sent to this District in the 'eighties, F. W. Gostick (1880-1889) and Walter Sackett (1888-1889), the latter was obliged to return to England after one year of service, owing to failure of health. The former for the same reason was transferred to the Madras District in 1881. Two others, E. R. Eslick (1879-1884) and Amos Burnet (1882-1893), ministered to the English congregations, civil and military, in Bangalore. Under their ministry these became welded into strong Churches. W. H. J. Picken (1881-1896) had charge of the Tamil Circuit in the same city. This Church had steadily held its own, but under the strongly evangelistic preaching of Mr. Picken the work among the Tamils of Bangalore became more aggressive and fruitful. For many years in succession the greater part of the annual increase to the membership of the District came from this Circuit. In addition to these there were two others. The Rev. B. Robinson (1883-1889) was one who, so far as human foresight can declare, would have attained to a position of immense influence, but unhappily his ministry was cut short by a complete breakdown of health under conditions narrated elsewhere.¹ The last of those who joined the staff of the District in this decade was the Rev. W. W. Holdsworth (1884-1900).

The historical events of the 'eighties were more political and economic than directly Missionary, but as indirectly they greatly affected missionary operations they may be briefly indicated. In 1881 the British administration of the province came to an end, and from that time the government was in the hands of Native officers serving under His Highness the Maharaja. The British left the province greatly improved. Good arterial roads had been made through the country, and

¹ See Vol. I., pp. 159 ff.

this alone greatly facilitated the movements of Missionaries. The railway also now ran from Madras to Bangalore, and another line was in construction, linking Mysore City with Bombay. The financial and judicial administration of the province had been put on good lines, and education, both by the Government itself and the Missionary Societies at work, had been so furthered that the Mysore State soon became known as one of the most enlightened and progressive of the Native States in India. This position was more than maintained by the Administration which followed the rendition of 1881, and the Methodist Mission has invariably been treated with impartial justice by a Government always ready to acknowledge its indebtedness to those who had led the way in educating the people, and had also maintained a high moral standard among them.

About this time, too, it was realized that the Mysore State held a great economic asset in the gold-field of Kolar. Cornish miners came out to develop the mines, and the English Church in Bangalore accepted the responsibility of ministering to men who were in many instances already members of the Methodist fellowship. Chapels were built within the area covered by the mines, and services were regularly held. Then the fact that thousands of labourers recruited from South India were employed in working the mines led to the beginning of Mission work undertaken by the Tamil Church of Bangalore, and this work developed so rapidly that in the Centenary year the Tamil Church on the gold-fields showed a larger membership than any Circuit in the District except that of its parent Church in Bangalore. This development at the mines led to the appointment of both a European and an Indian Minister to work in this field. The fruit of their work is not to be measured by the local Church. Many a Tamil labourer, after working in the mines, has returned to his distant village with the seed of Christian truth lodged in his mind, and with the vision of Christ imprinted on his heart.

The decade was one of consolidation rather than of extension in missionary operations. Each station had a European Missionary in residence, and a variety of agencies were at work in each centre thus occupied. The ordination of the first Kanarese Minister took place in 1883, when the Rev. T. Luke was solemnly dedicated to the work of the Ministry. Worthily

did he fulfil his vows, dying at last in 1920 after long and fruitful service in which he earned the respect and affection of all who knew him. The high schools in Bangalore and Mysore, under the care of Vanes and Gulliford, now reached a high standard of efficiency, and Gulliford was able to complete a new building for his school in 1884, the building formerly occupied by the school becoming a hostel for Christian boys in Mysore. The Rev. E. E. Jenkins in the course of his Secretarial visit of 1884 recorded the fact that in Mysore City one-eighth of all children of school-going age were to be found in the schools of the Mission. It was in this period, too, that the development of the orphanages already mentioned took place, and the Tamil Circuit was so successful as to receive the unique distinction of congratulations from the Missionary Committee.

In 1888 the last-named Circuit passed through a great storm of indignation roused by the conversion of Muttu Lakshmi. The disturbance in popular feeling was so great as to be felt far beyond the boundaries of the Mysore State. This was probably due to the fact that this conversion was the result of work done in the zenana. The Hindu has always been extremely sensitive in the matter of his home life. Muttu Lakshmi was the daughter of a Telugu Naidu, and had learned much from conversation with a Christian woman of her acquaintance. In course of time she became the pupil of Miss Dunhill, a zenana visitor in Mr. Picken's Circuit, and gradually, but at last completely, she became convinced in mind, and her heart was given to Christ. Late one night she came to Mr. Picken's house and declared her wish to be baptized, and after an interview with her parents, in which both affection and vituperation were freely employed to induce her to abandon her purpose, she was received into the fellowship of the Christian Church. Legal proceedings were threatened, but were not carried into effect, there being no question as to the age, the intelligence, and the conviction of the convert. So much feeling was, however, aroused that for some time all zenanas were closed against Christian visitors, and there was a heavy decline in the attendance of girls at the Mission schools. Opposition was shown to Preachers in the streets, and argument and abuse were frequently used against the Missionary and his Assistants. A 'Hindu Tract Society' was formed for the

preparation and distribution of anti-Christian literature, its writers availing themselves largely of the productions of Col. Ingersoll and other writers in both Europe and America. Such opposition was welcome to the Missionaries. It favoured inquiry, and was infinitely preferable to the far more deadly apathy which obtained in some places. A considerable extension involving the Tamil and English Circuits took place in this period. By an interchange of property in different parts of the Bangalore Cantonment the efficiency of both Circuits was largely increased.

Yet another movement in this decade calls for notice, for it was now that the *Joyful News* Evangelists¹ appeared in India. Of their success in Africa and in China we have written elsewhere. Excellent representatives of the movement were sent to Mysore, and one of them, Mr. W. Simpson, continued to labour in this District until his death in 1897. Four other agents were associated with Mr. Simpson in his work, of whom one, Mr. Edlin, died in 1889. Messrs. E. Adkin, J. Harris, and C. Swann subsequently joined Simpson, and served for some few years at Davangere. The last of these laymen Missionaries to leave the District was Mr. Adkin in 1897. The *Joyful News* Mission did not seem to be as successful in India as it proved to be in China.

Henry Haigh was a great idealist. His mind was quick in grasping large conceptions of missionary operations, and the enthusiasm with which he set to work to bring those conceptions to good effect was boundless. His schemes of work were often so far in advance of the actual present that they were sometimes received with hesitation and misgiving by his colleagues, but there was no gainsaying the fact that they were finely conceived, and on a large and generous scale. He had great gifts in utterance and wielded a fluent pen. During the year 1883-1884 he was stationed at Gubbi, and was appointed editor of *The Harvest Field*. He soon secured for that journal an almost universal respect in India. It became the recognized organ for the interchange of thought on missionary questions in all the Churches. While he was in Gubbi he conceived the idea of a Christian newspaper printed in Kanarese, to contribute to the general enlightenment of the people, to advocate the highest moral standpoint in all public questions, and to

¹ See Vol. I., p. 141.

bear a direct witness to the power of Christ to attain it. He saw that such a paper might penetrate into remote villages, never visited by a Missionary, and might become a great factor in Christianizing the thought of its readers and thus preparing the way for Christ Himself. On his return from furlough in 1887 he brought out the first number of the *Vrittanta Patrike*, which was printed in Bangalore, but in 1889 he was removed to Mysore City, and there, in conjunction with the writer of this History, he initiated what was called 'The Forward Movement in Mysore.' As most of the projects then formed affected the work directly or indirectly throughout the District, a brief reference to them must here be made. The situation in Mysore City was as follows: Haigh was in charge of the home for boys who attended the high school, where they came under the care and tuition of Holdsworth. The boys occupied a building, situated in Haigh's compound, which might easily be adapted to the purpose of a Mission Press, which by that time he had determined to set up. Holdsworth's house was at the far eastern boundary of the city, and it soon became evident that the extension of the city—a matter in which the Maharaja took the greatest interest—was towards the west. It seemed that in a short time the second Missionary in Mysore would be left far away from the centre of life in the city. Holdsworth on his side was anxious to have the Christian boys under his pastoral as well as his educational direction, and thought it desirable to associate with the training of boys in the Arts course the training of Christian teachers for the many schools of the District. The two Missionaries, therefore, agreed to seek a site in the new city which was rising up in the west and to erect a building which should be at once a hostel for Christian boys and a Normal School for the District. This was eventually done, and 'Hardwicke College' was built, largely through a munificent donation given by ladies in Adelaide, who attached the one condition to their gift that the building should bear the name of their own educational establishment in Adelaide. Haigh thus acquired the building necessary for his press, and it entered upon what was to prove a history of ever-increasing influence in the Mysore country.

With this scheme there went another. There were at that time schools for girls in Mysore City, and the supervision of

these was carried on largely by the wives of the Missionaries. It was resolved to seek the aid of workers from the Women's Auxiliary. But Haigh had been anxious for some time to secure for such workers a hostel in which women might live together during their first years in the country, learning the language and studying the thought and customs of the women among whom they were to work. It was found possible to enlarge Hardwicke College so as to form a temporary hostel for women workers, and after some hesitation the scheme was accepted by the Auxiliary. The first two ladies from England were Miss A. B. Cooke and Miss F. Martin. These were followed in a few years by Miss D. Vickers, Miss Edith Broadbent, and Miss Lamb. Other ladies came from Australia, but these were not able to remain for any length of time.

A considerable Christian community was now gathering in and around Hardwicke College, and during furlough Holdsworth was able to secure gifts from friends in England which enabled him to erect a chapel in close proximity to Hardwicke College. Within a few years the Methodist Church was firmly established in the heart of the new suburb of Mysore City. How great a centre of educational work Hardwicke College became may be judged from the fact that in 1912 it found room for the following institutions: a boarding school of fifty-nine Christian boys, an English-Kanarese school of a hundred and twenty boys, of whom forty were Christians, a commercial school of sixty pupils, and a theological and training institution in which were ten students. It also found room for a number of Christian young men at work in the city, who used it as a hostel. By that time the lady workers had removed from the college. There were other schemes discussed in those days, such as a boarding school for girls and a hospital for women. These, too, have come into being, but the story of their inception belongs to a later period.

There seemed at that time to be the promise of a large ingathering into the Church from the villages in the Mysore City Circuit. There were inquirers in *parcheris* occupied by outcastes near Mysore, and in out-stations such as Hunsur and Mandya there were those who were under strong Christian influence, but family ties, rights of inheritance, and a natural hesitation to break away from the old life caused many to hold

back. The most hopeful movement was one which during the superintendence of the Rev. G. W. Sawday has been so developed as to approximate to the general movement of a whole community towards Christianity. About thirty-six miles south-east of Mysore is the town of Chamrajnagar, to which a Catechist was sent in 1886, and much work was done in the villages near, apparently without result. A villager from this neighbourhood went to Ceylon in 1873 to work on the coffee estates in that island. There he came under the influence of those who were connected with the C.M.S. Coolies Mission, and was baptized. In 1893 he returned to his native village, and it soon became evident that he would bring others with himself into the fellowship of the Church. Shortly after his return another villager, who had made no profession of Christianity, brought his son to Mr. Holdsworth and asked that the boy might be admitted to Hardwicke College to be trained with the Christian boys. It was pointed out that if this were done the boy might wish to become a Christian, but the father saw no objection in this, and the boy remained in the College for several weeks—the first instance in Mysore of a non-Christian boy in a Christian boarding school. After some weeks, during which the boy's interest in Christianity was very marked, his relatives appeared, and demanded that the boy should return, the father being unable to resist his relatives in the matter. All this showed that the seed of the Kingdom had found a lodgement in the villages of Mysore. For some years nothing more transpired, but in 1908 Mr. Sawday was able to baptize thirty-eight persons from these villages, and every year since has witnessed the growth of the little Church thus formed. Much work, demanding infinite patience, and the love which creates confidence and trust, was necessary before these timid villagers, who had been brought under the domination of persons belonging to a higher caste, could be emboldened to give themselves to Christ. It became necessary in many instances to release children whose life-service had been pledged by their parents in redemption of financial obligation. Promising boys were sent to Hardwicke College, and girls were taken into the boarding school in Mysore City. To-day in that group of villages there is a Church rich in real spiritual experience, full of zeal for the salvation of their neighbours, and number-

ing five hundred souls, nearly as many as there were in the whole area of the Mysore Mission when Thomas Hodson left India.

Another hopeful centre of village Methodism in the Mysore District is to be found in Bommanahalli, and its story illustrates both the far-flung fellowship of the Methodist Church and the uplifting power of Christ in the lives of the most degraded. The work began with the conversion of a Korama emigrant under the ministry of the Rev. S. H. Stott in Natal.¹ Now the Koramas belong to the gipsy community, and in the Mysore country they were notorious for crimes of which stealing was probably the least. But Premadasa found in Natal that Christ laid His hand upon even such as he, and when he surrendered to that Divine arrest he did so with all his heart. He rose from the position of an ordinary labourer in Natal to that of an overseer, and after ten years returned to his village in India a comparatively wealthy man. He gathered his people together, and preached to them the Christ who had enriched his own soul, until gradually a small Christian community came into being and settled down at Bommanahalli, in the Hassan Circuit. Vedamitra—the son of Premadasa—was educated in Bangalore, and became a greatly respected teacher in the Mysore high school. He also assisted Mr. Haigh in the preparation of Christian literature, as he had an excellent command of both English and Kanarese. In his father's village the humble chapel built of mud and the roughest tiling gave way to a more substantial and seemly building, and every house in that village is a Christian home. From that village the light has spread to other centres where Koramas are to be found, and wherever it comes the darkness passes away, and Christ is revealed as the power of God lifting the poor out of the dung-hill, and making the gipsy thief His own witness to the Saviour of all men.

The story of the Namadaris is well told by the Rev. A. E. Nightingale in the *Foreign Field* of 1906, pp. 433 ff. The Namadaris are a remarkable tribe of Sudra cultivators inhabiting the less frequented regions which lie to the north-west of the Mysore State. In every chief town in this region the head-man is a Namadari holding an hereditary office. There are about thirty thousand of these people in the Nagar Division

¹ See above, p. 35, and Vol. IV., p. 303.

of the Province, and their friendliness to Missionaries who visited that part of the country had long been recognized. One of these men—Giriappa—came into possession of the *Vrittanta Patrike*, the newspaper published by Mr. Haigh, and influenced by what he read in it, he set himself to introduce certain measures of social reform among his people. These measures, which were afterwards embodied in a Manifesto, are significant. They indicate the points at which the Hindu finds himself in need of a new order of life. The sale of brides and the tax on brides were to be discontinued; widow remarriage was to be permitted; education was to be furthered in every possible way. When Christ comes into contact with humanity the status and the honour of woman at once are affected, and the enlightenment of the mind becomes a first necessity.

In 1899 Giriappa listened to a sermon preached in Shimoga, and from that day he resolved to give himself to Christ. He obtained a Bible and studied it in secret. Then he wrote to the Missionary asking that a Catechist might be sent to teach him the way more perfectly. In 1902 he wrote to the editor of the *Vrittanta Patrike* a letter full of pathetic entreaty to the following effect:

The Wesleyan Mission is working in many parts of the Province, but it has not come to these remote jungle regions. Will not the Wesleyan Mission give us schools and preaching-places? Do not we, who are not Brahmans, wish to walk in the right way? Ah! Lord of Heaven! Have mercy on us sinners. Through Thy disciples send Thy true Gospel quickly to these parts. I have no strength to show any earnestness in petition or in prayer, for I am full of ignorance. Thy will be done.

In the same year Giriappa accompanied Mr. Nightingale to Tumkur, where in the Evangelists' Convention he made an open confession of Christ. An Evangelist was sent to his village, though that meant abandoning the work only recently begun in Seringapatam, so difficult it was to provide for the evangelization of a Province left to the care of the Wesleyan Church. The next step was that Giriappa resigned his position as agent of the local Guru. This was a position of great influence, but Giriappa found it incompatible with his new relation to Christ. This was a great step in advance, but baptism was still delayed. Meantime his friend Ramana, who was said to be one of the wealthiest men in the neighbourhood, came under the same

gracious influence, and paid down the whole sum required for a year's expense in maintaining a school in his village. A Rest House, originally built for the use of Brahmans, was also handed over to the Mission to be used for a school. Other schools were opened in adjacent villages, and another inquirer named Chinnappa was discovered in Mandagadde, thirty miles distant from Giriappa's village. Three months later Chinnappa, his wife, and his brother were all received into the Church by baptism. By this time the Brahmans were thoroughly alarmed and were putting forth great efforts to check the movement among the Namadaris. If a Missionary could have been appointed to reside among these people to give courage and a measure of protection to timid folk, there might have followed the general movement towards Christ which many have expected would one day come. Meantime a woman had gone to shepherd this little flock in the wilderness. In 1907 Miss Campbell went as Nursing Sister to the Mysore Hospital, and after furlough in England, she returned in 1912 to work among the Namadaris. A small Dispensary was opened at Mandagadde, and in this little village in the heart of a remote district where no other European is to be found, a brave and loving woman ministers to those who need her service and her skill. In the Centenary year the situation of the Namadari movement was as we have now related, but at any moment the determining factor may appear, the completing grace be given, and a whole community surrender to the love of God in Jesus Christ.

In relating the story of these movements in the villages we have departed from the strictly chronological sequence of events, and we must now return to the period covered by the decade of the 'nineties. No less than eighteen Missionaries were sent to the Mysore District during the ten years. Several of these served for only a brief period, failure of health accounting for the brevity of their service. Romilly Hall Ingram (1894-1896) died after two years of service. Those who were able to remain on the field for more than five years were: A. Dumbarton (1890-1899), E. W. Redfern (1893-1904), E. W. Thompson (1894-1919), W. H. Thorp (1896-), E. S. Edwards (1896-), F. Goodwill (1898-), A. E. Nightingale (1899-1920), W. B. Trehwella (1899-1909). It will be seen that three of these are still on the field, and one of them, the Rev. W. H. Thorp, is now the Chairman of the District. E. W. Thompson,

after twenty-five years of distinguished service, returned to England and was elected one of the Secretaries of the Society in 1919. At the beginning of the decade the Rev. J. Hudson was still the Chairman of the District, and his administration elicited high commendation from the Committee in England, while his personal influence upon Hindus was at its highest. By his colleagues he was greatly beloved, and his judgement could always be accepted as balanced and reliable. Often, too, there was a shrewdness in his pronouncements which indicated a mind that was always alert and a strong sense of humour. Those who may wish to see into the mind of one of the truest Missionary statesmen of the Methodist Church, should read the article written by him on 'The Training of Missionaries' in *Work and Workers*, 1895, p. 12. Mr. Hudson's judgement on this all-important question is as apposite to the discussions of to-day as it was weighty and convincing when first expressed. Another equally fine pronouncement on the question of Native Ministers and the Wesleyan Conference appears in *Work and Workers*, 1893, pp. 502ff. In 1895 he had completed the thirty-third year of his service. For seventeen years he had been Chairman of the District, and it was hoped that there were yet years to come in which he would continue to guide the Methodist Church in the Mysore. But in April, 1896, after a short illness, he was called to higher service, and the Mysore Mission lost the second of the two great administrators who had done so much to form and build up the Church among the Kanarese people. He was followed in the Chair of the District by the Rev. J. A. Vanes, who is still (1923) at work in Shimoga, after some years spent in England, where he served as tutor in New Testament subjects in Richmond College.

The same year saw the death of another Missionary. If Josiah Hudson was great in attainment, Romilly Hall Ingram was great in promise. Death removed within the space of a few weeks the Missionary statesman ripe in experience, and the young Missionary whose course was scarcely begun. Ingram joined the Staff of the District in 1894, and few men have entered upon their service with brighter prospects than he did. A brilliant scholar in science, he had also the temperament which is always particularly attractive to Hindus. To him the obligation of duty was never relaxed, and he

demanded a similar obedience from those with whom he had to do, whether they were at work or at play. But with that somewhat imperious demand, there went a genuine and most tender sympathy with all that was best in them, and this bound his students in the Mysore High School to him in a bond so close that it seemed as though he might have led them anywhere, and for him there was but one goal—the love of God in Christ Jesus. In February, 1896, only two years after his arrival in the country, he was exposed to infection from smallpox while seeking to help one of his students, and almost as soon as the disease was diagnosed he passed away. His students loved him; and we need offer no higher tribute to his worth. A small laboratory and a library were added to the high school as a memorial of a teacher who was greatly beloved. Some years after the staff lost the service of another young Missionary of exceptional promise. E. W. Redfern was a man of great force of character, and he was endowed with intellectual gifts which marked him out for high distinction. His death, in 1904, shortly after his return from furlough, brought to his colleagues the sense of a great loss to the Church, and of unspeakable sorrow to themselves. During his furlough he had been able to collect a considerable sum of money in the hope of building a hospital in Hassan, the Circuit to which he was appointed. The hospital was built and opened in 1906, and forms to-day the Memorial of one who loved the work committed to him, and laid down his life in the service to which he had wholly given himself.

The 'nineties were made memorable by the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague. In 1896 the first cases occurred in Bombay, and in the following year it appeared in Bangalore. Of the panic that prevailed wherever this disease appeared it is difficult to write in few words; but inasmuch as it proved to be a severe test of the character of the Christian community, and because it led to a notable extension in the City of Mysore, some reference must be made in these pages. Terror was created by the disease itself, but this was immeasurably increased by the preventive and remedial measures taken by the Government, and it reached at last the height at which it broke through the universal instinct which secures reverence for the dead, and every other feeling of decency. The dead bodies of relatives were flung into the streets and lanes of the

towns, and in some cases the faces of the dead were obliterated by burning oil in order that recognition might be made impossible, since recognition would lead to the segregation of those of the family that still survived. All who could do so fled from the infected towns. The contrast with all this afforded in the Christian Church was most marked. The people thankfully accepted such means of protection as were put before them by the Missionaries. Instead of unreasoning panic they showed a ready obedience to the call of law and order, and then they quietly awaited whatever discipline God might call them to accept. They took refuge under the wings of the Almighty. In 1898 the pestilence appeared in Mysore City, and led to a great change in the environment of the Church. Most of the Christians lived in the Pariah quarter of Viranageri, where every law of sanitation was defied, and where the moral atmosphere was equally bad. The people were too poor to think of leaving the unwholesome hovels in which they had lived, but the plague which, it was feared, would levy a heavy toll on their numbers, brought them instead a happy release from their surroundings of dirt and degradation. The Government measures were all in the direction of getting the people to vacate congested and insanitary quarters of the city, and it offered vacant sites on the outskirts of the city to those who would abandon condemned houses. Mr. Holdsworth, who was at that time the Superintendent of the Circuit, took advantage of this offer, and secured for the Christians a piece of land that was clean and not too far removed from the neighbourhood of their daily work. All the members of the Church were at first housed in huts and sheds, but these were so arranged as to allow of their being replaced by more substantial buildings later on. Within a year the entire Church was housed in conditions which were a vast improvement on anything known before, and the settlement received the name of Karunapura, 'The City of Mercy.' For the mercy of God was shown in the almost complete immunity of the Christian people though thousands were smitten down in the city to which they belonged, and Government officers came to see what had contributed to this freedom from disease among the Christians. In 1902 there was another severe outbreak of plague, but the 'City of Mercy' was again untouched. From that time of trial the Church in Mysore has

possessed a sense of both unity and self-respect which it had not been able to realize before. But the incidence of plague had another far-reaching effect upon the Missionary situation in Mysore, for it was in this time of sickness that the idea of a Mission Hospital began to take form, and a preliminary inspection of possible sites had already been made when in 1901 the time came for Mr. and Mrs. Holdsworth to return to England. Shortly after her return the latter was herself smitten down with disease, but before she died she had the joy of knowing that the hospital which had been so much in her thought and purpose, while she ministered to the Christian people of Viranageri, was on its way to completion. Through the self-denying labour and extraordinary efficiency of the Rev. G. W. Sawday the hospital was built, and it is to-day one of the largest and best equipped Mission hospitals in India. It was opened by the Maharaja of Mysore, and was consecrated to the service of God in the ministry of healing and to the memory of Mary Calvert Holdsworth.

So much has been said in previous pages of the disabilities arising from English work undertaken by Missionaries that reference should be made here to the successful work of this kind in Bangalore, but it must be remembered that its success was due to the fact that Missionaries were distinctly set apart for this service, and were not expected to take any part in either the Tamil or the Kanarese work. Such Ministers as the Revs. E. R. Eslick (1879-1884), Amos Burnet (1882-1893), G. C. Walker (1900-1906), and others who served for shorter periods, built up at the cost of much patience and fidelity a strong and prosperous Church. In 1899 there were three chapels in Bangalore, and three on the gold-fields of Kolar. The Circuit also provided for two day schools, a free school for poorer children, and an orphanage in which some fifty destitute Eurasian children found a home. In addition to these there was a Home for the poor which provided free quarters for five widows, and a daily ration of food for forty persons whose normal condition was one of starvation. The Circuit also offered to the many British soldiers stationed in the Cantonment the largest and most commodious 'Soldiers' Home' in the East.

At the close of the century the stage reached by the Mysore Mission may be seen from the following tabulation.

In the English Circuit there were three European Missionaries ministering to a hundred and seventy members and nine hundred baptized adherents.

On the Tamil side there were two Circuits with one European Missionary and three Indian Ministers. The membership in the Circuits was five hundred and sixty-nine.

The Kanarese work showed eight Circuits in which ten European and six Indian Ministers were engaged. The full membership was more than nine hundred, and there were considerably more than two thousand baptized adherents. There was a further indigenous agency consisting of forty-six Evangelists, sixty-five Local Preachers, and sixty class leaders.

The work among women and girls was carried on by forty-eight European and Indian women. Chapels for public worship numbered twenty-nine, and there was a Theological Institution for training the preachers who were to conduct the worship. On the educational side there were eight Christian boarding schools and orphanages, two high schools, sixty-eight vernacular schools for boys and fifty-six for girls, while the Mission Press may well be reckoned among the educational agencies of the District. In one year its output of Christian literature amounted to more than four million pages.

The whole of this organization was administered by the Rev. J. A. Vanes, and it was done with great ability and with true devotion to the highest interests of the Church, but in 1903 Mr. Vanes returned to England. He was followed in the administration of the District by the Rev. D. A. Rees, who was still in the chair of the District in 1913.

Within the years which intervened between 1900 and 1916, there were added to this already extensive organization at least five institutions of first importance. These consisted of two Normal Schools, one for men at Tumkur and the other for women in Bangalore. The former was opened in 1916, and the latter in 1903. The third institution was in some respects the most appealing of the many varieties of work undertaken in the District. In 1905 Miss White, who had come from Tasmania in 1885 to work as one of the Agents of the Women's Auxiliary, opened a Home for fallen women, and for young widows who might wish to be protected from falling. This Institution was housed at first in such buildings

as were available, but permanent quarters were provided at last by the transference of the Jubilee Home to the old boarding school premises in 1911. The Home is not limited by any denominational exclusiveness, and among the gifts which went to its erection it is pleasing to record one from the Church of England Zenana Mission, which also was at work in Bangalore. Into this Home for those to whom 'Home' was non-existent, young women from most of the Missionary Societies in South India are freely admitted. At one time five different languages were spoken within its walls. Suitable industries are taught to its inmates. Many women have found their way to Christ after entering the Home, and not a few happy marriages have taken place. No praise is too high for this branch of work. It is entirely 'after the mind of' Him who had His gracious word of forgiveness for sinful women. Its inception and the whole character of its service reflect the spirit of its founder, Miss White. Her service was instinct with sanity and sympathy, and the simplicity of her devotion to Christ enabled her to solve many a perplexing problem. She has now retired from the work to which she gave so many years of her life, but that work remains a contribution which has brought new hope and life to many a woman who had lost the one and might well have lost the other.

The two remaining institutions were the memorial hospitals already mentioned, one in Hassan and the other in Mysore City. Other memorial buildings which commemorate the service of devoted Missionaries, while they add grace and strength to the Church, are the William Arthur Memorial Church in Gubbi, and the beautiful church erected to the memory of Josiah Hudson in Bangalore in the year 1904. In addition to these, the Calvert Girls' Home was built in Mysore (1901), and the Girls' Normal School in Bangalore (1911), and though the extension belongs to a period subsequent to the Centenary year, we may nevertheless mention here the raising of the Girls' Tamil Boarding School in Bangalore to the grade of a high school. This was done in 1914.

Another outpost of the District is to be found in Ootacamund, where work among the Tamils was begun in 1862. For many years an Indian Minister or a Catechist has laboured among those drawn to this beautiful hill station by Government or domestic service. Ootacamund is well known as a health

resort. Cradled among the hills of the Nilgiri range, it affords in the hottest season of the year a climate which has been described as 'the finest in the world.' During those months of the year in which life on the plains is all but unbearable for Europeans, Ootacamund becomes the administrative centre of the Madras Government, and many European civilians have chosen this favoured place for a residence during the years of their retirement. As a consequence, a considerable Tamil population is to be found here. The Mysore Mission owns a house here, and many a Missionary has been able to recruit health and strength by a few weeks of rest in Ootacamund, but it has never been able to spare a Missionary to reside here, and work among the Tamil Christians of the neighbourhood has been carried on by Indian Ministers. In the Centenary year there was a membership of ninety-nine.

The Synod of 1904 was, in some respects, the most remarkable in the history of the Mysore Mission. Far reaching schemes were brought forward, and it is to be noted that they were not schemes that owed their origin to the imagination of enthusiastic men, and external to the life of the Church. They were, on the contrary, the natural product of that life. They were the efflorescence of a vitality inherent in the Church. Their necessity was created by an impulse from within, and the Church moved forward under the impulse of its own expanding life. Thus a second Missionary was sought for both Hassan and Shimoga. The movement of villagers within these Circuits towards Christ made it almost unbearable that the solitary Missionary in charge of each should be bound to the central station by the claims of work more or less official and administrative. It was held by many that a similar claim should be put forward on behalf of the Mysore City Circuit, and for precisely the same reason; but it indicates the urgency of the need in the two first mentioned Circuits that the claims of Mysore were deferred lest the demand for three men should make it less likely that provision should be made for the more remote Circuits.

A request for the appointment of a Missionary to serve as Touring Evangelist in all parts of the District without the embarrassments arising from Circuit organization, arose from the same need of responding to the call of the villages. This appointment was actually secured through the liberality of

those who were impressed by Mr. Tomlinson's appeal in this matter, and on his return from furlough, he himself was appointed to this most exacting but most fruitful ministry.

One of the great territorial divisions of the Mysore State, lying within the area entrusted to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, is Chitaldrug. This had never been occupied by a European Missionary, and a solitary Evangelist represented 'the army of occupation.' It was now asked that a European Missionary should be sent to take up work in the neglected area. Another neglected sphere of work was ethnological rather than geographical. The survivors of the Muhammadan tyranny of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan remain a distinct community in the Mysore Province of to-day. The Moslems in this State number three hundred thousand, and it is an outstanding and long-standing reproach to the Methodist Church that no attempt has yet been made to evangelize them. It was asked that another Missionary might be definitely appointed to remove this reproach, and to bring before the Muhammadans the claims of One who is greater than the Prophet to whom they give such complete allegiance.

Yet another scheme arose by way of protest against the limitations imposed upon the work already being done, and, we repeat, it was the ferment of abundant life which made those limitations no longer endurable. Educational work in the Mysore District was limited to the grade of students preparing for the Matriculation examination of the Madras University. Both the Madras and the Negapatam Missions were happier in that they could still retain under Christian influence the undergraduates of that University. But their brethren in the Mysore District saw year by year their most promising students pass into the confessedly non-religious atmosphere of Government Colleges. It was thought that this might be partly remedied by the appointment of a Missionary wholly devoted to work among the educated classes in the province, and another Missionary was sought to make the appointment possible.

In addition to all this, the inception of medical work in this District belongs to this period. It was decided that hospitals should be built both in the City of Mysore and in Hassan. A home for widows in Tumkur and the rescue home for those who had fallen were also brought forward as

necessary adjuncts to the work being done for women. The former has not yet been built.

Last of all—but by no means least—it was hoped to make an extensive enlargement in the staff of Indian agents.

Our readers will be overwhelmed by this programme of extension, and many of its items are still awaiting the decision of the Church to make them actual features of its work in this province. But the enumeration is given in detail as indicating a marvellous ferment of life in the Church of this period. Whether the multiplying cells are to issue in a fruitful growth is a question which the Methodist Church in England must answer for itself. On the field the conditions are entirely favourable to that growth. The fact is that the leaven was now reaching out to an indefinite enlargement in the area of its influence.

The Missionaries who joined the Mysore staff during this closing period of our review were seventeen in number, and, omitting the names of those who for a variety of reasons did not serve for more than five years, they were as follows: G. C. Walker (1900–1906), H. Spencer (1900–), W. E. Tomlinson (1901–), E. V. Paget (1902–), R. W. Boote (1903–), A. Brockbank (1904–), A. R. Fuller (1905–), J. Redmond (1905–1911), A. R. Slater (1906–), and W. Perston (1911–). Writing in 1923, we have the pleasing duty to record that six of these are still at work on the field.

The eulogy of Missionaries still happily with us does not fall within the compass of an historian's work, and any attempt in this direction would quite properly be resented by them. But this at least may be said, that a glance at the stations of this District as published in the *Minutes* of Conference for 1922, will show that of nineteen Missionaries no less than twelve have completed twenty years of service, and four of these have completed forty-five. It is in this continuity of service that we find one explanation of the growth of the Methodist Church in the Mysore District. What is to be said of the women who have served with no less fidelity in this field? Since 1860, when the first representative of the Women's Auxiliary appeared in Bangalore, no fewer than forty-nine have served their needy sisters in India. Many of these, it is true, have served for only a few years. English women have suffered from the strain of life in India to a greater extent than men

have done, but Miss C. Parsons has been able to remain at work for thirty-seven years, Miss R. White for thirty-four, and Miss A. B. Cooke for twenty-five. Each of these in her own sphere has accomplished a work such as only a woman could attempt, and the record of it is to be found in the lives of those whom they have served. Others have married, but after marriage they still continued faithfully and lovingly the work which they came to India to do in the name of Christ. Miss Evelyn Vickers and Dr. Clara J. Alexander have their names written on the sacred roll of those who have given life itself as the pledge of their devotion.

The Indian Ministers of the District have been for the most part men of whom the Methodist Church may well be proud. There have not been found among them any of outstanding scholarship, but they have been faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, and that is more than scholarship. Their work has been arduous in the extreme, and it has often been carried on at great disadvantage, but their character has been such as adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.¹ They have been loved and respected by their European brethren, and it has been largely owing to their pastoral care that the 'little flock' in Mysore has been led to that point in spiritual experience which it has reached to-day.

If our readers would see the leaven of Christianity illustrated by the story of the Mysore Mission, they must bear in mind at least two facts. One is that the Mysore State is under a Native administration, and all legislative reforms are the product of moral convictions held by those who direct affairs of State in this Province. The other is that from the earliest days the Missionaries in this Province have sought to enlighten the mind, and to quicken a conscience which in the course of centuries had almost ceased to work in the moral life of the people. They sought to present the great moral verities of the Christian faith in such a manner as to create in the thought of men a view of the Christian standard of life as a possible and necessary ideal. They felt that the formation of a new moral sense was the best preparation for the Gospel which declares the forgiveness of sin and a new life in Christ. To this end they have made education and the dissemination of

¹The present writer may be forgiven if he takes this opportunity of offering to his colleagues of a bygone day the tribute of his reverence and affection.

truth by means of Christian literature a prominent, though by no means an exclusive, feature of their work. Very many of the officers of Government have at one time or another been students in the schools of the Mission, and they have always been ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to their teachers. It is perhaps too much to claim that the Christianizing influence of such work has given to the Mysore State the pre-eminence which it has now secured as an enlightened and progressive Administration, but that it has been profoundly influenced by the Christian ideal is beyond question, and all reforms advanced by the State are in the direction of a Christian interpretation of moral obligations. The barest enumeration of the most prominent of these is all that can be attempted in these pages.

The Census of 1893 revealed the fact that one in five of all women and girls in the Province was a widow, and more than three thousand five hundred of these widows were under ten years of age. More than eleven thousand girls under four years of age were returned as married. In the Representative Assembly—an indigenous feature of the native administration—an earnest request was made during the sessions of 1891 that Government would legislate with a view to making the marriage of infants under a certain age a penal offence, and two years later a measure was brought forward and passed into law prohibiting marriage between boys under fourteen and girls under eight years of age. It also prohibited marriage between men of more than fifty and girls of less than fourteen years. This was the first effort made in India towards lessening the evil of child-marriage and widowhood.

In 1910 Government brought forward another measure forbidding the employment of *Devadasis*—that is, of women dedicated to immorality by religious rites—in all State-aided temples, and there have been cases in which grossly indecent panels in temple-cars and other religious structures have been removed. In such matters the working of a moral sense which makes that which was even consecrated to religious use an intolerable offence is indisputable.

Another most significant reform is really post-Centenary, but a reference to it may be allowed. It is that which threw open all State schools to students of the Panchama class—an innovation which would have been impossible in former days,

but which is now enforced in the face of all restrictions imposed by caste, as just and reasonable. Of the advance made in securing the education of women and girls we have written in another chapter.¹

The fact is, that all moral and religious ideas have been changed and elevated within the century of Mission work in this Province, and that the Brahmans of a hundred years ago would find themselves—if they were to return—in a new world of religious thought and practice. Of course, national pride and prejudice resent the ascription of such reforms to the Christian interpretation of life and duty, but such resentment is but for the moment, and when the love of God in Christ Jesus has broken down the barriers of national vanity, those who now claim such higher moral conceptions as their own will

Yield all homage to the name
Of Him who made them common coin.

The celebration of the Centenary in the Mysore District was very remarkable. During the year preceding it, conventions had been held in the several Circuits for the deepening of spiritual life in the Church. Out of their poverty the members of that Church contributed to the Centenary Fund the equivalent of a thousand pounds, and a great company from all parts of the Province assembled in Bangalore on October 6, 1913, to review the mercies of God during the century that had passed, to render thanks for the light and freedom which had been brought into their lives, and to consecrate themselves afresh to the service of Christ. The great procession through the City of Bangalore was an incident which could not fail to impress the crowd of Hindus that watched it. Two thousand Christians marched through the streets singing the songs of Zion as they marched, men and women in equal dignity and self-respect. There were girls from the boarding schools, mothers and teachers of the days to come; women from the Rescue Home who had learned there that Christ has His word of forgiveness for those who had sinned; artisans, peasants, and students; Catechists and Indian Ministers; Pariah converts from the villages of Kastur, and the Missionaries who stood for those who had laboured in days when there was no Church

¹ See p. 157.

at all in the Mysore State ; all these gathered at last in front of the Hudson Memorial Church, and sang with a fervour which can have been seldom realized, ' All hail the power of Jesus' Name.' It was a worthy theme of song and a worthy rendezvous. Josiah Hudson had given himself in the service of the Kanarese people, and had never lost his faith in the power of Jesus' name. Round and about the beautiful church which forms his memorial the people whom he loved gathered to praise the Saviour who had taught him the secret of that love.

With this picture of a thankful and rejoicing Church our record of the Mysore Mission must close. The fact of that Church, and the promise of its future, may well prompt the reader of its record to give thanks to Him who lifteth the poor out of the dust and the needy out of the dung-hill, and sets him among princes. Yet it is not in that Church alone, impressive as it is, that the full result of service in this field is to be seen. In the social movements of the day, in the moral ideals which, whether unacknowledged or confessed, now hold the thought and purpose of all classes of society throughout the State, in every effort to purge the practice of religion from that which, once its pride, has now become its shame—in these things untabulated, not to be measured, we may see the indubitable signs of the leaven of Christian truth working until the whole be leavened. There is a whisper in the hearts of men in the Mysore country, a secret which pride will not now allow them to divulge, and that secret whisper is the Name of Jesus.

(iv.) THE HAIDARABAD DISTRICT : 'THE GOOD SAMARITAN'

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho ; and he fell among robbers, which both stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. . . . But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine ; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.—LUKE X. 30-34.

The story of the Haidarabad Mission is the story of love in its ministry to the alien, fallen, plundered, wounded unto death. Love awoke trust in hearts that had all but lost the faculty of trust, and so men came at last to ' live by faith in the Son of God who loved them and gave Himself up for them.'

Few facts in the history of the Foreign Missionary enterprise of the Methodist Church are more constant and more significant than the part played in the inception of Missions by the Methodist soldier. We find him in New York and in Canada, in Gibraltar, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Colombo, Madras, and Hong Kong, and in each place it is he who gathers his comrades together for prayer and mutual edification, builds up ' a Society,' and appeals to the home Church for a Missionary to be sent to instruct the Methodist congregation which has come into being. In 1875 the Rev. R. W. Allen—that much-loved friend of the British soldier—was bidding farewell to some of the soldiers who were leaving Aldershot for India. Among them was Sergeant Goodwin, of the Bedfordshires, who had accepted Christ as the Captain of his salvation. He had been a class leader and a local preacher while at Aldershot, and Allen impressed upon him the duty of continuing his service for Christ after he should arrive at his destination. When in due course he found himself at Secunderabad he wrote to the Chairman of the Madras District,

who happened at that time to be the Rev. Henry Little, and the result of that letter was a visit paid by Henry Little and William Burgess in December, 1878. There followed the inception of the Haidarabad Mission, and the gathering of many thousands into the Church of Christ. Sergeant Goodwin, as he sat in the barrack-room at Secunderabad, never guessed what would follow on the writing of that fateful letter. As little do we guess to-day what the consequences may be to our performance of some simple duty, some common act of loyalty to Christ.

It was not indeed the first time that a Mission to the Haidarabad State had been considered. As we have seen, in 1862 Dr. Jenkins prospected the country, and his report led the Committee to allocate the sum of five thousand pounds from the 'Jubilee Fund' to the purpose of beginning work in that country. But nothing further had been done, and we do not know what became of the money thus allocated. When William Burgess came to Secunderabad the initial expenses were met by the Synod of the Madras District, which offered to forgo from its grant the sum of five hundred pounds, a generous act on the part of men who had not enough to meet the demands of their own work. There were other preparations. They were not recognized as such at the time, but 'who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor'? In 1878 work was begun in Madras among the Telugu-speaking people of that city, and Mr. Burgess and a young evangelist, Mr. Benjamin Wesley, of whom we shall have much to say, took up the study of Telugu that they might minister to those in Madras who used that language. This special work in Madras soon came to an end, but it had served a larger purpose than was seen at first in preparing for the Mission to Haidarabad the two men who in the providence of God were to lay the foundations of a Church which is already a great Church, and is still far from having reached its ultimate development. Haidarabad appears as one of the 'Stations' of the Methodist Church in 1880, and in the Centenary year the report shows a Christian community of seventeen thousand persons in ten Circuits. Of that community three thousand six hundred were recognized as being in full Church membership, and seven thousand five hundred more were on probation. No other District in India

shows anything approaching this growth within the space of thirty-three years, and one of the first questions to be considered is that of the differentiating conditions which led to this startling contrast between the results of work in this District and those which have followed upon the efforts of Missionaries in other fields.

The first cause of this result is obviously to be found in the fact that the pioneers in this field were in a position to profit by the experience of their forerunners, and to avoid the initial mistakes made in each of the preceding Missions. Of the entanglements which beset the Missionaries in Madras for so many years we have already written, and it is significant that in his first letter to the Committee we find Mr. Burgess making two very distinct points. The first was to the effect that the Mission was to be carried on to a large extent by means of an Indian Ministry, and the second was that the work among the soldiers was to be undertaken by a European Chaplain, specially designated for that purpose. 'For the soldiers' work I *must* have a man from home.' We know the genesis of that imperative demand. A little later we find the Rev. Benjamin Pratt—the first European colleague of Mr. Burgess—chafing under the restrictions imposed upon him by military work while he was preparing for missionary service. He says :

My English work divides my energies, and what is a still more serious matter, my sympathies. So long as I remain an English Pastor I do not think that I shall ever gain that fellowship with Hindus in their ways of thought and modes of feeling which is the true foundation of a successful missionary career.

Such words reveal an insight which explains much of the subsequent success of the writer, while they lay down a principle which Missionary Societies may well keep in mind. These first Missionaries, then, were bent upon avoiding the trammels which had hampered their forerunners in Madras.

Another fruit of experience appears in the letter already quoted from Mr. Burgess. He asks for a man to be sent out at once to take up work at Yelgundel, a town distant from Secunderabad about a hundred miles, and which would serve to link the latter with Sironcha, the Station recommended

for occupation by Dr. Jenkins. Neither town was ever occupied. The hand of God led in another direction, but the mention of these village centres shows that from the very first Burgess was bent upon beginning work in the villages.

Yet another advantage which fell to the new Mission was that the earliest efforts were made by men who were acclimatized, familiar with habits of life in India, and possessing a knowledge of both Tamil and Telugu. In this alone the founder of the Haidarabad Mission was far in advance of James Lynch, and this knowledge of the vernacular makes it impossible to set up any comparison between the initial stages of the work done in the two Districts. We may well consider too the advantage of beginning with so tried and valued a fellow-worker as Benjamin Wesley. What would not the first Missionaries to India have given if one such as this able and trustworthy Minister could have stood by their side?

It must not be thought for a moment that in thus seeking to estimate the initial advantages of the Haidarabad Mission we are in any way discounting the work accomplished in this field. That work will always remain a triumph of insight and organizing power. The conditions of successful service were clearly seen from the first. They were accepted, and then the work was urged on with a resolution and a force which reveal the character of the men who began it. Mr. Lamb¹ speaks of the first year of the Mission as 'that breathless year,' and his epithet is well chosen. The swift and relentless energy of William Burgess brooked no delay, and in an incredibly short space of time the central position was 'made good,' and the nerves of living energy extended a hundred miles to the north.

There is yet another advantage to be enumerated. In one respect it was the most important of all, as its effects are operative to this day in the area covered by this Mission. It is to be found in the homogeneous character of the population to whom the Missionaries made their chief appeal. As a Muhammadan State, Haidarabad did not allow the Brahman the dominant position which he held in other parts of India, and Brahmanism was far from being the powerful social

¹ *The Gospel and the Mala*, p. 8.

factor which it was in the Negapatam District. The people who resided beyond the municipal boundaries of Secunderabad consisted in the main of Muhammadan 'over-lords' and their serfs. Work among Moslems was certainly contemplated, and a movement in the direction of a school for Muhammadan girls, and visits of women evangelists to the zenanas, was actually begun in Haidarabad. But when the 'effectual door' which led to the heart of the Mala community was flung wide, the tides of Missionary service ran swiftly along the channels opened, and the Missionaries concentrated their efforts upon those who were willing to hear and to obey the Gospel call. This element of exclusiveness—if indeed such a word can be used in this connexion—was never accepted as a policy, but the fact was that the many accessions from among the Malas so engrossed and exhausted the resources of the Mission that its agents were known locally as 'the Mala Padres.' The intended reproach became a distinction of honour. The 'stigma' was transfigured into the 'mark of the Lord Jesus.'

Caste, of course, threatened to prevent the work of the Church as it had done in South India, but where the Brahman priest is shorn of 'monarchical' power caste is deprived of half its strength. Its power to resist the Church was, however, felt even here. In 1887 a great harvest was reaped in the Karim Nagar Circuit. Among the two hundred and seventy-four persons baptized were many Sudras. They had been clearly warned that admission into Christian fellowship entailed the abandonment of caste prejudice; this they understood and accepted; but when with them were baptized a number of Malas, and they found that they were being treated as one community with these despised people, their former antipathy proved to be too strong for their faith, and they fell away. Within a year they had taken up a position in this matter which excluded them from the inner fellowship of the Church, though they still professed a certain amount of allegiance to it. This reversion had the effect of defining very clearly the area within which the Church was to gather its harvest. The Gospel was not of set purpose proclaimed only to Malas. All were invited to the King's feast, and doubtless it would have been possible to build up a Church from among those belonging to the Sudra caste,

but it became clear that such a Church could not grow together with one in which the Malas had any place or privilege. The Missionaries, true to the spirit of their Master, went to the lowliest of all, and while in some respects this made their post-baptismal work the more difficult, it meant that the homogeneity of the class in which they worked facilitated the gathering in of 'the poor and maimed and blind and lame.' The King's table was furnished with guests, and the Haidarabad Mission became the Mission of a great compassion.

Burgess was soon confronted with the obstacle which has thwarted the movement of the Church in other Districts, and burdened the Missionary with a load of anxiety at a time when his one thought should be the proclamation of the love of God in Jesus Christ reaching and blessing the lowest of the low. The initial expense of opening a new field of work is always very great. A home has to be provided for the Missionary and for every Indian Minister and Catechist. Chapels have to be erected and school buildings set up. If medical work is contemplated, the building and furnishing of dispensaries and hospitals is a very heavy item of expenditure. Land has to be acquired for every one of these structures. As the work progresses the indigenous agency increases, and still further additions have to be made to 'Plant.' We have seen how embarrassed the Home Committee was when demands began to pour in upon it for the provision of such necessities in Ceylon and South India, and we have also seen how Missionaries were in some part diverted from their true objective in having to supplement an insufficient grant by endeavouring to increase their 'local income.' It seemed for a moment as though the newly launched Mission would split upon the same rock that had wrecked the labours of their brethren in other fields. A minute from the report of the Committee held at Bishopsgate in February, 1881, shows what was likely to be the attitude of the Administrative Board in London.

The subject of a Medical Mission for women in Haidarabad was introduced by the President of the Conference at the instance of the Committee of the Women's Auxiliary. In the present state of the Society's funds the Committee regret their inability to entertain the proposal.

Obviously there was little hope of an adequate provision

for the buildings required in Secunderabad. Help came, though in a quite unexpected way, and from an entirely opposite quarter. A master-mariner will set his sails so that the very violence of the storm will bring him the more speedily to the haven where he would be. During the first year of the Mission, Burgess had worked with feverish activity. Services both on Sundays and week-days among the troops in the Cantonment, diplomatic interviews with Government officials, the founding of both a Tamil and a Telugu Church, with endless negotiations to secure suitable sites for Mission premises—these things, added to the inward drive towards the villages which occupied both mind and heart, would have broken down the health of any man. Burgess broke down, and was peremptorily ordered by the doctors to return to England if his life was to be preserved. But instead of complying he obtained permission to visit Australia, and there he gave himself up to preaching and lecturing on behalf of his Mission. Within six months he returned to Haidarabad with health restored and with gifts amounting to more than seventeen hundred pounds with which to equip the Mission with the necessary plant. That sum was the response of the Methodist Church in Australia, itself the offspring of Missionary service, to an appeal for service which lay beyond its own parochial boundaries. It was a generous response, and its value for Burgess just at that time was far beyond the figure mentioned. It gave him hope and confidence. He felt that he had behind him the backing of a world-wide Church, and he was assured that the hand of God was upon him for good. Within two years chapels were built in Chadarghat, Secunderabad, and Trimulgherry, while the purchase of a bungalow secured what is still the Mission house in Secunderabad. In 1884 the Girls' Boarding and Normal School was erected, and the base of the new Mission was thoroughly well established and equipped. Within five years property to the value of three thousand one hundred and twenty-four pounds had been acquired, towards which the Committee had given less than three hundred and fifty pounds.

This method of financing the Mission illustrates yet another resource of the Missionaries in this District. They could not wait for the official grant. Mr. Burgess, and in after years even more markedly Mr. Posnett, appealed directly to the

Methodist Church for financial aid. The response has always been generous, and they have thus been able to finance their Mission to an extent which would have been impossible if they had been dependent upon grants made by the Committee. This method is open to criticism from the official point of view, but in this case it has been abundantly justified by results. The Methodist people have always responded to the 'special appeal,' and where they have faith in the Missionary who appeals, and where they can follow their contribution and note its effect in the service for which it was given, they are ready to support generously the work which is presented to mind and heart with both force and vividness. Nor is it likely that such special gifts diminish the amount contributed every year to the general funds of the Society. But it is obvious that the Missionaries who succeed in this method of financing their work secure thereby a great advantage over those in other Districts who are wholly dependent upon grants made from funds controlled by the Committee. This system of private appeal was frankly adopted by the Missionaries of this District. Thus we find the Rev. F. Lamb saying¹ :

It has been the only sure guarantee of reasonable progress. There is much to be said against it. It irritates some good folk, and places a crushing burden on men already overweighted with the cares of their legitimate work. . . . Its only justification lies in its necessity. God's work must be carried on, and when ordinary resources fail others must be opened up. Those who protest should remember that red-hot appeals from the field touch hundreds who would never give to the same extent through the ordinary channels. The Medak Circuit represents a phase of missionary achievement that in its methods and many-sided completeness is probably unique in South India. I unhesitatingly affirm from an intimate knowledge of the facts that but for the systematic crusade of publicity and appeal continued through many years at the cost of infinite toil, the Medak of to-day would have been an impossibility.

There is yet one more feature of the Haidarabad Mission which accounts in large measure for its success. It was a Mission of helpful and unlimited pity, of Christlike compassion. This is not to say that such features are lacking in other fields, but from the first it was emphasized in this

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

Mission partly by deliberate choice and partly by force of circumstances. The medical work begun by Mrs. Pratt at Karim Nagar was quickly followed and on a far more extensive scale at Medak. Recurrent seasons of scarcity and famine, or the invasions of widespread disease, gave the Missionaries opportunities, eagerly embraced, of revealing in their service the loving kindness of God ; and their ministry of healing and of help, offered unstintingly and to the most neglected and despised of the social classes, gave to their evangelistic efforts a force which quickly reached the heart of the Malas, and touched that heart to finest issues.

We must now turn from these general aspects of the Haidarabad Mission to record the sequence of events. These followed in such quick succession that the historian's task of giving to each its due significance is no easy one. Mr. Burgess had visualized from the first the essential factors of a successful Mission. He set to work to give to each factor its proper setting, and his impetuous spirit led him to establish at once a complete organization which most men would have been content to develop gradually. The energy with which he carried through the programme he had conceived was amazing. In 1884 the Rev. Dr. Butler, the founder of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in India, visited Secunderabad, and in a letter from that city to a friend in England he says :

I am tolerably well acquainted with what Missions can do in a given time in heathen lands, and I feel that I ought to say to you that nowhere have I seen any greater work accomplished for the time than that which Mr. Burgess has been enabled to do here.

His first and simplest work was to arrange for meeting the spiritual needs of Methodist soldiers in the Secunderabad Cantonment. The number of 'declared Wesleyans' in 1879 was a hundred and fifty. Morning and evening services were held on the Sundays with other services during the week, for the men and also for their wives. Burgess was fortunate in securing the co-operation of a number of devout Christian officers, among whom General A. H. E. Campbell became the most intimate of friends. The official position of the latter enabled him quietly, but most effectively, to further the projects of the Missionaries, and his open alliance and association

in service with Mr. Burgess in every effort to help the soldiers of the garrison brought blessing both to them and to himself.

The Church of Scotland had for some years conducted a Mission among the Tamils of Secunderabad, but in 1879 it found itself unable to continue its operations and withdrew the agency employed. Both Burgess and Wesley were fluent speakers in Tamil, and the people thus left without a Pastor were brought together and shepherded. That Tamil Church has continued up to the present. In the Centenary year it returned a full membership of a hundred and sixty.

In Chadarghat a Telugu Christian of the name of Cornelius was discovered, and in 1879 his house was thrown open for worship. Around the nucleus of this Christian family a congregation of Telugu-speaking people quickly grew into a Church, while in Secunderabad another Telugu Church came into being. At the close of 1880 five services in three different languages were being conducted every Sunday.

No small part of the work of the Haidarabad pioneers was found in the establishing of satisfactory relations between the Missionaries and the Government of the country. At first the attitude of the latter, if not hostile, was scarcely friendly. The Nizam's Government exercised rule over a people who were notoriously turbulent, while not a few of them were religious fanatics. If European Missionaries were allowed to penetrate territories outside of the boundaries of the Cantonment, to acquire land, and to preach a Gospel resented by Moslems, it was evident that difficult situations might easily arise, and the Government was most anxious to avoid the possibility of this. Thus when in 1882 an application was made to Government for land upon which to erect a Mission house at Karim Nagar, a decided refusal was given on the ground that the concession might lead to rioting. It became necessary to remove all such anxieties from the mind of the Government and to establish confidence in the character and temper of the Missionaries. Tact, courtesy, and persistence duly accomplished the task. The Missionaries came to be trusted. Restrictions were removed. Reluctance gave way to liberality, and the way to the villages was thrown open to the heralds of the Cross. This concession might easily have been made impossible, and the fullest credit must be given to

the founders of the Mission in securing freedom of access to those who were in such desperate need of the uplifting power of Christianity.

Towards the close of the year 1880, the Rev. Benjamin Pratt was sent to join Mr. Burgess, and after a few years, spent in ministering to the soldiers, Mr. and Mrs. Pratt found themselves in April, 1884, at Karim Nagar. No better reinforcement could have been sent out to the field. Mr. Pratt brought to the Mission a spiritual tone and temper which formed a perfect complement to the wisdom and energy of William Burgess. We have already noted his ideal of securing 'a true fellowship with Hindus in their ways of thought and modes of feeling.' He now set himself to secure this by accepting conditions of service which were arduous and exacting, but which speedily gave him that which he sought. In touring among the villages he invariably travelled on foot, taking no servant with him, and contenting himself with such food as he could obtain from the villagers, while the house which he and his wife first occupied was erected at a cost of forty pounds. It may be that such conditions of life and work undermined his strength and brought about the physical collapse which cut short his career, but such service is not to be measured by years, and in its course Pratt laid the foundations of the Mission in the villages in lowliness of spirit and in tenderest pity for the souls of men.

Karim Nagar, as the first 'out-station' of the District, was not chosen without great thought and circumspection. Sironcha, the town on the River Godavery which Dr. Jenkins had first recommended, was never occupied, though the names of Benjamin Pratt and B. Wesley are entered in the Minutes of the Society as being stationed there. Probably Dr. Jenkins was influenced in selecting this town as the starting-point of the Mission because it was possible to travel thither from Madras by sea and river, but when Secunderabad became the head quarters of the Mission, Sironcha was too far north to allow of its being worked from Secunderabad. Other towns were visited, but eventually Karim Nagar was chosen as being the centre of a large village population, and the field proved to be most fertile.

In 1885 the first converts were baptized in the village of Gallipalli, and in 1887 there were baptisms in thirteen villages,

by which two hundred and seventy-four persons were admitted into Church fellowship. The movement which now extends over so wide an area had begun. Its course was rapid. In 1900 there were fifty-four congregations and more than two thousand Christians in the Karim Nagar Circuit alone. In 1885 the District was visited by the Rev. Dr. Jenkins and the visit was made memorable by two events. The Haidarabad District was now put under a separate administration from that of Madras, and the Revs. B. Wesley and G. K. Harding were ordained to the work of the Ministry. Both men had been sent from Madras to Haidarabad, and the District was again fortunate in securing from the very first Indian Ministers of both character and capacity. In common with the other Districts a considerable increase in the financial grant was made in favour of this work, and a new recruit in the person of the Rev. M. F. Crewdson had been sent out in 1884. The prospects of rapid advance were most promising.

It must not be supposed that this work was being done without opposition. On many occasions the preaching of the Missionaries was interrupted, and more than once the Preachers were locked up until an appeal to higher authority secured their release. The persecution of converts was common, and the most cruel methods of persuading them to recant were adopted. In one instance, recorded by Mr. Pratt, a colporteur, Mangiah by name, was cruelly beaten and his hands were staked down to the ground in such a manner that he could neither sit nor lie, but was obliged to spend the whole night on his knees in great pain. But these persecutions did not avail to check the movement into the Christian Church.

In 1886 the Rev. W. H. Soper was sent out and was followed in 1890 by the Rev. C. T. Winters. New stations were opened in Siddipett and Medak, but the return of Mr. Crewdson in 1889 led to several appointments being altered, and anything like continuity of service in these two centres was impossible. Mr. Soper was the first Missionary to reside in Medak, to which Circuit he went in 1889, remaining there until 1896. In the light of later accessions the number of converts in Medak during Soper's ministry in that town seems small, but they were far from being small in reality. Missionaries in Madras and Mysore would have rejoiced with joy unspeakable if within a couple of years after the opening of a new station

they could each year have admitted fifty or more persons into the Church. After five years of difficult work Mr. Soper was able to report a membership of two hundred and sixty-six, distributed among sixteen villages. It had taken forty-seven years of labour on the part of many Missionaries before that membership had been reached in the Mysore State. Siddipett, to which Mr. Winters was appointed in 1891, suffered from frequent changes in the staff. Young Missionaries were sent to this station while they acquired the use of the Telugu language, there being no English work there. It was an admirable school for the future prophets, but results similar to those in Karim Nagar and Medak could not be expected under such conditions. A few baptisms were reported, but they were from among people of good caste, and they roused so much bitter hostility as to deter others from confessing Christ. At last, however, conversions began to occur in the villages near, and by 1894 the number of Christians in the Circuit had risen to two hundred and seventeen. Aler was the next station to be occupied. This was done in 1891, and its occupation was followed by that of Kundi in 1892. More than fifty baptisms speedily took place in Kundi, while in Aler there were two hundred and eight. These Circuits were worked by the Rev. B. Wesley from Secunderabad. The total membership in the District in 1894 was two thousand three hundred and eighty-six.

About this time much trouble arose between Missionaries and subordinate officials of the State in connexion with street-preaching. The attitude of the latter was due rather to anxiety to keep the peace than to any bigotry or opposition to the proclaiming of the Gospel. If an Englishman were to be assaulted their responsibility to the supreme Government in India would be very great, and as the larger towns were inhabited by turbulent and often truculent people, a disturbance might easily arise, and in the heat of passion violence might be used against the Preachers of a Gospel so subversive of both custom and faith. There were such disturbances in Chadarghat, in Karim Nagar, and in Siddipett during the year 1889. The matter came before the Prime Minister and the British Resident, and much correspondence between these and Mr. Burgess followed. It was conducted with courtesy and goodwill on both sides. The Chairman was

willing to make every possible concession to the feeling of the officers of State, but he was also anxious to maintain the right of free speech, and he knew only too well that, while the attitude of the higher officials was perfectly reasonable, subordinate officers might take advantage of any restrictions imposed in order to thwart and nullify all missionary operations. The conclusion of the whole matter was the withdrawal of all restrictions, and subordinate officers were notified that this ruling was to be observed. But having established their rights the Missionaries wisely refrained from using them, and in the larger towns preaching in the open air was discontinued, and missionary propaganda took the form of personal intercourse with individuals within the seclusion of private dwellings. It is a moot question whether this form of evangelistic appeal is not really more effective than addresses delivered to an audience which is often hostile and more often indifferent. At any rate this concession made to official anxiety did not retard the growth of the Church. Accessions continued and increased in number. At the close of the 'eighties it became evident that a large number of persons were ready to be admitted into Church membership, and the problem of educating and civilizing this mass of oppressed, ignorant and degraded humanity became acute. The demand for an extensive scheme of general education and for special training of teachers and evangelists became urgent and imperative.

The situation which immediately resulted was little short of a missionary tragedy. The Methodists of England, in common with Christians in all the Churches, had become impatient of the slow progress of Christianity in India. In the providence of God, Methodist Missionaries had at last been directed to a field where an overflowing harvest might be gathered in without delay. Many prayers from loving and longing hearts were now being answered in the Haidarabad Mission. The call now was for the Church to accept this answer to those prayers, and to furnish the means required for the building up into Christ of the increasing multitude that had accepted Him as Master and Lord. A large increase in Mission funds was clearly indicated. And it was precisely at that moment that the 'Missionary Controversy' threw the whole Church into a spirit of criticism, distrust, and

bitterness. In the first year of that controversy, instead of an increase in the exchequer of the Society the home income dropped to the extent of nine thousand pounds. It seemed as though the power of evil had chosen this method of bringing to nought the victory of the Cross of Christ. Not only was any extension in the direction of training an agency to be used in garnering the precious harvest made impossible, but the educational work begun at Chadarghat was abandoned, and, with thousands pressing to enter the Church, the grant from the Home Committee for Native agency was for three years without the slightest increase. In no part of the Indian Mission field were the effects of that deplorable controversy more disastrous than they were in the Haidarabad District. As Mr. Lamb says,¹ 'It put back for twenty years any possibility of dealing worthily with the permanent necessities of the work.'

An incident of 1885 must not be excluded from our record, for it led to the formation of the Methodist Marathi Mission. In the year mentioned the Rev. W. Burgess, in co-operation with General Campbell, conducted a series of services on behalf of the employees of the G.I.P. Railway Company at Igatpuri, and among those who yielded themselves to Christ was Mr. S. Rahator of Bombay. Of the work which he has done and of the Mission which he has accomplished as a Methodist Minister we shall write in another chapter.²

In October, 1892, Mr. Burgess felt that the burden of work which he carried was beyond his strength, and he asked permission to return to England. Mrs. Burgess was then in England visiting her children and her parents. The Committee was naturally reluctant to lose the service of a Missionary which had resulted in such extraordinary success. It was suggested that he might remain at work a few years longer if a young Missionary was sent out to assist him, and the Rev. Joseph Edge Malkin was designated for that service. With such relief in view Mr. Burgess consented to remain, and Mrs. Burgess with one of her children and Mr. Malkin sailed in October on the *Roumania*. The ship was cast ashore on the coast of Portugal and all three of these precious lives perished in the wreck. The catastrophe was one which words

¹*op. cit.*, p. 38.

²See pp. 377 ff.

are inadequate to describe. To the already wearied Missionary this blow on the heart seemed at one time likely to lead to further disaster, but the grace of God and the love and sympathy which gathered around him both in England and in India upheld him. Of the loss to the Mission it is scarcely easier to speak. The great gifts of personal charm, of intellect, and of spiritual life with its resultant power, which characterized Mrs. Burgess were wholly devoted to the service of Christ, and among the soldiers in Secunderabad, the women in the zenanas of Haidarabad, and, not least, among the lowly members of the Christian Church her gracious influence was fully acknowledged. The feeling in England was expressed in the resolution adopted by the Missionary Committee in November, 1892 :

The Missionary Committee records its unspeakable grief at the tragic death of Mrs. William Burgess of Haidarabad, her infant, and the Rev. Joseph Edge Malkin, caused by the wreck of the S.S. *Roumania* off the coast of Portugal on the night of October 27th. In Mrs. Burgess the Committee has lost a true Missionary—one of the brightest, most talented, and most devoted workers in our Indian field; whose consecrated gifts did much to further the work of her husband, the Rev. William Burgess, in the Nizam's territory, and whose blessed enthusiasm kindled the flame of missionary zeal in many hearts. Among the soldiers in Secunderabad Mrs. Burgess was revered and loved in a remarkable degree, and she was made an instrument of good in the Lord's hands to many of the Military stationed there from time to time. Our departed friend was also an accomplished vernacular speaker, and was instant in season and out of season in work for the temporal and spiritual benefit of the people around her. Her loss to her husband is beyond expression, and to the Committee is heavy and grievous in the extreme.

The loss of Mr. Malkin was felt to be specially acute. He had volunteered for Missionary service, and was a man of exceptional promise. Reinforcements were at once sent out to the stricken Mission, and in 1893 the Revs. J. C. K. Anstey and F. Lamb joined the staff. With wonderful self-control and devotion the bereaved Chairman remained at his post, but in the nature of things it could not be for long. Early in 1896 he returned to England after thirty years of service in India. Few men have left behind them the record of William Burgess, and his work was not yet ended. After his return he began yet another service in Italy.¹ He was

¹ See Vol. IV. pp. 511 ff.

distinguished for his evangelistic zeal. While in charge of the High School in Madras he sought earnestly to bring his students to Christ. In Haidarabad both among British soldiers and Hindus this evangelistic zeal was more immediately effective, and hundreds were brought to a saving knowledge of Christ through his ministry. He has the enviable record of having founded a Mission which was successful from its commencement. In its history there has been no period of waiting, no years of hope deferred. The harvest followed close upon the sowing, and it has continued ever since. His restless energy, tremendous drive, and tenacity of purpose told at once in the field to which he was sent. His work was never tentative or uncertain. He knew from the first what he sought, and his indomitable spirit broke through every obstacle in his way. He stands out from among the Missionaries of the Society as a man who had a definite policy from the day he arrived in Secunderabad, and nothing was allowed to stand in the way of bringing that policy to full fruition. Mr. Burgess is still with us, and though the years have robbed him of his amazing physical powers, his spirit is as ardent and as indomitable as ever. He has the joy of seeing the Mission which he founded grow into a Church whose mere dimensions are great, but whose spirit is greater still. He was followed in the Chairmanship by the Rev. B. Pratt, and the Missionary sent out to fill the vacancy in the staff was the Rev. C. W. Posnett. With his coming a new era began in this District, and in its course the Church grew and was multiplied manyfold.

Posnett resembled Burgess in one important particular. He began his work with a definite policy fully formed in his own mind. He is still on the field as we write, and we shall not attempt to set forth in these pages a record which, we trust, is yet far from its climax, but the historian may well record the fact that the two men who in the providence of God had so much to do with the formation and the development of this Mission came to their work with a carefully thought-out scheme of service and with a definite purpose fully formed in their own minds. To its fulfilment they bent all their powers. The spirit of consecration hallowed every scheme, and energy went with mental versatility to secure that which should be for the glory of God. While still a student at Richmond College Posnett took a course of medical training

in a London hospital. It was not enough to give him a diploma, but it enabled him to give relief to those who suffered from minor ailments, and in a measure to make manifest the heart of compassion which became his greatest appeal to suffering humanity. During that time his sister was also taking a course of medical training in Glasgow, and in the course of the year which he spent in acquiring the use of Telugu, Posnett made arrangements for her and her friend Miss Harris to join him in Medak. By the close of that year all three were in Medak, and medical work was the main plank in the missionary 'platform.' It was well chosen, for in Medak, as at first in Galilee, it was the means of revealing the heart that is touched with the feeling of human infirmity. The ministry of healing awakened love, for nothing but love was its motive, and with the awakened love went trust. Then these great spiritual powers were directed to Jesus Christ as their true objective until thousands began to cry 'Victory to Jesus.'

When these three young and inexperienced Missionaries found themselves in Medak they were at once confronted with an appalling calamity. During the years 1896-1900 there occurred two periods of famine. The Haidarabad State was on the fringe of the area most affected, and nothing indicates the spirit and the capacity of the 'dauntless three' than the way in which they grappled with a difficulty which would have taxed the powers of those who had the wealth and authority of the State at their command. They themselves were inadequately housed, but their accommodation was still further restricted to make room for those whom the Brahmans called 'the untouchables.' When in the wake of famine there followed its dread concomitant cholera, the personal peril of the Missionaries must have been very great, for they kept nothing back in their service, and death was every day within their guard. In the mercy of God it forbore to strike, and when the three years were over they emerged from the dust and grime of their fight crowned with the love of those to whom they had given themselves. That laurel was promptly laid at the feet of their Lord. The Mala, covered with dirt and foul with disease, looked with bewildered eyes at these three young foreigners who never hesitated to touch the untouchables, and to care with the utmost tenderness for

'the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things.' He vaguely speculated as to the motive which could thus prompt 'the Sahib Log' to such humble service, and gradually it dawned upon the slow mind that 'their God did like this, and they do it to please Him.' It was a great conclusion: the seed of Christian life was enfolded therein.

It is a temptation to a historian to enrich and enliven his pages with details of this service, details which were dramatic and humorous or pathetic and tender. But the muse of history is by tradition 'severe,' and it is certain that the writer could scarcely hope for forgiveness from those who were his colleagues and are still his friends, if he were to draw upon his intimacy with them for the more personal records of their service. Let it suffice to say that 'their work was not in vain in the Lord.' The hearts of the Malas were melted in the flame of this love and were ready to receive the impress of Christ. In 1900, when the worst of the twofold scourge of famine and pestilence was over, the number of persons in full communion with the Christian Church was five hundred and twenty-nine with nearly eight hundred on trial for membership. But this numerical increase gives only a faint idea of the work that had been done. Even the non-Christian population became friends instead of enemies, and petitioned the supreme Government of the State to make a free gift of land to the Missionaries that they might erect a hospital upon it.

During those years of famine the preservation of the lives of the Christian people brought a world of anxieties upon all the Missionaries in this area. In most of the Circuits relief was given out of funds subscribed in England, but the greatest care was required to prevent the pauperization of the Church. This peril was avoided in all the Circuits. If we refer especially to Medak it is because of the scale on which relief was given in that centre, and because of the foresight which turned a calamity into the means of providing for the increased efficiency of missionary operations. Posnett was determined to forestall the difficulties which even then were beginning to cramp his efforts, and which had strangled mission work in other Districts. They were those which arose from insufficient buildings, and we have indicated their evil effects in other chapters. He had already mapped out a building scheme for Medak. Like most of his projects, it was bold and

extensive. Faith and foresight prompted him to build for the Church of the future, but we may imagine that he must have had many misgivings as to how the necessary funds were to be found. He had a hungry multitude to feed, and in feeding them to teach them the important lesson of self-respect. With amazing promptness he set his crowd of starving folk to work. In return for that work he gave them food, and kept them under Christian instruction and care. In due time there arose in Medak a Girls' Boarding School and an enlargement of the one already provided for boys; a hostel for the accommodation of Christians coming from distant villages; a theological hall with class-rooms; a row of houses for married students of the theological class, and another for those who were unmarried; an enlarged mission house and a residence for lady workers, while a splendidly constructed well provided pure water for the whole community. That so comprehensive a scheme should have been conceived and carried out by a Missionary scarcely out of his 'probation' reveals an organizing capacity far beyond the ordinary. At the close of the famine the Missionaries throughout the District were able to record that they did not know of a single Christian within the borders of their respective Circuits who had perished from hunger. It was a triumph of Christian philanthropy. Within the Church the effect was even more remarkable. Both boarding schools at Medak were filled with boys and girls who had been brought fresh from their Pariah homes, and the difficulty of teaching them anything at all was very great. We need to visualize these poor waifs, barely rescued from starvation and far removed in their former habit of life from the world of letters, to judge of the difficulty of teaching them even the simplest of the Gospel stories. The first efforts resulted in failure, but the fertile mind of Posnett was equal to the occasion. He devised a method which at first received a full measure of adverse criticism from those who feared that it would result in reducing the words and deeds of our Lord to irreverent use. But the fears of such persons were soon removed, and though as the children became accustomed to the use of books the method gave way to more ordinary study of the Scriptures, as a first expedient it gave to the children such a knowledge of the Gospels as could not have been given in any other way. Briefly the method

consisted in dramatizing the life of our Lord. But the method was so unique and so important for persons in the intellectual condition of these children that we shall at this point adopt the description given by Mr. Lamb, who had the advantage of witnessing some of the scenes, and of observing their effect.

Then Mr. Posnett bethought himself of the mediaeval miracle plays and of the passion play at Oberammergau. Here was a method that might succeed, and it was at once put into practice. The effect was instantaneous. We were led to the alternative of acting the story, and so week by week morning prayers became the most exciting part of the day. Paralytics were let down from the roof, the hungry were filled, the dumb shouted, and the lame danced, the pigs of Gadara were drowned, and the cries of the man who lived among the tombs were stopped. Each story was carefully prepared and performed with the greatest reality, and ere they knew it the shy backward women and servants were all unconsciously taking part. The result was indubitable, if the method led to some searchings of heart. These were entirely superfluous, for none of the objections which could be freely raised in England applied to these children of tender and mature age, who not only took the keenest delight in the acting, but learned—never to forget—the most fascinating stories the Bible contains. The chance of irreverence was carefully guarded and so beautifully respected by these children of reverent and worship-loving India—the sacred character never being acted, but His words alone being repeated in the third person—that we are convinced that the effort to be reverent under difficulties has produced a nobler reverence than all the blind and worthless formalities which are too often reckoned of great price.¹

The life of Jesus became real to these Mala children, and one might wish that the same happy result could be obtained among more highly favoured children in other lands.

Of even greater importance was the training of evangelists, but of this we have written in another chapter.

That the help given to starving and friendless outcastes was followed by a great influx of people to enter the Christian fellowship is not surprising. In the year 1900, two thousand one hundred and twenty-five persons were received into the Church. More than half of these were in Medak alone, and Mr. Posnett, for good and sufficient reasons, refused admission to two thousand others whom a less careful Missionary might have admitted. The reason for his refusal—and the Church at home may well take note of it—was that he did not see his way to provide for the pastoral oversight of them. In

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 79.

other Circuits of the District, too, large numbers might have been admitted into the Church, had it not been felt that there was need of caution in making admissions *en bloc*, and that to receive crowds of persons, for whose instruction and 'edifying' there was no prospect of adequate provision, was a course which was bound to issue in disappointment and even disaster.

General principles with reference to missionary service in times of famine have been laid down by Mr. Lamb as having been established by the experience of the Missionaries during this period. These are :

1. Relief should be extended to non-Christians as well as to the members of the Church.

2. At such times the Mission staff should be reinforced at all costs, so that regular spiritual teaching may be given in the famine camps.

3. When the famine has come to an end all thoroughly instructed inquirers who may be willing to enter the Christian Church should be received.

During the Chairmanship of the Rev. B. Pratt several Missionaries were sent to join the Haidarabad Mission. Most of these returned to England after brief spells of service, but F. C. Sackett (1901) and H. Guard Price (1903) were still on the field in 1923. The administration of the Rev. B. Pratt was marked by the self-suppression and the quiet strength whose secret is a consecrated life. As a leader of men he excelled by reason of his readiness to allow his colleagues the utmost freedom in working out their individual schemes of service. He had faith in their sense of vocation, and his trust was not betrayed. Behind the quietness of his demeanour there was a strength and a clearness of vision which his brethren understood, and upon which they relied in time of difficulty, while his freedom from self-assertion won for him the unfeigned affection of all with whom he had to do. In the rapid development of missionary enterprise, and in the rush of hundreds to enter the Church, he stood for the principle of consolidation, and under the circumstances of the time this was a most necessary contribution.

One of the most important extensions of the Mission during his chairmanship was the occupation of Indur (the name was afterwards changed to that of 'Nizamabad') in 1898. This

extension was remarkable as being prompted by an invitation from the native officials of the place, whereas in other cases the Missionary had to seek permission to enter. The town was an important one, situated upon a new line of the railway and opening up a large area for the Christian Missionary. The Taluqdar offered to forward an application for land with his endorsement in favour of a grant to the Mission, and Pratt was thus able to obtain a site of four acres for mission premises. In 1899 Mr. Anstey was appointed to the new Circuit, and converts began to be gathered in at once. While in Siddipett Anstey had made a beginning in the direction of industrial work, and he took with him to Nizamabad the lads he had begun to train in the hope of making Nizamabad a great industrial centre. But in the following year cholera broke out, and Mrs. Anstey after a few hours of suffering was taken from the work into which she had thrown herself with the eagerness and enthusiasm of her nature. Anstey was obliged to take his motherless children to England, and the industrial school passed into the charge of the Rev. F. Lamb. The famine had left the boarding schools all through the District crowded with children, and boys were drafted from these to be trained as artisans. But after some years of careful training it was found that boys from the villages, where agriculture had been the hereditary occupation, did not as a class show a sufficient aptitude for anything better than carpentry, and that of no great excellence. The better workmen were found among boys who had come from the towns, and these after being trained went as a rule to Bombay where they could command better wages. The School was not self-supporting, and no grant-in-aid seemed likely to come either from the London Committee or from the local Government. It was therefore decided to complete the training of the boys already in the School, but to make no further admissions, so that in course of time the School came to an end. It was also hoped to establish at Nizamabad a hospital for women, and this was greatly furthered by donations contributed by non-Christians. Medical work began with the appointment of Miss Meakin in 1902 when the hospital was opened by Mrs. Wiseman during her visit to the District. In Nizamabad the 'community movement' was delayed, for in this Circuit there was a greater admixture of castes, and the converts already enrolled seemed to lack the

family influence through which in other centres so many had been brought into the Christian fellowship. The Circuit covered an area containing a population of seven hundred thousand, of which perhaps one hundred thousand were of the class from which in other Circuits the majority of converts had come. These were scattered among nine hundred villages, and the solitary Missionary, with three evangelists, found it no easy task to evangelize the scattered folk. The situation, says Mr. Lamb, was comparable to what would be found in England if one Minister and three Local Preachers were appointed to evangelize the whole of Lincolnshire.

Siddipett is a Circuit which was first occupied in 1886, and the Circuit is of special interest inasmuch as it was the sphere of service in which the Rev. B. Wesley was entrusted with the full powers of Superintendent. We have already spoken of this Minister as the trusted colleague of Mr. Burgess when the Mission was begun. The years that followed had proved him to be a Minister of great ability. His counsel in the Synods carried weight, and his loyalty was never in question. In 1897, when Mr. Soper returned to England for furlough, Mr. Wesley was entrusted with the administration of Siddipett. The appointment proved to be satisfactory in every way, and Mr. Wesley remained in this Circuit for twenty years. The membership, which stood at seventy-one in 1907, increased year by year, until it was close upon four hundred, and the respect and affection felt for him was indicated by his election to be one of the delegates from India attending the celebration of the Centenary in England, where he became known to the Methodist Church in this country. An even greater honour was shown him when in 1914 he was elected Chairman of the South India Provincial Synod, presiding over both European and Indian colleagues with dignity and efficiency. His career shows what the Church may expect to find in the Indian Ministry. His name will always be associated with the system of 'village Elders' which he instituted first at Siddipett. The most influential men in each village were appointed to be 'peddalu' or elders, and they were entitled to wear a silver ring with their names inscribed upon it as a symbol of their office. They presided over village councils, and settled any quarrel which might arise. They collected contributions of grain, and arranged for such service as the cleaning of the

chapels. Such a system was in keeping with former custom and tradition, and the people readily accepted such authority as was conferred upon the elders, while responsibility developed powers of administration which augured well for the time coming when Churches will be independent of missionary direction and control. What is most interesting in this scheme is its distinctly Oriental character. It showed that the Church was developing on lines which were not a slavish reproduction of Western methods, but were indigenous to the country. The system proved to be of so much value in Siddipett that it was introduced in other Circuits with excellent results. It was certain to produce in time a responsible laity in the Church. That very desirable element had not yet appeared. In 1897 it was reported that there was no layman who could with advantage be admitted as a member of the Synod. In that same year Mr. Pratt was obliged to call the attention of the Home Committee to the serious position in which the Church found itself for want of a sufficient Staff. In some Circuits the majority of the members had been newly admitted, and the Missionaries were 'confronted with grave and perilous problems that call for immediate and persistent oversight. We are filled with alarm at the calamity which is certain to follow.' In Karim Nagar at that time there were thirty-five villages containing Christian communities and lacking the guidance of even a Catechist. The Chairman asked for two additional Indian Ministers and a substantial increase in the grant for Native agency. Failing this, he declared that it would be necessary to abandon evangelistic work and to concentrate on the duties of the pastorate. Individual Missionaries turned in their despair to making direct appeals through their friends in England. But this drew a remonstrance from the Secretaries of the Society, who pointed out that such appeals could not be indefinitely multiplied. They depended for success upon personal acquaintances, and many Missionaries, borne down by the demands of their work, had no personal access to friends who were both wealthy and well-disposed. Doubtless the true relief lay in an increase of contributions to the general fund of the Society, but those were the days of the missionary controversy, and instead of increase there was decrease.

The Missionaries were, however, cheered by revivals of

spiritual life in the Churches, and one of these is well described by Mr. Lamb. It began in a convention held at Medak in connection with the opening of the Training Institution.

It was a heart-melting break-down. In the inquiry-room Superintendents knelt with men with whom they had worked for years, and with boys whom they had baptized in infancy, and the general experience was that both in emotion and downright intelligent conviction the majority of cases were parallel to similar acts of consecration at home. Nor could any one who saw the new light in their eyes and felt the grateful hand-grip of those who had found peace and joy, doubt for one moment the genuineness of what had taken place.

A striking incident of the year 1899 took place in connexion with the secretarial visit of the Rev. Marshall Hartley. The season for travelling in India was nearly over by the time he arrived at Secunderabad, and the Secretary was finding the heat as much as he could endure. It was not possible for him to visit all the Circuits or to spend much time among the villages, in which there were that year nineteen thousand inquirers seeking baptism, few of whom the Missionaries dared to baptize. But as he could not go to the people they came to him, and a great camp-meeting was organized at Gallipalli, a village midway between the Circuits of Karim Nagar, Siddipett, and Medak. What this meant to the Medak contingent may be inferred from the fact that they had travelled for six consecutive nights to reach Gallipalli, and would spend six more on their way back. A whole day was given up to religious exercises, of which prayer and singing and exhortations were the chief feature, and at the close of the day the crowd of Christian people numbering many hundreds, broke into one great shout of 'Victory to Jesus.' Then they returned to their several Circuits. They had seen the great Delegate of the Church who had come across the sea to visit them, and they had received his blessing, but most of all they had attained to 'Church-consciousness.' They had realized that they were no longer scattered units of a people despised by all men, but that they were members of a great fellowship which belonged to East and West, and that love had broken every barrier down. Well might they cry 'Victory to Jesus.'

In the local Report for the year 1901, the method of evangelization followed in this District is likened to the work of a miner. It is not the strategy of a great general, nor the

slowly working influence of leaven permeating the surrounding life. It is rather that of one who places a great disruptive power in the lowest strata of the human society, and waits for the moment when his 'dynamite' will rend the superincumbent mass. The figure is striking and suggestive, and we shall not quarrel with it, but even in the very report in which it appears the writer goes on to say :

We are none the less mournfully conscious that our organization is little qualified to leaven and prepare the minds of the higher classes to profit by the great disruptive forces that are being stored in silence and darkness under their feet. Opportunity and means for a desirable extension of our range of operations may be afforded in days to come.

Presently the rate of increase in the Church began to diminish. This was not because the people were more reluctant to join the Christian Church, or the Missionaries less willing to admit them, but because the workers were completely absorbed by pastoral duties in the already existing Church, and though Posnett was steadily and successfully pressing forward the work in the Training Institution, the supply of pastors could not overtake the demand, and Posnett himself was feeling the need of trained assistants in his work of training. As late as 1907 it was pointed out that

Medak has in view the pastorate of the villages, but the wider pastorate which can be filled only by the Indian Minister has numerically fallen far below what is absolutely necessary to the administration of the Church to-day, and no provision is being made for the future. Three Circuits are without any Indian Minister at all, and the others are seriously undermanned. The problem of raising an indigenous ministry in Haidarabad is beset with special difficulty, because the low state of education in general makes it impossible to find men who are educationally on a level with the average Indian Minister; yet the demand is growing for an even higher average. *The men are wanted now.* Again there is the material, but it is in the rough, and will take longer to shape for this purpose than for the purpose contemplated by the Medak Institution.

Another imperative need of the Church was to be found in a supply of Christian literature. There were then ten thousand Christians in the District, and the means of their instruction, so far as literature was concerned, could scarcely be said to exist at all. The absorption of the Missionaries in village evangelization had left them without the leisure or the opportunity for its production. In these two most important

particulars, the District was suffering from 'the defect of its qualities.' As an evangelizing agency it had been supremely successful, but its very success had prevented its making adequate provision for the Church which was coming into being. On the Mission field more than anywhere else it is necessary to take long views in arranging the work of the Church. The anxiety of the Missionaries at this time was very great. In 1909 this defect in their organization was in a fair way to be removed. Through the generosity of two English Methodists, a press was set up in Medak, and it is significant that the first works published in Telugu were an edition of the Prayer Book, and a manual of midwifery for the use of Indian nurses. So true was the Mission to the two centres of all its activity—communion with God and the relief of human suffering.

In 1906 the Rev. B. Pratt returned from furlough to resume his work as Chairman of the District. For twelve years he had carried a very heavy burden. While during that time the Church had increased numerically, its very success had raised—as we have just indicated—great problems of administration, and his mind was over-weighted with care. On Easter Sunday, in the following year, he was stricken down with cerebral thrombosis. The channels of life which fed the tired brain could no longer convey their food. A visit to the hills gave only a partial relief, and he was compelled to return to England. With extraordinary courage and tenacity he returned in 1910, thinking that, although he could no longer carry the burden of administration, as a Supernumerary he might still be of some service in the field he loved, but after another year he finally withdrew. It would be hard to exaggerate in characterizing the service he had rendered. It was wise, it was strong, it was immeasurably fruitful. It was shot through and through with the tenderness of love, and bore upon its face the infinite charm which goes with modesty and self-obliteration. He is crowned with the honour of his brethren, and with the love of those for whose salvation he had toiled.

Mr. Pratt was succeeded as Chairman by the Rev. Frederick Lamb¹ who administered the District until 1915, when he returned to England and took up work in the Home Circuits. It

¹ At the very moment in which these words are being written, the news comes of the sudden passing of Mr. Lamb.

will be of advantage to the reader to record here the numerical statistics of the Mission at this time; and in studying them it must be borne in mind that in 1877 the Methodist Church in this District did not exist at all.

Statistics in 1907.

Chapels and other Places for Preaching	86
European Missionaries	12
Indian Ministers	5
Catechists	12
Local Preachers	10
Full Members	2,175
Members on Trial	4,106
Christian Community	9,996
Scholars in Schools	3,418

The chairmanship of the Rev. F. Lamb was marked by a steady attempt to strengthen the position already reached, and to consolidate the work in the different centres. The sound judgement and the perseverance which had been the great characteristics of Mr. Lamb all through his ministry, stood the District in good stead, as he set himself to build up the Church that had so suddenly sprung into being. But the tide that was now in full flow towards the Church continued to run, and though the prominent note of this period was organization, and the provision of Native agency, the membership of the Church continued to increase. Six years after he entered upon his duties as Chairman it had risen to three thousand six hundred, an increase of fifteen hundred in the six years, while there was an increase of more than three thousand in the number of those on probation. Two new Circuits, Jagtial and Ellareddipet, showed a membership of a hundred and sixty-seven, and a hundred and twenty respectively, while all the older Circuits also showed large increases. Aler especially, a station which had been worked from Secunderabad and Siddipett, and which had, for want of a resident Missionary, been slower to develop, doubled its membership within the six years, and now showed a total surpassed only by Medak and Karim Nagar. To meet the pastoral duties entailed by this growth of the Church there were two additional Indian Ministers and fifty-eight additional Catechists. The

number of Indian Ministers was actually less than it had been ten years previously when the membership of the Church was not half what it was in 1913. This unsatisfactory position is easily explained. In the earlier days of the Mission, Indian Ministers had been sought and found in the Madras District ; but as village work in Tiruvallur and other Circuits developed, the Madras District was unable to spare more of its trained agents for Haidarabad, and meantime there had been no systematic effort made to create an Indian Ministry from among the Mala converts. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the material available during the time of the earlier accessions could have been shaped to such use. In 1909 a Divinity School was begun in Chadarghat, the Rev. J. C. Knight Anstey being appointed Principal. But his difficulties were very great. No candidates with a knowledge of English were forthcoming, and suitable text-books in Telugu did not exist. An elaborate curriculum had been drawn up by the Synod, but it implied a knowledge of English by the students. Mr. Anstey's admirable facility in the use of Telugu enabled him in some measure to overcome the difficulty arising, but he must have found it an arduous undertaking and it was soon abandoned. In 1912 there were only two students in the Divinity School, one of whom died during the year, and the other was sent into circuit work. Under such circumstances it was decided to bring four of the most promising men from the Evangelists' Training Institution in Medak who had already been tested in village work, and to give them an additional course at Chadarghat in the hope that they would be found to be fit and proper persons to be admitted into the ranks of the ordained Ministry.

Perhaps the greatest event of the period now under review was the admission of the Madigas into the Christian fellowship. Hitherto nearly all the converts had come from the Mala section of the Panchamas, and they had come in such numbers that the Missionaries had neither time nor strength to spend in work among other classes of the population. Their concentration upon the Malas gave them two great advantages. The Christian faith was passed on from family to family of those who were already united by caste. Social homogeneity lent itself admirably to the furtherance of the Gospel. But in addition to this the Missionaries had practically escaped the difficulties that had so often threatened to destroy the work of

their brethren in Negapatam. Caste prejudices did not arise to vex their souls, for their work lay within the limits of a single social group. They knew, however, that this advantage would one day come to an end. They were not likely to limit the proclamation of the Gospel to a single section of the community, however extensive that section might be.

Now the Malas formed only one of two or more groups of the Panchamas ; there was another section, that of the Madigas, and the higher castes regarded both with equal contempt. Both were compelled to find their dwellings outside of the village proper, and both inhabited hovels in which an Englishman would not be allowed to house his swine, if he were at all likely to wish to do so. Yet nothing so illustrates the hold which caste has obtained upon the whole Indian community as the fact that these outcastes themselves were as rigorous in its observance as any Brahman. The Malas had no dealings with the Madigas. They dealt out to them the same contempt that they received from the Brahmans. The two classes observed a mutual exclusion of the most rigid character, both in the partaking of food and in the ordinance of marriage. How the distinction between these two classes first arose it is difficult to say. The probability is that it was due to the fact that the Madigas are the tanners of India, while the Malas are agricultural labourers, and to all Hindus leather is an abomination ; its touch is defilement, and only stern necessity allows its use in the form of shoes. The Madigas were also accustomed to eat the flesh of animals that had died a natural death, and this use of what we call ' carrion ' may have been the original or a secondary cause of estrangement. But whatever the cause may be, the gulf between the two classes was held to be impassable. When, as was occasionally the case, a Madiga entered the Church his presence invariably created a difficulty, and when presently the number of conversions from this class began to increase the Missionaries were confronted with the same problem that had vexed the mind and the heart of many a Missionary further south.

In 1903 the Rev. H. Guard Price, whom we have already met in the Negapatam District, joined the Haidarabad Staff and was appointed to Kundi. When certain Madigas came to him asking to be baptized he at once received them into Church fellowship. This was the signal for an outburst of indignation ;

not, be it observed, among the Mala Christians, but among their heathen relatives, who feared that the Christians of their own social group would be contaminated by intercourse with Madigas, and would be in consequence still further separated from them than they were already. Presently difficulties arose in boarding schools when Madiga children were admitted, and the partaking of the Lord's Supper by Christians of these two classes threatened in some places to divide the Church and to break up the Christian fellowship. The difficulty was one in the solving of which the reality of spiritual life among the Malas was to be severely tested. Of this side of the new life which had been given to the Malas we have said but little. It was now to be put to the proof. It curiously reproduced the situation which the great Apostle to the Gentiles has so vividly depicted in the Epistle to the Galatians. With freedom Christ had made them free. Were they now to be entangled again in a yoke of bondage? If they had been led of the Spirit they were no longer under the law. The faith which worketh by love had made them 'one new man' in Christ Jesus, and in Him all were one. Was their experience of Christ sufficiently real to enable them to see that in Him all social distinctions which prevented the fullness of communion were done away? Had the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts destroyed the seeds of pride and prejudice? These last were not of yesterday. They formed an inherited social attitude which ran back in the life of their fathers for many centuries. The question now forced upon them was as severe a test of their new life as could be applied, and their spiritual guides and teachers anxiously awaited the answer of the Church.

It was a happy coincidence that the question first became acute at Kundi, and at a time when Mr. Guard Price was the Superintendent of the Circuit. The latter had studied the same question in Negapatam, and his experience in that District enabled him to act without hesitation where another Missionary might have hesitated in view of a probable rending of the Church. It was fortunate, too, that the question should be answered first in Kundi; for here the boundary line between Mala and Madiga was not so sharply drawn as elsewhere. Some measure of intercourse already existed, and it was so much the easier for both classes to enter the Christian brotherhood. The Kundi Circuit had been one of those in which the

'community movement' had been comparatively slow. In consequence of this, whenever sickness or furlough entailed a diminution of the Staff the Circuit was left without a resident Missionary. It was given to Mr. Guard Price to make Kundi a centre of absorbing interest as the point at which the Christian Church was challenged in the matter of its attitude to caste. Price was followed by the Rev. E. T. Leslie, and his catholic outlook and cautious methods greatly contributed towards bringing the Madiga movement on to lines along which it might be left to continue.

On the whole the Missionaries had reason to rejoice over the spirit in which the Church passed through its test. They were fortunate again in that the question had become acute only after a period in which the Christian law of love had had time to establish itself in the hearts of the people. Though some were 'offended' and walked no more with those who associated freely with Madigas, yet from the first it was evident that the second generation of Malas would recognize a Christian fellowship in which even the Madigas had their place. It was of great significance and promise that the first Madiga inquirers were brought to Mr. Price by a Mala Catechist. A reasonable attitude was that of those who asked for time to adjust their lives to conditions so subversive of an immemorial tradition, and those who have studied 'caste' in India will be the last to blame them for this. Some few concessions to the common feeling were made such as the use of different cups in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but these might safely be trusted to disappear as the uplifting power of Christianity made itself felt among the Madigas as it had done among the Malas.

An incident which occurred after the Centenary year may be inserted in our record as showing that this forecast is correct, and that the Christian spirit will ultimately triumph over the traditional exclusiveness. In the year 1919 forty Christian children of Madiga families were admitted into the Boarding School at Karim Nagar, but found themselves isolated there since the Mala children refused to associate with them. Presently exclusion from the fellowship of school life was followed by little deeds of deliberate unkindness, and then by actual persecutions which were cruel. Once again we would call the attention of the reader to the persistency of caste

feeling in India. Here were children who were separated for the time from the atmosphere of their own homes and the talk of their elders. They had been brought up in accordance with the Christian rule of life, and yet when Madiga children were brought into their common life they reproduced the feeling of contempt and antagonism which prevailed among their heathen forefathers. The sequel however, was entirely satisfactory.

When the evangelists came in to the Agents' meeting, Mr. Lant placed one of the Madiga children on a table and got her to tell the story of her sufferings at the hands of her schoolmates. The evangelists were so grieved and incensed that the last vestige of hostility to the lower caste as fellow-believers in Christ disappeared. Of their own accord they called a group of their number who were Madigas by birth and sought their assistance in cooking a meal. Then the whole company—teachers, children, Christian officials in the town and the European Missionaries—sat down together to partake of it. A fine feeling of brotherhood laid hold of them, and from that day there has been complete harmony.

That feast was in a very real sense 'a Holy Communion,' and who can doubt but that He who washed the feet of His disciples and then said, 'This commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another even as I have loved you,' was present at the feast?

This coming in of the Madigas opened an amazing vista to the eyes of the Missionaries in this field. The Madiga community was but little smaller than that of the Malas, and if the movement became general throughout the area the Christian community in the Haidarabad State would assume dimensions which would be both the joy and the proving of the Methodist Church. It should be the signal, not for the remission of effort, but rather for its extension, especially in the direction of training and pastoral work. It will be at the peril of her own life that the Church neglects this manifest duty. Several hundreds of the Madigas had been admitted into the Church by the time the centenary year came round, and according to the last report which we have seen, there are six thousand Madiga members of the Church. The 'Open Door' is clearly before the Methodist Church. Will that Church enter it in the plenitude of her power?

The Nizamabad Circuit is one of those with a distinctive

future before it. We have referred before to this Circuit, and to the abortive attempt to make it the centre of an industrial Mission. The School was given up, but a still nobler 'industry' took its place, and Nizamabad will long be associated with the ministry of healing for the leper—a ministry in which the Church comes nearest to that of its Lord. In 1910 the Wood Memorial Hospital was opened, and a Hindu gentleman, who made no profession of Christianity, contributed generously towards its furnishing. In the following year the same gentleman again came forward and offered the equivalent of nearly six hundred pounds if the Missionaries would found a Home for Lepers. The leper is always the object of compassion, but in the Haidarabad State he was a distinct menace to the well-being of the community, inasmuch as no attempt was made by the Government to isolate those who were afflicted with the disease, or to bring into their pitiful lives any sort of ameliorating conditions. The disease was everywhere prevalent, but especially so in the area covered by the Nizamabad Circuit. In the autumn of 1907 the Rev. G. M. Kerr was sent out to this District, and in the following year he was appointed to this Circuit. Mrs. Kerr held a medical diploma, and she at once threw herself into the work of healing the sick. Some few miles away was the village of Dichpalli, in which a dispensary had been opened, and here the 'Nastin treatment' for leprosy was being tried. Its application brought about so much improvement in the physical condition of those who were suffering from this disease that a sudden flash of hope broke into the darkened life of the leper. Villagers came many miles to be treated, and to seek admission into the home which it was decided to build in this village. Presently with the help of 'The Leper Mission' and with grants of land from the Nizam's Government a little 'colony' of lepers was settled on a site of seventy acres. A small Mission house was built and blocks of small houses were erected for the use of the sick. Here Mr. and Mrs. Kerr with Sister Adela Moss gave themselves up to the work of healing those from whom all hope of health had seemed to be taken away. In 1920 there were a hundred and sixty inmates of the Home, and as we write the news comes of that number having risen to three hundred, and of the opening of a school for children who had been lepers, but under the new treatment were now, as far as the most exacting tests

could show, quite free from disease. The new treatment was of benefit even to the most chronic cases, and, as Mr. Goudie said when he visited Dichpalli, 'what had been a home for the dying was being turned into a place of hope for the living.' Naturally the children responded most readily to the treatment, and the idea of a boarding school for these in the vicinity, where they might pay occasional visits to their suffering parents and yet be shielded from infection, made the 'Home' complete. So conspicuous and so beneficial was the service of Mrs. Kerr that in 1922 the Government of India conferred upon her the honour of the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal, but the greater 'decoration' of a Christ-like spirit had been hers long before.

In the Centenary year great preparation was being made for the Church of the future. In Karim Nagar, Medak, Ramayanpett, Aler, and Secunderabad, large and substantial chapels were erected as fitting memorials of the year, but large as they are they will be far too small before many years have run their course. The following statistics given in 1913 should be compared with those for 1907 as given on page 339 :

Chapels and other Places for Preaching	183
European Missionaries	15
Indian Ministers	7
Catechists	188
Local Preachers	31
Full Members	3,663
Members on Trial	7,512
Christian Community	17,071 ¹
Scholars in Schools	4,134

We close our record of the work in the Haidarabad District, so bewildering in the rapidity of its movement, so instinct with the spirit of Jesus, with a reference to what will be increasingly the centre and the spring of all its far-reaching activities—the Training Institution at Medak. In the Centenary year only fourteen years had passed since it had been founded, but it was then spoken of as 'one of the most perfect of its kind in India.' The Rev. J. Gordon Bennett was at that time its Principal, and he speaks of the curriculum of studies as being one which 'would amaze many of our students at home.' Every year saw a steady stream of evangelists passing

¹ In 1922 this number had increased to 48,000.

into the Circuits to preach to those who were 'still out of the way' the unsearchable riches of Christ. As we write we hear of still further projects in this direction, boldly conceived and generously provided for, which will add to its efficiency to a degree which no one will be bold enough to specify beforehand. The future of this District is big with events which may bewilder the Methodist Church at home, but it is being guided by the Spirit of God acting in and through men of vision and wise judgement and of a very tender heart—the heart of 'the Good Samaritan.'

(v.) THE BENGAL DISTRICT: 'THE SEED GROWING SECRETLY.'

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

So is the Kingdom of God as if a man should cast seed upon the earth; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how.

The earth beareth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

But when the fruit is ripe, straightway he putteth forth the sickle, because the harvest is come.—MARK iv. 26-29.

The Gospel has a life of its own, mysterious in its working because divine in its source. But the human heart has an inherent faculty of response, and when this is exercised the full fruition of life is seen.

The working of this law may be seen in the Santal Mission of the Bengal District.

The first definite indication that the Wesleyan Missionary Society contemplated a Mission in Bengal is to be found in a letter from Mrs. Ann Dale, the daughter of a Wesleyan Minister, to the Rev. George Morley, dated April 12, 1827. Mrs. Dale was then residing in Moorshedabad, and she wrote expressing her pleasure at hearing while on a visit to England that the next Mission to be undertaken by the Methodist Church would be one in Bengal, and she wished to offer the hospitality of her home to the Missionaries who might be sent. In the spring of 1830 the Rev. P. Percival arrived in Calcutta, and was followed within a few months by the Rev. T. Hodson. A house was taken for the use of the two Missionaries, and a Masonic Hall in its vicinity was hired for the purpose of public worship. This arrangement was, however, found to be expensive, and after three months the services were held in the residence of the Missionaries. The congregations were exceedingly small. This work was carried on mostly in Portuguese, which Percival had already acquired, a school was opened for children who spoke that language and another for those who

spoke Bengali. The two men at once found themselves involved in financial difficulties. Living was costly in Calcutta, and while the Committee evidently looked to them to secure relief by way of subscriptions collected locally from those who were well disposed to the Mission, they found that the English residents in Calcutta who were inclined to support mission work were already pledged to contribute to the funds of other Societies. The Missionaries felt the need of a chapel, but they pointed out to the Secretaries of the Society that the cost of erecting one would be very great. The Secretaries replied that they were 'utterly surprised that you should propose to build a costly establishment for English service; a situation (sic) which cannot answer the purpose of a native chapel,' and they reminded their representatives that English work was to be 'only incidental.' They also asked them whether a better and less expensive opening for native work might not be found away from the city. Percival and Hodson, anxious to carry out the scheme of the Committee, gave up their home and hired smaller houses for residence and for their schools, devoting themselves wholly to work among the Hindus. By doing this they saved something in rent, but they lost the interest and help of their European friends. With reference to the question asked by the Committee, Percival paid a visit of inspection to Bankura, and reported that a suitable opening might be found in that town, but he could not obtain any definite instruction from the Secretaries that he was to abandon the work in Calcutta and begin elsewhere. Percival had already served in Ceylon, and was greatly attracted by the work in that island. When he realized the difficulty of making an effective beginning in Calcutta, his thought and desire turned towards his former sphere, and he expressed again and again his wish to be transferred to Ceylon. He was, however, on the point of removing to Bankura, leaving Hodson to carry on the work in Calcutta, when the serious illness of his wife necessitated his withdrawal from Bengal. The proposal that Bankura should be occupied was abandoned, Mrs. Percival returned to England in 1832, and Percival accompanied her as far as Madras, where he was to attend the Synod. He hoped that the Synod would transfer him to some District in the South. He was, as we have seen, appointed to take up work at Point Pedro. The few letters received from the Committee during the course of this ill-starred

attempt had perplexed rather than guided the men on the field. One was received from the Rev. John James, one of the Secretaries, in which plans and estimates for mission building were discussed. This was quickly followed by another from the Rev. Richard Watson, suggesting the abandonment of the Mission. Then for many months they received no letter at all, but observed that prominence was given to the Bengal Mission in the reports of the Committee. Successful work under such conditions was impossible. The men did the best they could, but they were thrown into a state of uncertainty by so vague a direction and were greatly disheartened. Finally they heard, though not in the first instance from the Secretaries, that the Mission was to be given up. Both men were to do valuable work in other fields, but three precious years in the lives of able men had been spent to no purpose, and some three thousand pounds had been expended on work which was abandoned before it had any chance of being established. Twenty-five years were to pass before the Methodist Church took up again its Mission in North India.

This time it was the Methodist soldier who supplied the initial impulse. In 1857 it was reported that there were four hundred Wesleyan soldiers in Bengal, and that they greatly desired the ministrations of their own Church. In 1859 the Rev. Daniel Pearson was sent to begin work on their behalf at Barrackpur. But work among the soldiers, unless it be carried on simultaneously over the whole area within which the army moves, is uncertain and fluctuating. Regiments are continually on the move, and a Chaplain may in one particular year have more work than he can efficiently deal with, and the next year he may wander disconsolately through the Cantonment from which his flock has departed.

In 1863 Pearson complained that he had 'scarcely enough to do.' Meantime, in 1861, the Revs. J. H. Broadbent and H. G. Highfield arrived in Calcutta, the former designated to English work and the latter to Bengali. In 1862 the Rev. E. E. Jenkins visited Calcutta and was urgent that work should be begun at Bankura, thus repeating the conviction of Percival and Hodson that it was in Bankura that the Methodist Church would find the true centre of its Mission to Bengal. It was not, however, until 1870 that the name of this town appears in the list of Stations.

In spite of sad experiences in South India, the importance of concentration had not yet been learned either by Missionaries on the field or by the Committee in England. In 1864 Pearson visited Lucknow, and urged the beginning of work in that city. The lure of the English congregation was still strong, and one reason given for the proposed enterprise was that the American Methodist Missionaries at work in that city, wiser than our own men, wished to concentrate on work among Natives, and were prepared to hand over to our pastoral care a congregation of two hundred Europeans.¹

It was also recommended that Almorah should be occupied, and the Rev. B. Broadley was even then spending five fruitless years in Bombay, Poona, and Karachi, while but a single Missionary was preparing for work among the Bengalis. Nothing is more grievous in a study of the early efforts of the Wesleyan Missionary Society than such dissipation of energy.

The two men in Calcutta, relying upon a promise of five thousand pounds to be set apart from the Jubilee Fund for the purpose of their Mission, set about the erection of a chapel in Sudder Street, and in 1866 that chapel was opened for public worship. But the promised financial grant was not forthcoming, and a heavy mortgage crippled this Church from the first, though partial relief was found when the Committee secured in London a loan for the building fund at a less ruinous rate of interest than had been demanded in Calcutta. In 1868 Highfield was transferred to Madras, and Broadbent was left alone in Calcutta, where his work was almost entirely among Europeans. In the following year he, too, was removed to South India. The second occupation of Bengal was no more effective than the former attempt made in 1830.

The Rev. J. Richards was sent out to be Chairman in 1869, and with him came the Rev. Thomas Rae to take up the Bengali work. The latter, however, only remained two years in India, as did his successor the Rev. R. W. Cusworth, while the Chairman himself returned in 1874. Mission work in Calcutta can scarcely be said to have begun. What work was done among the Bengalis was carried on by Catechists recruited

¹ The Rev. Joseph Broadbent, the brother of James, was appointed to Lucknow for military and other English work in 1866.

from other Missions. The Rev. Joseph Broadbent had died at Lucknow in 1873, and his place was taken by the Rev. A. Fentiman from the Mysore District. The vacant Chairmanship was filled by the last named. A Catechist was sent to Bankura in 1871, and another to Bishenpur, and this date must therefore be considered to be that at which work was begun in what proved later to be the most fruitful section of the District. Such occupation could scarcely be considered effective, and in 1876 the Committee determined to strengthen the work in North India. The Rev. G. Baugh, who had already given sixteen years' service to Ceylon, was sent out to be Chairman. By the close of the decade, the Revs. W. C. Kendall, J. Whitney, J. R. Broadhead, A. H. Male, F. Halliday, Brignal Peel, and J. A. D. J. Macdonald had all been sent out. The District at last obtained a Staff not inadequate to its needs. Baugh, on his arrival, had set forth the needs of the work in a vigorous letter written to the Secretaries. After calling attention to the poor results of fifteen years of work, and they were certainly very poor, he deals with 'the fatal error of spreading ourselves over more ground than we can work with vigour.' 'Believe me,' he says, 'one or two Missionaries doing mixed work, frequently exchanged, and never mastering a knowledge of the language or of the manners of the people, is really no more than playing at mission work, very little more than mere waste of time and money. If very much more is not done *speedily* we ought, in all honour, to abandon our attempts. . . . In order to have a satisfactory Mission in Bengal, a training institution and a vigorous zenana work are simple necessities.'

It is distressing to find that after the errors of administration in South India, extending over fifty years, the same failure to grasp the needs of a Mission in India should reappear. Baugh continued to urge the Committee to take up the work in more vigorous fashion. He gave them no respite from his strongly worded letters, and in a Conference held in Bangalore in 1877, at which he attended, he so represented the situation in Calcutta that the Conference agreed to advise the Committee that the work in North India should be again abandoned unless it could be done on better lines. The Committee was at last roused to take the necessary steps and the reinforcement mentioned was sent out. In 1879 the District was divided,

and from that date the work in Lucknow and Benares and the intermediate country came under a separate administration. The Rev. A. H. Male was at Lucknow, and with him was associated an Assistant of the name of J. A. Johnson. We shall meet him again at Fyzabad, but under a different name. He became known throughout the Methodist Church as 'Elliott of Fyzabad.'

At the close of the disappointing 'seventies the full membership of the Calcutta District, apart from Lucknow, was less than a hundred and fifty. The number is not a large one, and twenty years had passed since the Mission had made a fresh start. In the Centenary year the full membership had risen to fifteen hundred, and the Christian community was double that number. We shall see that the factors that went to this development were not extraordinary. They should have appeared in the Mission from its first inception. They arose from nothing more than an adequate staff; adequate both in number and in capacity. The strong reinforcement sent out towards the close of the 'seventies secured a distinction—even then not as complete as it should have been—between the ministry to Europeans and work in the vernacular. This led to far greater and more regular attention to village work, and the Santal Mission followed in due course. It also led to the fruitful departments of educational work, with its natural issue in an indigenous Ministry, and philanthropic enterprise. There is nothing in these factors which might not have been secured fifty years before, if the Church had received a clear conception of the conditions of work in India, and had braced itself to meet them, and, above all, if the directing Committee had formed a definite policy in its administration and had consistently adhered to it.

The 'eighties were the formative period of the Bengal Mission. The men sent out in 1876-1878 were at the commencement of the decade able to preach to the people in their own tongue, and they were followed by the Rev. W. M. Spencer in 1880. In 1881 the Rev. T. H. Whitmore, who had already served in the West Indies, arrived to take charge of the English work in Calcutta, and after five years of a very successful ministry, was followed in 1886 by the Rev. W. H. Hart. In 1884 the Rev. W. Spink arrived in Calcutta, and it was unfortunate that a very promising career was cut short in 1892 by the

failure of Mrs. Spink's health. In 1887 the Revs. G. W. Olver and F. W. Ambery Smith joined the staff, and each of these was to make a distinct contribution to the work in this District. But that which led in the providence of God to the consolidating and extension of the work was the appointment of the Rev. J. M. Brown to the Chair of the District in 1883. In the interim between the departure of the Rev. G. Baugh and the arrival of Mr. Brown the administration of the District had been carried on by Mr. Whitmore. Mr. Brown brought to this work a rich experience gathered during sixteen years of service in North Ceylon. He had great powers of administration and a sound judgement. He was supported by a group of able and devoted men, and he had the joy, when he retired from the work in Calcutta in 1900, of leaving a strong Mission where he had found one that was weak. Coming as he did from Ceylon, where the value of educational work had been fully proved, it was natural that he should emphasize the work in this department, and before he left the District this hitherto neglected department was established on sound lines. In the elementary schools, in higher education, and in training men for mission work the District found new sources of strength. The days of mis-directed and inefficient effort were ended.

The development of a Native agency was perhaps the most significant and promising improvement. Where this is lacking or insufficient, it is a sinister token of impaired spiritual life in the Church, and there can be little hope of extension. For no great increase in the European staff can be expected, and even if it were made, some years must pass before the Missionary becomes really efficient in the use of the vernacular. The fitness of the agents employed before the 'eighties may be imagined from the fact that between 1878 and 1880 no less than seven of these agents had been dismissed from the service of the Mission. But in the decade which followed, an entirely new character was given to this part of the Mission. The men employed were no longer 'hirelings' but the product of the Church in which they served. The first Bengal Minister, whose name appears in the report of the year 1885, was the Rev. Prem Chand Nath, and two others were that same year received as Assistant Ministers. With their coming into the great service, the growth of the Church became more rapid.

A training school for Christian youths was also started at Barrackpur, this being considered the best station for such an institution. But Macdonald had a heavy burden to carry in that town. He was still learning Bengali, and the work among the soldiers took up a great deal of his time which should have been given to the study of that language. His work among the Bengalis had suffered in consequence. He now adds the work of training to his already excessive burden. It was in such a way that Missionaries were over-weighted at a time when they should have been wholly occupied in study. He hoped that the following year would bring him a colleague, but when that year came he was removed to Calcutta, and this led to the beginning of work in Dum Dum and Gauripur. In spite of such distractions, however, the staff was now most efficient. The Missionaries were young ; they had acquired the language of the people, and they gave themselves up to extensive tours in the villages extending sometimes over several weeks. They lived in tents and preached the Gospel and distributed Christian literature wherever they went. They relied upon this form of appeal more than they did upon education, and their work began to bear fruit. Remarkable conversions followed upon their ministry of the word. The necessity of undertaking a measure of elementary education, however, could not be denied, and in 1882 a somewhat novel method of securing this was adopted. In most villages there was to be found some sort of school, carried on in a most inefficient manner. These schools were usually matters of private enterprise, and they were annexed for missionary purposes by making a small grant-in-aid from Mission funds. The supervision of the Missionary greatly increased the efficiency of the school, the villagers learned to look upon the Missionary as directly interested in what was for their advantage, and the teaching of the Christian Scriptures was introduced. When Missionaries visited such villages they found an interested and friendly people and a ' pulpit ' from which they could preach. In the course of the year eighteen such schools were under missionary guidance, and two years after the number had risen to fifty-two. The method had a further advantage in this, that it did not necessitate any outlay of money on sites and buildings.

Another distinctive feature of this period was the instituting

of 'Camp Meetings' which were inaugurated by Macdonald at Gauripur. These were continued for several years. Different nationalities were represented in the congregations that assembled, and Missionaries belonging to several different Societies took part in the services. The unity of the Christian Church took place first in service and then in that deeper communion realized in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The commencement of the work among the Santals also belongs to this period. But of this we have written elsewhere,¹ and it will therefore suffice here that we record the fact.

From the beginning of the 'nineties up to the year 1913, when this record closes, more than twenty Missionaries were sent out to this District. Of these some remained at work for only a few years, failure in health accounting for the brief service of most of these. Others, such as J. W. Duthie (1890), W. A. Chettle (1892), H. M. Bleby (1895), T. J. McClelland (1897), G. E. Woodford (1898), J. Mitchell (1899), were able to remain longer, and each made a definite contribution to the building up of the Methodist Church in Bengal. J. M. Brown, after seventeen years of service in the Chair of the District, returned to work in England, where, as we have seen, he continued to serve the Missionary Society as Secretary. He was followed in the Chair of the District by W. H. Hart, but the latter also returned to England after two years of Chairmanship. In 1903 G. W. Olver was appointed to be Chairman, and he still occupied that post of both honour and responsibility in 1913. The period now before our attention was one of extraordinary interest, and nothing but lack of space prevents our dwelling upon details which are fully charged with both pathos and romance—the pathos of insufficient strength for the acceptance of opportunities offered, and the romance of Christ's Kingdom in the heart of a great people. Missionaries of experience and of proved capacity were in charge of the chief centres, and the several departments of work instituted in the previous decade had arrived at the stage of efficient development. There was zest and joy among the workers, and every indication of a living Church.

Macdonald had returned from furlough in 1892, but as a worker on behalf of the Christian Literature Society. The

¹ See p. 403.

strength of the District was indicated by its willingness to part with the direct service of so versatile and devoted a Missionary. But the demand for Christian literature, both within the Church and outside of its borders, could not be gainsaid, and what the Methodist Church lost in one way it gained in another. Ambery Smith was then at Raniganj, engaged in an enterprise destined to show a remarkable development within the next few years. Leprosy was more prevalent in the area between Raniganj and Bankura than in any other part of India, and in 1893 Ambery Smith, with the ready and generous aid of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, founded an asylum for those who were suffering from this disease. The expenses were met by the aforesaid Mission, but the control and direction of the work were in the hands of the Missionary. Government aid in the matter of buildings was forthcoming, and accommodation was eventually found for two hundred patients. A small chapel was built where they might gather for worship, and the gardens of the settlement offered an opportunity for healthful and remunerative work. Ten years later another similar institution was opened in Bankura. To these homes of compassion sufferers were admitted without question of religion or creed, but the tender ministry of Christian workers, together with regular instruction in the meaning and purpose of Christ, were quite sufficient to break down all previously existing barriers, and the great majority of the inmates readily accepted as their Lord the great Healer of the souls of men. In after years there was to come to these who dwelt in the home of despair the hope of health restored, and a return to some measure of wider human intercourse. A very necessary adjunct to such homes is a refuge for the as yet untainted children of lepers, and this was also built at Bankura.

But Ambery Smith's energies were not yet exhausted. Raniganj was the centre of the Coolie traffic. Thousands of coolies were hired here every year for work in the tea plantations of Assam. As is usual in India where great crowds assemble, disease continually tended to break out among them, and many orphans were to be found in the coolie depôts. Mr. Smith opened an orphanage for such children in 1892, making himself responsible to a large extent for the funds required for upkeep. This Christian work of pure philanthropy

received due recognition when the King-Emperor presented Mr. Smith with the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal in 1912. Unfortunately in the following year his break-down in health compelled his return to England, where after a year's retirement he was happily able to take up work in English Circuits. He left behind him in India a record of work the remembrance of which must ever remain a comfort and consolation to him.

The year 1896-7 was a year of appalling disaster in Northern India. Famine was severe and extensive. But for the palliative efforts of the Government, based upon experience, dearly bought in previous visitations of this scourge, whole districts might easily have been depopulated. Famine was followed by the outbreak of bubonic plague in Bombay, and its rapid assumption of an epidemic character over the greater part of India. Remedial measures, misunderstood by those on whose behalf they were made, led to rioting and the murder of men who were worn out with their efforts to save human life. Frontier wars, earthquakes, and cyclones filled to overflowing the cup of sorrow and suffering. Was there ever such a year of calamity in this land in which human life is one long struggle against an ever-impending calamity? The Mission orphanages were filled to overflowing, and Ambery Smith especially had both hand and heart fully occupied. But the relief of suffering is Christian work, and the grace of God upheld the Missionaries in their exacting service. Such work, however, entails a heavy charge upon the finance of a Mission District. After the impulse which causes generous and sympathetic persons to offer gifts in relief has passed, there remains for the Missionary the problem of providing for those left on his hands. During the time of distress a great extension of work had been undertaken, and when the funds available for relief were expended, the Missionaries were at once confronted with the alternative of dismissing agents and refusing to enter wide open doors, or else of incurring debts which would embarrass both themselves and their successors for years to come. But in spite of such anxieties the work continued to grow. At this stage it exhibits the 'push' of vigorous life, and a rootlet can split a solid rock if the life in it be strong.

In 1899 the Rev. John Mitchell was sent to this District to

take up educational work in the High School at Bankura. For many years it had been the strong desire of the Missionaries in Bengal that a College under its own control should be available as a centre of evangelistic work among caste Hindus, and in order to secure the more complete education of promising Christian students. The people in Bankura, for other reasons, were anxious to have such an institution in their town. In 1903 permission was obtained from the Home Committee to add to the High School a department teaching up to the standard of Intermediate Arts. The success of students in this new department was immediate and striking ; the greatest enthusiasm prevailed in Bankura, and steps were taken at once with a view to raising the College to the standard of a First Grade College. The existing buildings, however, were utterly insufficient, and as one of the conditions laid down by Government to be fulfilled before such a College could be affiliated to the University was that hostels should be added to the College buildings, the scheme seemed to be quite too ambitious. But apart from the hostel extensive buildings were necessary. The Inter. Arts classes had been housed only by using mud huts for boys in the High School department, and even thus there was not sufficient accommodation. Classes were held in the Central Hall, but only at the cost of great inconvenience, and by ignoring the purpose for which the Hall had been erected. When Government offered a fine site of fourteen acres at a small price and promised a substantial grant towards the cost of building Mitchell decided to proceed, and in 1910 the new College buildings were opened. Mitchell was joined by the Rev. E. J. Thompson and Mr. W. O. Smith, and under this most efficient and talented staff the College at once took the position of one of the best in North India. The hostels were added in 1912, one for Hindus and another for Christians. In the Centenary year forty-three students of this College passed the Inter. Arts Examination and eighteen others graduated. Such success filled the classes of the College, and the hearts of the Professors were further gladdened by conversions among the students attending.

We have not yet come to the end of this list of institutions set up in Bankura. A Technical School formed another interest and a valuable adjunct to the work of the Mission. In this school boys were educated through the medium of their own vernacular,

and received in addition instruction in such industries as carpentry and weaving. Here again the Bengal Government recognized the enterprise of the Missionaries by grants in aid. Few Missions could show in any one Station so great a variety of institutions, all worked with efficiency and success, as were to be found in Bankura.

We have already referred to work undertaken among the Santal people at Madhupur. In 1907 an important addition was made to our work in that town. A comparatively large number of Europeans were to be found there, engaged in working the coal and mica mines in the neighbourhood, and the gift of a chapel by a lady enabled our Missionaries to minister to their spiritual needs. Madhupur thus presents us with a complete reversal of a tendency which in former days often led to disappointing results. The Missionaries of those days used to undertake work among Europeans first, hoping that it would lead to work among Hindus ; but here they were already engaged in the work of evangelizing native people when the needs of their fellow-countrymen became so urgent as to call for an extension of their ministry to them. Their congregations represented many families of the human race. Yorkshire miners and Scotch engineers worshipped with Jews and Armenians in the beautiful chapel that was built. It was opened by the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, who happened to be travelling in India at the time.

Barrackpur and Dum Dum are two Circuits in which Mission work is greatly hampered by work among the soldiers. No one would wish such work to be abandoned, but unless the Church makes separate provision for its soldier sons by sending out Chaplains to minister to them, the work among Hindus is bound to suffer when both are entrusted to a single Missionary. A very happy feature of the Barrackpur Circuit is the excellent Girls' Boarding School which Miss Cornaby had brought to a high state of efficiency. The school would have served its purpose still better if more suitable buildings could have been provided. Barrackpur is the centre of the jute industry, and the industrial conditions already described as existing in Raniganj were repeated here. But most of the workers in the mills spoke Hindi, and there seemed to be little chance of a Missionary being spared from other parts of the District in order to acquire the use of that language and attempt the

evangelizing of the thousands of labourers drawn from all over North India. A great field of work lay open to the Missionaries, but they could only live in the hope that one day the Committee would authorize them to enter it and provide the Evangelist.

It is somewhat depressing to return from the fruitful fields of Raniganj and Bankura to the head quarters of the Mission in Calcutta. The life and work of the English Church in that city left little to be desired, and not a few of the laymen of the Church have worthily upheld the Methodist tradition. But not even a High School existed to meet the spiritual needs of the thousands of students in the Capital city of India. Native work in the decade which preceded the Centenary year was represented by four elementary schools, and two churches, one for Bengalis and the other for Hindustanis. These showed a membership of two hundred and forty full members between them, and after fifty years of service that is no very satisfactory result. Faithful men have laboured here, and they have poured into their service both zeal and ability, but during the very period when they should have received the fullest measure of support from the Church in England they were starved both in men and in money. The result was that at the centre of the Mission, where we should have been strongest, we were weaker than elsewhere. It is in the Santal Mission that we come upon the characteristic work of this District. The Santals are, as we have said elsewhere, a people who observe a religion which belongs to the Totemistic class. They represent the degradation of natural religion, inevitable unless enlightened and refined by the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. But they have never been submerged by Hinduism as the Panchamas of South India have been. Their capacity for religion has not been sterilized by the ecclesiasticism of the Brahman, nor rendered ineffective by the tyranny of caste. There still remains in them a faculty of response to the Gospel, and that is why the work in this District may be held to exemplify the law of the Kingdom of Heaven which our Lord set forth in the parable of the seed growing secretly. The earth bringeth forth fruit *of itself*. That faculty of response will one day be seen in 'full corn in the ear.'

The numerical statistics as reported in 1913 were as follows :

Chapels and other Places for Preaching	..	..	..	..	..	35
European Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	13
Indian Ministers	..	..	..	..	..	6
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..	60
Local Preachers	..	..	..	..	..	24
Full Members	..	..	..	..	..	1,494
Members on Trial	..	..	..	..	..	282
Other Baptized Adherents	..	..	..	..	..	1,361
Scholars in Elementary Schools	..	..	..	..	..	1,884

(vi.) THE LUCKNOW AND BENARES DISTRICT: 'THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING'S SON.'

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

The Kingdom of God is likened unto a king which made a marriage feast for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the marriage feast; and they would not come. Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy. Go ye therefore unto the partings of the highways, and as many as ye shall find bid to the marriage feast.

And those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all, as many as they found, both bad and good, and the wedding was filled with guests.—MATT. xxii. 2-10.

This chapter tells the story of a Gospel preached to all, and accepted by those who belong to the highways.

The Lucknow and Benares District was constituted in 1879. Up to that year the work in the area represented was administered in connexion with the Calcutta District. The new District did not attain independence by reason of any marked development of the Church within its borders, nor because of any great extension of its operations. It was merely a question of increased efficiency in administration both in Calcutta and Lucknow, which was answered by making the one District into two. There were at the time of separation only two Circuits, Lucknow and Fyzabad, and the membership of the Church in those two centres amounted to no more than sixty-one. It was, as we have seen, the call of the soldier, together with the offer made by the Methodist Episcopal Church, which led to the beginning of work in Lucknow. In 1893 the District was further divided into three sections, Lucknow, Bombay, and the Panjab. Eight years later the two last were constituted a separate District in which, except for the Marathi Mission in Bombay, the work has been almost entirely among soldiers and other English-speaking people.

In 1879 the Rev. A. Fentiman, who, it will be remembered, had been transferred from the Mysore District, became the Chairman of the District. The Rev. A. H. Male was engaged in military work at Lucknow, and the Rev. T. Carmichael was at Fyzabad. The last named had his heart set upon a Mission in Persia, and wrote many letters to the Committee urging that this should be undertaken. There was never any great prospect of his wishes being fulfilled, though the Committee seriously considered it and actually gave permission, only to withdraw it before Carmichael could start. But this distraction prevented Carmichael from doing any useful work in Fyzabad, and after four years of service he returned to England. The Revs. Brignal Peel and F. Halliday were the remaining two members of the staff, and with them was associated Mr. Joseph A. Johnson, afterwards known as the Rev. J. A. Elliott. When war broke out in Afghanistan, Male accompanied the troops as Wesleyan Chaplain, but when he returned at the close of the war he found it difficult to settle down to station work, and he also returned to England.

Almost the first extension of work in the District was the opening of a mission centre in Benares, to which far-famed city the Rev. G. W. Jackson (1881) was sent. After a few months in Benares, he opened a new Circuit in Jabalpur. Since that time only two new Circuits were added up to the year 1913, one at Ranikhet and the other at Akbarpur. During the decade of the 'eighties great interest was awakened by the prospect of successful work among the Gonds, about two millions of whom are to be found in the hilly districts of the Central Provinces. The Gonds were in all probability Dravidians who broke off from the stream of migration towards the south of the Peninsula, and their language approximates to both Tamil and Kanarese, except where it has suffered from an admixture of Aryan forms. In religion they belong to the division known as 'Animistic,' but in this, as in language, they have been influenced by Hinduism, and the practice of idolatry is common. In all this they would seem to have departed further than the Santals from their original racial characteristics. They have, however, maintained a measure of social independence, and have in consequence not sunk to the extreme of degradation characteristic of the Panchama class in South India. It was thought at first that by reason of this

independence they would more easily than others come under the influence of Christianity, and the Rev. J. Parson (1882), while stationed in Jabalpur (1885-6), gave himself up to work among them with enthusiasm and confidence. The Gossner Mission in 1841 and the C.M.S. in 1854, and again in 1874, made attempts to evangelize this elusive people, but no great success attended their efforts; and though it was not difficult to teach them to cry 'Victory to Jesus,' there did not follow any great ingathering into the Christian Church. The same result followed upon the Methodist effort. After a few years of persistent endeavour to win their allegiance to Christ, we find few references to them in the annual records of work done in the District. In 1882 the Rev. J. A. Elliott returned from a course of preparation in Richmond College, and for many years to come his remarkable personality and his great power as a preacher attracted the attention and the interest of the whole Methodist Church. The son of an Irish soldier, he was born in India, and the two facts account for his personal charm and his extraordinary command of the language he used in preaching. Among the great preachers in the many languages spoken in India he was *facile princeps*. His influence over both Muhammadans and Hindus was very great, as may be judged from the fact that the Municipal Commissioner of Fyzabad gave him permission to build an open-air pulpit in the market-place. His rare gifts were given lavishly to the service of his Lord. On missionary platforms in England he was most effective, and it is to be feared that this led to his undertaking more work than should be taken by a Missionary when he returns for rest. On February 19, 1906, while on furlough, he died at Hull.

Elliott was too much engrossed by the meaning and purpose of his ministry to give much attention to finance. In 1888 he wrote to the Secretaries in London a letter in which he outlines his scheme for securing Mission property in Fyzabad, where he had obtained as a gift from the Government a site 'perhaps the finest, the most valuable, and the most central in Fyzabad.' On this site he proposed to erect a chapel, a Mission house, a Soldiers' Institute and a Girls' Boarding School. He also hoped to erect in the town a building which should find room for a chapel, a Boys' Day School, a Lecture Hall and a Book Depôt. He did not allow financial difficulties to dwarf

his schemes for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, and the splendid property which eventually he secured remains his memorial in the city where he spent so many years.

But the Committee was alarmed, perplexed, and indignant in contemplating the expenditure involved. The Chairman was blamed for not controlling the enthusiasm of his colleague, and in 1891 the Rev. John Scott was appointed temporary Chairman in the hope that he would be better able to exert the necessary control over this eager Missionary, who saw only one thing, and that the necessity of equipment sufficient for the carrying on of the work of his Master.

The staff was strengthened in 1884 by the arrival of the Rev. E. Mortimer, and in the following year by that of the Rev. E. C. Solomon. Six years after the latter was killed by a fall from his horse. The loss to the District was very great, for not only was Mr. Solomon of a peculiarly winsome disposition, but his scholarly mind had enabled him to master both Hindi and Urdu, and he gave every promise of being a most efficient and successful Missionary. Other additions to the staff sent out during the next few years were the Revs. A. E. Vivian and S. H. Gregory, both of whom arrived in 1893.

Jabalpur proved to be a very difficult field of work. Both Parson and Mortimer had worked hard among the Gonds, but without tangible result, and in 1897, after twenty years of service faithfully rendered, there was not a single self-supporting convert in the Circuit. The Native Church consisted entirely of those who were in the employ of the Mission. This Circuit was afterwards included in the Bombay District. The years 1896-1897 were years of severe famine in North India, and the distressing features of such visitations are familiar enough to our readers. Parson opened orphanages for boys and for girls, together with a home for widows in Jabalpur, and these were quickly filled. Here, as in other Districts, Christian compassion opened the heart for Christ to enter, and some scores were baptized. Industries were started while the famine ran its course. Parson was a contractor under Government for digging a canal and making roads. Charcoal-burning and bamboo mat-weaving were other industries set in operation. The Missionary explored every avenue of occupation if he might save the lives of those who trusted him. At the close of the decade a Church of more

than sixty members was in existence, and there was a promise of further increase when the boys and girls in the orphanages grew up. Other orphans were provided for at Akbarpur and Benares.

The new century saw the coming of the Rev. C. P. Cape into the District, and to him it fell to begin the Mission to the Doms of Benares, which up to the present has been the outstanding feature of the work in this District. Mr. Cape had come to India in 1898, but for two years he had been stationed at Jhansi, where Methodist work is limited to the service of the soldier. In 1900 he was at Lucknow, and in 1903 he was appointed to Benares. Work in this city had been begun by the Rev. A. Fentiman in 1879, but during the twenty years which followed practically no impression had been made upon this stronghold of Hinduism, the 'Mecca' of devotees from every corner of the Peninsula. At the close of the nineteenth century there were twenty-eight church members in a city whose population, resident and pilgrim, numbered a quarter of a million. Into that vast hive of Hindu life, where both the strength and the weakness of Hinduism are to be seen in their most pronounced forms, was sent one young Missionary with one Indian Minister to help him. Nor had the two other Missionary Societies at work in the city been able to provide much more in the way of effective force for the winning of this hoary citadel—so strong in its ecclesiastical pride and power, so pitifully weak in all that made for the enlightenment and moral uplifting of human life. To stand in the public ways on days of high festival, when many thousands of pilgrims in a frenzy of religious enthusiasm were on their way to the temple of Durga—the favourite goddess of the Thugs of bygone days,—and standing there to proclaim the Gospel of the living God, must have seemed to Hindus an exhibition of contemptible effrontery, and to the Missionary an utterly futile proceeding. Cape gave himself up—so far as the military duties would allow—to touring among the villages, in which he sought to gain some foothold where life was less disturbed by the excitements of the crowd. One day a man came forward to ask for baptism into the Christian fellowship. That man was a Dom, an object of loathing to Hindus, and of contempt to Muhammadans, but to the Christian a man for whom Christ died.

The Doms have their history, but it is obscured by the mists of centuries. That they are neither Aryans nor Aborigines, but Dravidians, has been fairly established, but it is not known how they came to lapse into the social position which made them the common scavengers of Benares—one of the filthiest cities in the world—and generally the menial servants of all other classes, so that even the outcaste Chamars consider themselves defiled by the most casual contact with them. So much for their social standing. In morals they live by stealing and every form of deceit, drunkenness is ingrained in their habit of life, and their women are prostitutes. Their religion is a combination of Animism and Hinduism, and as the most popular object of their worship was himself a notorious thief, it may be inferred that with them morality and religion are closely connected. Surely in the Doms of Benares we must come upon the lowest rung of the social scale. Could such as these have any place in the banqueting-chamber of the King?

In 1905 the first movement of the Doms towards the Christian Church is recorded in the annual Report. In that year twenty were baptized, and our question was answered. The 'wedding garment' was seen in an immediate improvement in the matter of personal cleanliness. In such matters as the eating of carrion and the use of intoxicating liquor it further became apparent that habits of life as well as clothes were in process of cleansing, and lest we be tempted to look upon such matters as trivial, we must remember that these habits had been followed for centuries until they were part and parcel of 'the make-up of the man.' Such changes reveal the miracle of a new creation in Christ Jesus; they are the indubitable sign of 'a clean life ensuing.' That, now and again, one or more of these converts should relapse into the pit from which they had been digged, evokes, or should do, sympathy rather than disappointment. In 1907 Mr. Cape reports that two hundred adults and children had been baptized, though the famine of that year brought unspeakable suffering to the village Doms from amongst whom most of these converts had come. In 1908 eleven village communities were under instruction for baptism, and the number of Doms in prison for theft began to show a marked diminution. A note by Mr. Cape in the Report for that year is worth quoting:

A big demand for soap and cocoanut oil has arisen, and the cleaner clothes and persons of our Christians are matters for congratulation. In one hamlet, at first most filthy and hopeless, we now find not only clean-swept thresholds, but an attempt at a flower garden, planted, we were informed, 'for its beauty's sake.'

That men whose daily occupation was to sweep the open sewers and remove the accumulated filth should turn to cultivating a flower garden 'for its beauty's sake'! One needs no further evidence of the profound change being wrought in the lives of the Doms, and it was only the external sign of a still greater change in mind and heart. The number of converts continued to increase. In 1909 the Dom Christian community numbered more than three hundred, though only a few of these were admitted into the full membership of the Church. The total number of members for that year in Benares was thirty-two, and this number included Christians of all classes. The difficulty of pastoral work among the Dom converts, through which alone they could be made fit for full membership in the Church, now made itself felt. Such work called for the utmost patience and wisdom. The burden it entailed must have been overwhelming had it not been supported by Christian love. There can be no more damning accusation brought against Hinduism than is to be found in the fact that there were those who sought to undo the work of the Christian Church on behalf of these despised people, and would fain have persuaded these hard-won converts to abandon their new-found faith with its promise of moral and social uplifting, and to revert to their former manner of life. Under such circumstances the Missionaries felt that one false step on their part—and how easily it might have been taken!—would be quite enough 'to stampede the flock.'

In 1912 the Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D., visited Benares, and the record of his impressions will be the best possible summary of the character of the work done in this department. The reader will not fail to give its full significance to the reference made to the Brahman Catechist.

There is no part of Europe where you can see people like these. They are hardly human. Their expressions and gestures are the marks of a lower order of beings. I went into the slums where they live. The first slum I entered was a foul, comfortless place, with the huts all round, and the main hut was occupied by a man whose duty it is to

hang criminals—the public hangman—and he had to be called in to perform his duty in the little interval between my two visits to Benares. But over the door of this man's house was a text written, and I asked my friends to translate it. It was 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.' This man, when we arrived, brought out a sort of bedstead from his miserable hovel and asked me to sit down, and I sat among them with Mr. Spooner and Mr. Allen, and by our side was the converted Hindu who is entrusted with the care and oversight of this people. He is a Brahman; Charles Dalahalla is his name. I watched his face and it seemed a miracle. The Doms are the offscouring of all things, and there is probably not a person of Hindu blood who would eat or mix with them. Yet there was this Brahman standing and looking at them with loving eyes. He has taught them how to sing hymns. He has taught them to recite Scripture, and the look on his face as he watched those poor creatures touched me to the quick. It was very wonderful to see two English gentlemen sitting and talking to them, but it was ten times more wonderful to see that Brahman of the Brahmans there to teach them, to love them, to save them. . . . In the second group I visited, we gathered them around us, and as the speaker was addressing them the people in the street were arrested and came and listened. There were contemptuous-looking Muslims and righteous-looking Hindus all crowded round as the preacher told the outcastes the meaning of the Gospel, and the poor things responded to the best of their ability. It is not pretended that their confession produces a lofty type of character at once. But they steal less, and drink less, and long for something better. No one could be there without being conscious that the Spirit of Jesus was there, and that this was just the kind of work that Jesus would do. 'This Man receiveth sinners.' 'This Man' would go to the Doms.

Our extract is a long one, but the picture it gives is nearly perfect. It shows the kind of work the Missionary does among such people, and it indicates the success he meets with at both ends of the social scale. This work among the Doms was presently recognized by the Government, and when it was proposed to build barracks for these lowly workers in Benares, our Missionaries were asked by the Government to undertake the supervision of them. In the Centenary year the Christian community in Benares numbered six hundred and seventeen, but the number of 'full members' still remained low.

In 1909 another hopeful movement began to appear at Akbarpur among the Chamars. These form a low division of the outcaste population, and like the Madigas of Haidarabad are workers in leather, though these people were mostly employed in the fields. Like the outcastes of other Districts they were hopelessly entangled in the toils of the landowners

and moneylenders. Their creditors had no wish to have their debts repaid in cash. They received a far more lucrative return in the labour of their debtors, who became to them the most helpless and abject of serfs. Naturally they resisted the efforts of the Missionaries to bring anything like freedom into the lives of these victims of greed and selfishness. There seemed every probability of a community movement among the Chamars also, and in the Centenary year a few baptisms had already taken place.

Ranikhet is an interesting Circuit. It is the most northern of all our Mission Stations in India, and is situated on one of the main roads leading to Thibet. Work was originally begun here on behalf of the soldiers, but when the W.M.S. decided to withdraw from this work on the Station their school and other property were taken over by the L.M.S., and the pastoral care of the Christians on the Station was undertaken by a former Catechist of our Mission, Mr. Ibrahim Rolston. Here and also at Akbarbur the Christian community is still small, though at any moment large accessions may be reported, especially at Akbarpur. At the last-named Station in 1897, the death occurred of the Rev. J. R. Rolston, a faithful and much beloved Indian Minister. He had fought as a volunteer on the British side at Lucknow, and served the Mission for many years as a Catechist. In 1882 he was ordained. The last and best years of his service were spent at Akbarpur. Here and also at Amethi, fifteen miles from Lucknow, there is an instalment of Medical work, which deserves and calls for a great extension.

Educational work in the District has not yet developed. The high school at Lucknow made a fresh start when at last, in 1904, suitable buildings were erected. Attached to this school is a hostel for Christian students, and in 1913 its accommodation was strained to the uttermost. Theological training was at first begun at Lucknow, but afterwards it was located at Benares, where we find it in 1911. A striking and suggestive account of this institution is given by the Rev. J. F. Edwards in the *Foreign Field* for 1911. The students then in residence included a grandson of the Prime Minister of Nepal, a converted Brahman priest, a merchant, a Sikh from the Panjab, and a Dom. The variety of races represented is remarkable, and their association with a Dom shows how completely the

social barriers had been broken down. All had been made one in Christ Jesus, and all were enlisted in the service of their Lord. Another institution in this District, though afterwards included in the Bombay District, is the orphanage at Jabalpur. This was the outcome of the great famine of 1897, and had developed into an Industrial School with substantial buildings standing in thirty-five acres of ground, and with a resident Missionary to direct its many occupations and to have the spiritual oversight of the boys who were in training.

In 1892, at the request of the Australian Conference, a Missionary was sent from this District to minister to the Indian coolies employed in Fiji. The Missionary who offered to obey this call was a Brahman convert, and so once again the miracle wrought by Christ stands before us in the service of the lowest by the highest of the castes in India. That loan in 1892 was repaid with interest in 1909 when two Australian Missionaries were sent to this District to study the language and conditions of work with a view to opening an Australian Methodist Mission in this part of India. The names of the Missionaries were the Revs. J. H. Allen and F. L. Nunn.

Between 1890 and the Centenary year there was no great change in the staff of the District except in the matter of the Chairman. Missionaries were now able to remain at work for a much longer period than their forerunners had done. The conditions which govern life for Europeans in India had become better known, and it was now possible for men to live in India and to work hard without any great risk of breaking down in health. The advantage of securing experienced men for the directing of the multifarious operations of the Mission was very great. It was some time, however, before it was found possible to secure a Chairman who was able to remain for any long time at his onerous post. The Rev. A. Fentiman returned to England in 1891, and we have already recorded the name of his successor, the Rev. John Scott. At the end of one year the Rev. J. M. Brown was asked to add the administration of this District to that which he already had in hand in Calcutta, and he continued to act in this double capacity until 1900, when the Rev. E. Martin was appointed to the Chair of the District. Mr. Martin had already spent four years in North Ceylon, and his lovable and courteous personality, added to his great ability, was an

invaluable asset to the Synod over which he presided. In 1905 he was followed by the Rev. W. Terry Coppin, whose work on the West Coast of Africa has already been before us. But service in Africa had proved expensive in the matter of his general health, and after less than a year he was obliged to return to England. By that time it was found possible to appoint to the Chair one who had already been at work in the Lucknow District, and the choice fell upon the Rev. S. H. Gregory, who was still Chairman when the Centenary year arrived. Other Missionaries who were able to remain at work for upwards of ten years, were the Revs. A. T. Cape and his brother C. P. Cape, who both arrived in India in 1898, and J. Reed (1900), G. Spooner (1906), G. H. Kay (1907), J. R. Hudson (1907), W. Machin (1909), and A. Sanderson (1911). Of these Spooner, Sanderson, Hudson, and Machin were still in the District when this chapter was being written in 1923.

The numerical statistics given in the Centenary year were as follows :

Chapels and other Preaching Places	..	..	13
European Missionaries	..	..	9
Indian Ministers	..	..	6
Catechists	..	..	25
Local Preachers	..	..	10
Full Members	..	..	431
On Trial for Membership	..	..	162
Other Baptized Adherents	..	..	1,260
Scholars in Elementary Schools	..	..	763

These results are not as impressive as those to be found in other Districts, but the difficulty of this particular field must be borne in mind, together with the caution, necessarily observed, before admitting Doms and Chamars to the full membership of the Church. It is in these converts that the distinguishing feature of the District is to be found, and when they have been fully proved, such statistics may present a very different appearance. The community movement has scarcely yet been sufficiently advanced for the Church to feel the momentum which brings thousands into the Christian Church. The District, in accepting and caring for these, well illustrates that law of the Kingdom of Heaven whose parable is that of ' the

Marriage of the King's Son.' The Gospel invitation had been given to the lordly Brahman and to the proud Muhammadan, but they 'made light of it.' 'They that were bidden to the feast were not worthy.' 'So the King's servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all, as many as they found, both bad and good, and the wedding was furnished with guests.'

(VII.) THE BOMBAY AND PANJAB DISTRICT : 'THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE'

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

The Kingdom of God is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls ; and having found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it.—MATT. xiii. 45.

' Though He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor.' Christ gave up all that He had to win man's heart for God. The same spirit appears in all Christ-like men.

For witness we tell the story of the Marathi Mission in Bombay.

We have seen how Mr. and Mrs. Harvard were detained in Bombay while their companions on that memorable voyage to the East went on to Ceylon. Harvard could not be idle while he waited. He formed a small Society, and consulted his colleagues as to the desirability of his remaining in Bombay and establishing a Mission in that great city. The suggestion, however, did not meet with their approval, and he went on to Ceylon. But in 1816 the Committee sent out the Rev. J. and Mrs. Horner to do what Harvard had proposed. A second Missionary, the Rev. J. Fletcher, was sent out in 1819, by which time one or two schools had been opened. The two men were very soon in difficulties. After sixteen months of its existence the Mission was reported by the Committee to have overdrawn its account by nine hundred pounds, and the Rev. W. B. Fox was instructed to make a strict inquiry into the matter. No fruit to the labour of the Missionaries was apparent, and the two men were in hopeless disagreement. The Mission to Bombay had made a very bad start. Yet in 1819 the Committee reported that ' the accounts from our laborious and excellent Missionary, Mr. Horner, are very satisfactory.' We may not linger over the details of this melancholy chapter of the history of Methodist Missions in Bombay. Both men broke down in health. They returned to England without waiting for permission, and for this, and

for their mismanagement of the work entrusted to them, they received a severe censure from the Committee.

In 1858 Methodist soldiers in Karachi were meeting in class and asking for a Minister to be sent out to them. In response to their appeal the Rev. B. Broadley was sent to Bombay to reconnoitre with a view to making a fresh start, and for more than four years he ministered to soldiers in Karachi, Poona, and Ahmednagar. In 1866 he returned to England, and the Committee, in view of the embarrassed state of their funds, did not propose to send out any one to succeed him. The second attempt had failed. The third was not made until 1886, and the Missionary appointed to Bombay was the Rev. G. W. Clutterbuck. He was sent out with the proviso that his maintenance was to be provided from local funds, and that on no account was he to incur any unapproved expenditure. Clutterbuck was a man of great courage and determination. He built chapels at Byculla and Igatpuri, and rented a house at Colaba. In spite of warnings he had by 1889 launched building schemes without having received the sanction of the Committee, and when the difficulties accruing were most acute, his wife's health compelled his return to England. Meantime the Rev. J. H. Bateson, who had accompanied the troops sent out to Burma, was instructed to undertake military work in the Panjab, with important results to be recorded in due course. To return to Bombay. The Committee was finally obliged to find more than three thousand pounds to meet the expenses incurred by Clutterbuck, and in 1891 the Rev. John Scott was sent out to bring under some better control the enthusiastic but improvident Missionaries in Bombay and Fyzabad. He accomplished a great deal during the short time he spent in India, and it was by his advice that Bombay was recognized as a Circuit attached to the Lucknow and Benares District. The Rev. E. Mortimer was sent to take charge of the work in Bombay in 1892, and through his zeal and energy the chapel at Colaba was completed and opened. When, two years after, the Rev. G. C. Walker followed Mr. Mortimer, the Methodists of Bombay had a chapel in which they could worship and the Missionary a house in which he could live with a fair amount of comfort. Clutterbuck had certainly landed the Committee in expenses for which they had not reckoned, but the Rev. J. M. Brown, in reporting on

his visit to Bombay, spoke words of characteristic wisdom when he said : ' The experience of the last few years has taught us that it is almost impossible to build up a spiritual Church until there is a home into which that Church may be gathered, localized, and nourished.' Missionary Committees of bygone days were very slow in learning that lesson of experience. With the opening of the chapel at Colaba the initial difficulties of the Bombay Mission were to a great extent removed, and Mr. and Mrs. Walker gave themselves up with diligence and devotion to the duties that devolved upon them. Both were teachers of experience, and on the reopening of the day school they both took part in the work of teaching. When in 1901 they were transferred to Bangalore to take up similar duties there, they left at least a church in being to their successor, the Rev. Walter Seed.

Hitherto we have followed the course of events which led to securing a local habitation and a home for the Church in Bombay. That Church was composed wholly of British soldiers and other Europeans residing in the city. We must now turn to the unique story of the missionary work built up by one man a converted Hindu, who by sheer force of character and complete devotion to Christ gathered together in a peculiarly dark quarter of the city a Christian Church. When Samuel Rahator gave his heart to Christ in the mission service held at Igatpuri by William Burgess and General Campbell, he gave it without reservation. Thenceforward he knew nothing save Christ and Him crucified. He at once began to publish the good news of new life in Christ Jesus, and was at work even before Clutterbuck discovered him, and appointed him to be a recognized Catechist of the Wesleyan Church, ' not without hope,' said the Missionary, ' that our first Catechist may be the first Native Wesleyan Methodist Minister in western India.' Clutterbuck left India, but Rahator remained, and continued his unpretentious but effective service. For a long time he was absolutely alone in the work, for when Missionaries came to Bombay they could take no part in his service, both because of their preoccupation in English work, and because of their ignorance of Marathi. The Church which he served was unable to support its servant except to the extent of such contributions as he could secure from those in the city who knew and valued his work. There were no

funds from England to assist him in securing suitable buildings. He gave himself up to preaching in the streets. Morning and evening, in a section of Bombay containing a population of a quarter of a million, sunk in vice, and with no other Protestant Church at work, this truest Missionary bore his witness to the power of Christ to save men from sin. After a time he collected enough money, mostly from non-Christians, to build a small school-house, and until 1906 this was the only property belonging to the Marathi Mission in Bombay. After some time other schools were opened in hired buildings. The famine of 1901 led to the opening of an orphanage at Mahim, nine miles from Bombay, and Rahator's earnest work among the boys and girls led to the conversion of many. As the boys grew up many of them became teachers and Catechists. In 1897 the Church came near to losing this precious life. Plague was prevalent in Bombay during that year, and Rahator's brother fell a victim to the scourge. Rahator himself was also stricken down, but in the mercy of God he recovered from the disease, and as we write this chapter in 1923 he is still carrying on his work in Bombay. Now, however, in other conditions. In 1892 he was ordained into the Christian Ministry, and in 1908, with the help of a grant from the Missionary Committee, a chapel was built for the Marathi Christians in Parel. Previous to that date service was conducted in the chapel for English folk at Byculla, and the use of this chapel was continued, so that the Marathi Mission now has two centres of activity in Bombay. Other preaching-places were opened, and work was begun in two village centres. In 1913 the Mission reported a membership of a hundred and thirty. In all our Mission field in India there is no similar instance of an Indian Christian thus building up, unaided and all but unrecognized, a Christian Church in the heart of a great city. That Church has been spontaneous in its inception and development, and as such it is the earnest of Churches which we may hope to see in other fields. The Methodist Church may well hold in remembrance and honour this devoted Minister. When, during the time in which he worked alone, it was suggested to him that it would be to the furtherance of his work if it were incorporated with that of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, he refused to consider the matter. He remained faithful to the Church through whose ministry the

light had broken into his heart. He was held captive by the truth which laid hold on him at Igatpuri. As a modern writer has said,¹

The endeavour to be true to experience strikes me at this moment as the most precious privilege of all. To have found a loyalty from which one cannot escape, which one must for ever acknowledge, no—one cannot ask for more.

Rahator had found the pearl of great price, and he went and sold all that he had that that goodliest pearl might be his.

Mention has been made of Byculla. Here the first Methodist chapel in Bombay was erected by Mr. Clutterbuck. It was a modest building, but it was the birthplace of precious souls. Good work was done here notably by Mr. F. R. Atkins, who, after serving as a Lay Evangelist, was admitted into the Indian Ministry in 1899.

In 1901 'Bombay and the Panjab' was constituted a separate District. But with the exception of the Marathi Mission in Bombay, it was understood that work was to be limited to military cantonments, and was to be carried on by the Chaplains appointed to army work. The Rev. Walter Seed returned to England in 1903, and was followed at Bombay by the Rev. C. Ryder Smith. Five years after the latter also returned, being succeeded by the Rev. J. F. Edwards, who arrived in Bombay in 1908. In 1910 a Bible-woman was appointed to work under the direction of the Rev. S. Rahator. This ministry of a woman to women is a most fruitful one. The Bible-woman enters the crowded 'Chawls,' and brings to the women and children in them the Gospel which has meant the uplifting of womanhood wherever it has been received into responsive hearts.

The military work in this District has an importance of its own, and full justice cannot be done to it in these pages. The relation of the British soldier to most of our great Missions has been recorded on many pages of this History, and doubtless former precedents might have been followed in North-West India and the ministry to the soldiers have led on to the beginning of work among non-Christians. But in view of their commitments in other fields, the Committee of late years has not been in favour of undertaking such work, and there is no immediate probability of missions to Hindus being undertaken

¹ Mr. J. M. Murry in the first number of *The Adelphi*.

by those who minister to the British soldier and to English residents in the Cantonments where he may be stationed. The agency used has been that of the military Chaplain supplemented by lay agents and Ministers called into the work locally. Such Ministers have done excellent work. One of them, Mr. Leonard Hill, was at work as 'an acting Wesleyan Chaplain' before the Mission to Bombay was resuscitated by Mr. Clutterbuck. After many years of devoted service among the soldiers Mr. Hill passed to his reward in 1891.

Regular and effective military work among Wesleyan soldiers in India began with the appointment of the Rev. J. H. Bateson to Ambala in 1888. The year before this Mr. Bateson had served as chaplain to the troops in Upper Burma, but with his coming to North-West India the pastoral care of Methodist soldiers was taken up as it never could be when such work was left to the fragments of time which a Missionary engaged in work among Hindus could spare. Mr. Bateson accomplished much in the organization of his department, and in 1908 he was able to report that the Methodist Church had ten chapels and five Manses, with the full allowance of eleven Chaplains and three Laymen, all having been provided without drawing on the funds of the Missionary Society in England. In 1889 Mr. Bateson was appointed Secretary of the Army Temperance Association in India, in which position he was able to exert much influence on behalf of Methodist soldiers. The military authorities were slow in giving to the Wesleyan Church anything like a practical recognition of its place and service in the army, but in 1911 a new scheme for the administration of the chaplaincy department was sanctioned by the Government of India. Under this arrangement fourteen chaplaincies were granted to the Wesleyan Church, and of these, ten were situated in North-West India. This brought great financial relief, and the recognized status of our Ministers increased their influence in the army. Wesleyan soldiers might now hope to find the ministry of their Church awaiting them on arrival at most of the great military centres in India. Soldiers' Homes were provided in such centres, and many a soldier has found in India the way to Christ. Wesleyan soldiers are not lacking in missionary spirit, and their offerings for work among Hindus found a most suitable destination when they were sent to further the Marathi Mission in Bombay.

(viii.) THE BURMA DISTRICT : ' THE MUSTARD SEED '

The Kingdom of God is the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures.—DR. HORT.

The Kingdom of God is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field ; which, indeed, is less than all seeds ; but when it is grown, it is greater than the herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof.—MATT. xiii. 31-32.

The infinitely small may become the infinitely great, and the Mission in Upper Burma may well provide a home for many thousands of the children of God.

The Mission to Burma is the latest of those undertaken by the Methodist Church in a new country,—for the Mission in Rhodesia was an offset from that in the Transvaal. As early as 1824 the Missionaries at that time in South India had listened to the plea of Methodist soldiers in Rangoon, and had suggested to the Secretaries in London that a Missionary should be sent to begin work in that city. The full time, however, had not yet come, and if the attempt had been made it would probably, in view of the limited funds then at the disposal of the Missionary Committee, have proved to be as premature as that which was made in Calcutta. It was not until the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 that the Committee began to consider seriously the question of entering the newly acquired Province. The way had been prepared for them in the year preceding, for at the annual Meeting of the Society in Exeter Hall, both the Chairman—known at that time as Mr. H. H. Fowler, and afterwards as Lord Wolverhampton—and the President of the Conference had spoken strongly in favour of a more aggressive policy. Towards the close of that meeting, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, in a characteristic speech, expressed the hope that the Committee would take courage from their words, and ' attempt something fresh.' ' Within the last twenty-five years we had actually

started only one fresh Mission in heathen lands.' In the following year a letter was received from the Rev. W. R. Winston, then in South India, in which he declared that he felt a strong inward call to offer his services to the Committee in case they should consider the opening of a Mission in Burma, and in the autumn of that year he received instructions to visit Burma with the Rev. J. M. Brown of Calcutta, to survey the field and to report. The Committee in justifying their subsequent action make the curious statement that they 'would have hesitated to occupy Burma if it were not a midway province, the destined trade-route between India and China.' Many years seem likely to pass before the railway runs between Rangoon and Hankow.

The two Missionaries in their report found that Missionary Societies were already at work in Lower Burma, but the whole of Upper Burma—a territory one and a half times the area of Great Britain—was open to them. At the same time they insisted that the Mission should be undertaken *in strength*, or not at all. 'At least four great centres with six Missionaries should be secured, and each centre should be surrounded with a network of primary schools to be worked so as to be the feeders of a Central School or Training Institution. Missionaries should be instructed to give their attention to the training of an indigenous Ministry in every department.' Such was the ideal. The actual appointment took the form of Mr. Winston for Native work, a military Chaplain to the Army of Occupation, in which the Rev. J. H. Bateson was already serving in that capacity, and, in addition, an experienced Native Agent from one of the Sinhalese Districts in Ceylon. In 1887 the troops were withdrawn from Upper Burma, and with them went the Wesleyan Chaplain; but towards the close of that year the Rev. A. H. Bestall was sent out to join Mr. Winston, and early in the following year the two men began the stupendous task of evangelizing the scattered people of Upper Burma.

The Buddhism observed by the Burmese people differs from that which is followed in Ceylon and also from that followed in Thibet. It is probably in Ceylon that the teaching of Gautama is most strictly observed. Both in Burma and in Thibet there has been a considerable incorporation of earlier beliefs and customs. Animistic religion has left distinct

traces of its influence in the practice, if not in the faith, of Buddhists in these countries. Yet there is a marked difference between the Buddhism of Thibet and that of Burma, arising, strange to say, out of the atheism common to both. In Thibet the corollary drawn from that historic negation is seen in the darkness of despair. In Burma it appears in the very opposite direction, and may be expressed in the familiar words: 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' The gaiety and light-heartedness characteristic of life in Burma afford a striking contrast with the apathy of India and the blank despair of Thibet. Yet the light-heartedness of Burma is, from one point of view, as deplorable as the austerity and gloom of Thibet. It shows itself in fickle-mindedness and an irresponsible attitude to the great ethical verities which does not make for moral stability. Missionaries felt the need of extreme caution in accepting professions of belief in Christ from those whose general tendency was to flit like butterflies from flower to flower. The substratum of Animism appears in the fear of evil spirits. The Thirty-seven Nats play a prominent part in the religious observance of every Burman. A passage from the Report of the Rev. William Goudie on the occasion of his Secretarial visit in 1921 is apposite here as revealing some of the difficulties met by the Missionaries in their efforts to bring the Burmese to Christ.

Burma is not India, and Buddhism offers even stronger resistance than Hinduism to the impact of the Gospel. I doubt very much whether even the resistance of Islam is greater than that of Buddhism to the work of the Christian missionary. Some of the reasons for this are fairly obvious. Nominally the people are not idolaters, though the weakness of their faith is seen in their universal resort to protective magic. There is moreover no such squalor or suffering among them as in other places appeals to Christian philanthropy, and gives an opportunity for commending Christian compassion. The issues are altogether spiritual, and in this there ought to be a distinct advantage; but the people are singularly unresponsive to appeal, for this reason, if I judge rightly, that Buddhist teaching and Buddhist practices followed through many generations have so sapped and emasculated character that the race is, for the time being, incapable of strong interest or of ready response to even the most powerful appeal.

On the social side of life the outstanding feature is the part played respectively by the sexes. At some time or other, generally in youth, every male becomes a monk for a period

which may be long or short. The consequence has been that now the men live a dronish life. The executive and practical administration of life is carried on by the women, and this division of interests is not conducive to sexual morality. The Burmans have a high appreciation of learning and literature, and this characteristic suggested the emphasizing of education as one of the chief 'planks' in the missionary platform of propaganda. The experience of the Societies at work in this country showed that both as the preparation of a 'seed-bed' for the Gospel and as a necessary element in the training of Christian youth, nothing afforded greater assistance to the Missionary than secondary and higher education. The influence of the monastery schools was as great in extent as it was pernicious in character.

Such was the general situation confronting our Missionaries as they addressed themselves to the work of evangelizing Upper Burma. Mr. Winston was able in 1887 to purchase a plot of ground measuring five and a half acres in Mandalay. Here he was joined by two Evangelists from the Wesleyan Mission in South Ceylon, C. A. de Silva and D. S. Kodicara, both of whom had been trained in the Institution at Galle. Of these the former became the first Native Minister of the Methodist Church in Burma, and the latter spent many years in educational work. An English school was opened, and the charge of it fell to Mr. Bestall, and a boarding school for girls was greatly desired. Coming, as he did, from Ceylon, Mr. Winston was likely to consider this the most promising field of labour, and the absence of caste restrictions in the country made it all the more promising. A school of this kind was actually opened in a small temporary building, but for two or three years it had a struggle to exist. It was not until 1899 that the first representative of the Women's Auxiliary appeared in Mandalay in the person of Miss Agnes Vickers.

In 1888 Bestall began work in Pakokku, living in a bamboo hut until a Mission house could be built, and opening a school where he taught with such effect that at the first examination, conducted by the Government Inspector of Schools, this school stood highest of all in Upper Burma. In 1892 Mr. Winston could report that the Municipal school had been closed, and the boys, the buildings, and funds for the salaries of teachers had all been handed over to the Mission. This

case strongly supported Winston's contention that an effort should be made to acquire control—as was then possible—of the whole of the elementary education of the District. The opportunity, however, passed, as a similar one had done in the Mysore State.¹ The Church was not prepared to enter 'the open door.' The school building erected in Pakokku also served as a chapel, and in 1913 there were more than a hundred members in this Circuit.

Winston was equally insistent in pressing the need of a suitable building for the girls' boarding school on which his heart was set, and here he could point to the conversion of the Burman princess, whose story afterwards became well known to the Methodist Church in England, as indicating the fruit to be gathered in such a school. 'No girl,' said Mr. Winston, 'can pass through the school without being converted.' In 1894 a beautiful and commodious house was built for this school. There were then twenty-eight boarders in residence and accommodation for double that number.

The year 1890 brought a twofold development. In that year Bestall visited Monywa on the Chindwin River, and reported in favour of its being occupied by the Mission. In the Centenary year Monywa was a separate Circuit with a European Missionary in residence and showing the largest membership in the District. The second development was even more important, for it showed to all that the Christian religion was one which had as the central force in all its effort a Christlike love reaching down to the most abject and friendless of men. In 1890 the first ward of the Asylum for Lepers was opened. It was not to the credit of the Church at home that in giving permission for the undertaking of this work the Committee should add that its consent was given 'on the clear understanding that such an institution shall not at any time bring any charge upon the funds of the Society.' It might well be asked what more Christlike work could be accepted by the Church as constituting a legitimate charge upon its funds. A worthier spirit was shown by Mr. Winston, when he said that 'it was becoming less and less satisfactory to preach the Gospel to the Natives, and to treat them as if they had souls and no bodies.' The conditions laid down by the Committee were, however, accepted, and the institution

¹ See p. 270.

was financed by the free contributions of the Burmans, by grants from the municipality, and by grants in aid from the Mission to Lepers. The first ward was quickly filled, though at the outset the greatest difficulty was found in getting the lepers to enter the asylum. The poor creatures, forsaken by all men and with no prospect but that of unutterable suffering which kindly death alone could terminate, could not understand that any one could care for such as they, and suspected a deep-laid scheme to bring them together, so that they might be put to death by poison. As soon as their suspicions were removed the wards filled as fast as they could be built. In 1898 this home for hopeless sufferers consisted of five wards built of wood, and three others more substantially built of brick. In addition there were within the enclosure a dispensary, an orphanage for the untainted children of lepers, and a chapel where the afflicted people could hear of Him who touched the leper, and taught to His followers the secret of this gracious ministry.

One very happy feature of the Burma Mission is to be found in the ready and generous co-operation of British officers and others, who, though not of the Methodist Church, knew Christian work when they saw it, and were ready to further it. Officers of the Indian Medical Service gave their time and skill to alleviating, where they could do so, the suffering of the leper. Others gave generous contributions to the work. The Churches were made one in the compassion of Christ. It is disappointing to have to add that after this home had been well established, Romanist Missionaries built a similar institution on an adjoining site. They were able to command large sums of money, and erected wards and other buildings on a scale with which the Methodists could not compete. Their discipline, too, differed from ours, and it became possible for patients to play off one institution against the other, and to bargain for special terms if they entered. In spite of this unhappy rivalry the wards in the Methodist home were always full.

An interesting indication of the sympathy felt for our work by those who were not of our communion was given in 1897, when the Mission staff was reduced to two Missionaries. Officers, grateful for spiritual help received, took up a subscription list and presently assured the Chairman that they

were in a position to guarantee the support of a Missionary for eight months, and asked him to cable a request that another man might be sent out at once. The work of the Mission was respected and appreciated by those best able to judge of its value.

The Synod of 1896 marked the close of the first decade of the Mission, and very few fields have been able to report better results after the first ten years of their history. The European staff had been strengthened by the addition of the Revs. T. W. Thomas and A. Woodward, together with the Rev. C. A. de Silva and a Catechist. Three others presented themselves for the Catechists' examination, and two young Burmans came forward as candidates for the Ministry. No more significant result could have been recorded. Within the ten years a hundred and twenty-six Burmans had been enrolled as members, and thirty-three of these had been baptized in the last year of the decade. Educational work and the provision of Christian literature had been kept steadily in view, and that these branches of the work should have appeared in the earliest days reveals the wisdom of the administration. Social and philanthropic work were in full swing, the latter as shown in the work among lepers and the former in the formation of the White Cross Society, in which the Methodist Mission joined with others in an attempt to check the licentiousness so prevalent in Burma. A new chapel and a girls' boarding school were in process of erection in Mandalay. The Mission was thus thoroughly well rooted in the life of the country, and when Mr. Winston returned to England in the spring of 1898, he had the deep joy of knowing that he left behind him a work established in the hearts of those who through that work had been brought into newness of life in Christ Jesus. His service had borne abundant fruit, even within the short space of time in which it had been exercised.

The Rev. A. H. Bestall was appointed Chairman in Mr. Winston's stead, and the Revs. W. Sherratt and T. G. Phillips were added to the staff. The services of Mr. Sherratt were soon lent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in Burma, and Mr. Bestall was appointed to assist in revising the Burmese version of the New Testament. Missionary Societies are far too deeply in debt to the Bible Society to grudge the services of these men, and whatever they were able to accomplish was

much to the furtherance of the very work to which they had been sent ; but such occupations lessened the energy available for the routine work of the Mission, and a reinforcement of the staff in view of these appointments would have been welcomed by the men on the field. Mr. Phillips had been sent out to take charge of the School for boys in Mandalay. The number of its students had now risen to one hundred and seventy-six, and the school was registered as belonging to the grade of High Schools. The boarding school for girls had also taken a step in advance. A department for the training of teachers had given it the status of a Normal School, and it was recognized as such by the Department of Public Instruction. Girls passing out of this school in possession of the Government certificate would be entitled to a grant from the Government of half the amount of their annual salary as teachers. The training of agents had not been so successful. The fickleness of purpose so evident in the character of the Burman led to a moral instability which could not be tolerated in a Christian worker.

The year 1901 was one of distress. The staff was depleted through sickness, Mr. Woodward having for this reason to return to England, and four young Christian workers died just when the promise of their co-operation had brought the hope of increased efficiency to the Missionaries. Of the Missionaries in Burma at the beginning of the century only T. G. Phillips and E. J. Bradford remained until the Centenary year, though most of those sent out were able to spend a considerable number of years in the work. The following list includes the names of those who spent more than five years in the district : T. W. Thomas (1890), A. Woodward (1892), A. W. Sheldon (1903), W. Vickery (1903), F. D. Winston (1904), C. H. Chapman (1908), G. E. Mees (1909), H. C. Walters (1910). Bestall's long continued chairmanship came to an end in 1908, when he was succeeded by Phillips, but after several years in English Circuits, Bestall returned to Burma, and in 1923 he was again superintending the work in whose inception he had taken so great a part.

Kyaukse, a town of about six thousand inhabitants, was really the first station outside of Mandalay to be occupied by the Mission, though for some years it was worked from Mandalay, the Missionary visiting it once a month. In 1901 it

became a separate Circuit, the Rev. J. Hoyle (1900) being appointed to reside there. Here and at Pyawbwe schools were opened, and agents were set to work among the villages surrounding these two centres. Pyawbwe is a station of which more may be heard before long. It stands on the borderland of the Shan country, and as it is the trading centre of that country it is a strong strategic position from which the evangelizing of the Shans may be attempted. The latter are a people of Indo-Chinese origin. They represent one of those waves of immigration into the Irrawady region from South-West China which belong to prehistoric times, and at one time they were a ruling race of great power. The forty Shan states were annexed by Great Britain in 1886, and each is ruled by its own chief under the British flag. Three hundred years before the Christian era Buddhism was introduced into their country, but it has not been able to overcome the original Animism of this people to the extent to which it has done so among the tribes of Lower Burma. A great stretch of Shanland lies between Kindat, an outpost of the Monywa Circuit, and a hundred and fifty miles from Monywa itself, and Pyawbwe, a similar outpost of the Kyaukse Circuit seventy miles from Kyaukse. In each of these Circuits there was in 1913 one European Missionary, and as there is in each centre a small but increasing Church with schools and other missionary agencies, it may easily be imagined that the Missionaries have little time to spend in these distant out-stations of their Circuits. The success of the American Baptist Mission in the Kentung State indicates that the Shans are more ready to receive the Gospel than the Burmese people have proved to be. Their moral character has not been so much weakened by the Buddhism which has so insufficient a sanction at the back of its ethical system. Pyawbwe itself is described by Mr. Bradford as 'a sort of Damascus, a huge emporium of the great caravan trade carried on by the Shan traders.' The whole of this area lies within the Methodist sphere of operations, and Missionaries such as Phillips, Vickery, and Bradford have long urged the occupation of this country in force. Within its borders the darkness is as that of midnight; it is unrelieved by a single ray of light. A school has been opened at Pyawbwe, and in 1913 a young Burmese Minister, the Rev. Job Hpo Chaw, was appointed to Kindat in the Upper Chindwin

District. This was the only Burmese Minister who up to that time had been trained in our Institution at Pakokku, and his death within the first year of his ministry was a grievous blow to the hope of the District. In that year the Rev. M. H. Russell was stationed at Pyawbwe, but on the death of his colleague, Kindat was left without a Christian worker.

It is probably in the direction of this country of the Shans that we may expect to see an extension of the Burma Mission, but in default of an indigenous Ministry, the only way in which such an extension can be made is by a reinforcement of the European staff, and the Methodist Church may look for a large ingathering from among these benighted tribes, if it will make that reinforcement adequate to the work that awaits its coming.

In 1906 the Rev. W. H. Findlay visited Upper Burma in his official capacity as a Secretary of the Society. In his report he calls attention to the difficulty of obtaining suitable agents from among a people 'so light-hearted and happy-go-lucky.' He goes on to say that 'until a Native Ministry is formed in any particular country, a Mission in that country is still only in its initial stage, that is a stage in which the European Missionary is not the supervisor and director of a far-extended agency but a general factotum in the varied activities of a Mission station.' There results an *impasse* for the Burma Mission. Without a Native Ministry the European, fully occupied in the central station of his Circuit, can visit the hill tribes, who seem most likely to accept his message, only with the greatest difficulty, but that Native Ministry is slow in coming into being for reasons we have already given. A peculiarly disappointing effect arising from this situation is recorded in the report for the year 1912. In that year an exceptionally promising opening among the Chin tribes could not be accepted for want of a Missionary who could be sent. The disappointment was all the more grievous because every year that passes makes it more difficult to win these people for Christ. For hundreds of years they were the formidable foes of the Burmese, and this prevented the spread of Buddhism among them. Compelled now by the British to keep the peace they have begun to yield to the persuasions of Buddhist teachers, and if their Animism be replaced by Buddhism, their conversion to Christianity will be greatly

retarded. The door was flung open, but was not likely to remain open. The Christian Church was unable to enter. It is the common tragedy of the Mission Field. The training institution is situated in Pakokku, but in the Centenary year only two students were taking the course prescribed. The numerical statistics for that year may here be given :

Chapels and other places for preaching	..	..	..	..	..	23
European Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	12
Burmese Minister	..	..	..	..	..	1
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..	8
Local preachers	..	..	..	..	..	13
Church members	..	..	..	..	..	525
Members on probation	..	..	..	..	..	60
Children in day schools	..	..	..	..	..	1,294

Such numbers do not reveal a Church of any great dimensions, but the good seed of the Kingdom has been faithfully sown, and the smallest of all seeds may grow into a great tree which becomes the resting-place for the birds of the air, and many thousands of Burmans, Shans, and Chins, will one day find their spiritual home in Christ.

V

MASS MOVEMENTS

The Baptisms at Ongole—Outstanding Features of the Movement—A Misnomer—Panchama Conditions—The Protest of William Goudie—Conversion and Edification—The Movement in Tiruvallur—In Haidarabad—In Bengal—A Suggested Policy—Community Movements in Dharapuram and Mysore.

THE division of the Hindu community into strictly defined social groups and the solidarity characteristic of these made it inevitable that movements towards the Christian Church were from the first expected to be *en masse*. Wesleyan Missionaries began to look for such movements long before there was any real sign of their appearance in the areas within which they were at work. Men of sanguine or over-eager temperament hailed every accession of more than two or three as 'the beginning of a mass movement.' Their hopes were stimulated by accessions which took place in other areas more or less contiguous to their own, and they looked forward to the time when, like their happy fellow Missionaries in Tinnevely and Travancore, they too would reap an overflowing harvest. They had to learn that to a great extent such movements depended upon social conditions peculiar to the territories concerned, and many years were to pass before the Methodists struck the reef out of which the true gold of the kingdom of heaven might be quarried, refined, and brought into the treasure-house of the King.

In 1879 all Missionary Societies in South India were stirred by the news that Missionaries of the American Baptist Telugu Missionary Society working at Ongole had baptized no less than three thousand five hundred persons in three days. This was generally considered a perilous step to have taken, unless the Missionaries were assured that they would be able to instruct the crowds thus admitted into the Church. Since

that time, though so large a number has never been received by Wesleyan Missionaries at one time, there have been such considerable accessions of strictly defined communities in Madras, Haidarabad, and the Negapatam District, that Methodists too have had the joy of admitting great companies of men, women, and children into the Church; and though the phrase 'Mass Movement' may even now seem somewhat extravagant when used of Methodists, yet interpreting it as 'accessions by communities,' we may well consider the motives and the issues of such movements. They have already greatly affected the Christian Church in India, and are likely to do so to a greater extent in the near future.

Their first outstanding feature is that they occur in the lowest of the social grades of Hindu society, and that the condition of those belonging to it is one of almost indescribable degradation. The second is that this most unpromising 'material' is found within an incredibly short time to 'adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.' No evidence as to the inherent power of the Christian faith to uplift mankind is more convincing than that which is to be found in the rise of the Panchamas to worthy manhood through the simplicity of a child-like obedience to the 'law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' There is a third general observation to be made before we pass to a detailed examination of such movements in the several Districts where they have taken place, and it is this, that such fruitage of the Methodist husbandry, so far from relieving the Church of obligation, rather increases it. Missionaries have gathered this harvest in fear and trembling. They know only too well the peril of admitting a crude mass of paganism into the Christian Church. They have learned by sad experience that the provision made by the Church at home for the teaching and training of its children is limited and often insufficient. They therefore hesitate in accepting those who come to them for baptism. In such Districts as the Haidarabad State, and to a less extent in the Tiruvallur Circuit, the number of adherents depends on the number of harvesters sent into the field by the home Churches. This implies a greatly increased financial provision, and the question should be faced whether that provision may reasonably be expected. To talk glibly of the less costly agency to be found in the

indigenous Ministry is mere obscurantism. It puts out of sight the whole question of training—the provision of both men and buildings for the village schools which may be increased by the thousand, the even more necessary provision of boarding schools, of teachers' seminaries, of evangelists' training schools, and of theological institutions. Each of these is an essential link in the chain, and all must be provided to cover the needs of the forty thousand people in the Haidarabad State alone before the provision can be considered adequate. The question before the Church is one which we have raised already in the preparation of these records, but we raise it again: 'Is the Methodist Church prepared to receive the answer to its prayer?'

In the Centenary year the Christian community attached to the Methodist Church in South India, including those who were baptized adherents but had not been admitted into the inner circle of the Christian fellowship, numbered twenty-eight thousand three hundred persons, and was distributed over the several Districts as follows: Madras, five thousand three hundred; Negapatam, two thousand three hundred; Haidarabad, seventeen thousand; and Mysore, three thousand seven hundred. If, however, this total is compared with the population within the areas in which it is found, the phrase 'Mass Movement' is something of a misnomer and may be misleading. For while we rejoice that so many in our own Missions, and still more in those of other Churches, have entered the Christian fold, the mass of Hinduism, properly so called, remains almost untouched.

The number of Brahmans and of the other three classes of caste Hindus who have accepted Christ as their Lord, and confessed Him in baptism, is all but a negligible quantity. By far the great majority of those who have entered the Christian Church are 'Outcastes.' They do not belong to those who represent the learning, the wealth, or the religious influence of the Hindus. There is no reason for allowing this fact to qualify our joy that so many have entered into Christian fellowship. It is exceedingly probable that the permeation of the social fabric by Christianity will work as it did in the Roman Empire, from the lowest to the highest, from the slave to the emperor. But in view of the facts before us a better name for the movement, now gathering momentum every

year, would be that of 'Community Movement,' inasmuch as it is found almost entirely within a certain class of the Hindu community. Sometimes it is spoken of as 'the Pariah Movement'; but this again is open to objection. The word 'Pariah' has acquired a connotation of contempt born from the feeling and attitude of those who regarded all but the members of the four recognized classes of Hindu society as 'untouchables'—the filth and offscouring of the world. For this reason the word 'Panchama'—or the fifth class—has been suggested as a less opprobrious name, and it has the further advantage of covering the whole community other than that of 'Caste Hindus.' Since, even within the class we are now considering, there are social grades which are often punctiliously observed, the word Panchama has much in its favour, and we shall use it as covering the large number, amounting to many millions, of those who have no social standing, and—but for the impartiality of British administration—very little in the way of legal privilege, within the pale of Hinduism. Who are these people? How have they arrived at their present social position?

These questions are not easily answered. It is now generally accepted that they are not, as was at first supposed, the aborigines of South India reduced to a condition of servitude by Dravidian invaders. Ethnologists are fairly agreed that racially they possess the characteristics of all Dravidians, but how they came to be excluded from the social privileges of classes belonging to their own race remains an enigma which is yet to be solved. That exclusion was final and equally fatal. The Panchama, as caste hardened into the inexorable system which it now is, found himself completely shut out from all intercourse with the higher classes, and every hope that he might some day be admitted to something like intimate association was absolutely cut off. It was fatal, because with the position of servitude thus forced upon him there went the inevitable degradation that goes with a servile condition. No light was given him from those to whom had come a measure of illumination, and the Panchama became the victim of ignorance, superstition, and vice. Lower and lower he sank, until by comparison, the life of the animal seemed almost preferable to his own. Indecency and obscenity ceased to trouble him. The filthy hovels in which he herded

with his kind were veritable homes of beastliness. The reader must set himself to imagine, with no further assistance, the moral and intellectual condition of men who for many generations knew of no other conditions of life. Socially the Panchama was a slave, and in Hindu law the only question open to consideration was whether he was so by birth or by purchase. He was a labourer in fields that were not his own, and entirely at the disposal of his master or owner. A bare subsistence was all that was allowed in return for his labour. A day's pay was seldom more than a day's food. Should he be compelled to find a sum of money for any domestic purpose, such as a marriage in his house, his only means of obtaining it was by borrowing from some wealthy landowner, at a rate of interest which he could never hope to meet in cash, and he might easily find himself and his children bound to serve his creditor for the whole term of their lives. The fetters which bound him became more firmly riveted with every year he lived. Naturally his creditor had no desire to deliver him from this bondage. His labour was far too valuable to his master for the latter to countenance either its coming to a close, or its being carried on under conditions which left him with a smaller profit; and when the Missionary appeared on the scene preaching to such men the Gospel of freedom and hope, and becoming their champion against oppression and fraud, it inevitably followed that the over-lord resented the coming of the Missionary and did his utmost to thwart his purpose. Every attempt to enlighten or to inspire the hapless victims of human greed and selfishness was met with the most determined opposition.

But into the midst of this mass of degraded and hopeless life came the Missionary with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, proclaiming God as the Father of all men, and a real brotherhood as the bond between man and man. In his work in the villages around Tiruvallur, William Goudie speedily found himself in contact with both victim and oppressor. He took up the cause of the oppressed, and inspired others to do the same. Representations of the civil disabilities of the Panchamas appeared in the press, the attention of the Government of Madras was drawn to the matter, and Goudie received the thanks of the Governor of Madras in Council for the spirit and energy with which he advocated the rights of these people

against their caste masters. But Goudie's aim was far beyond that of securing civil rights for the Panchamas by means of legislation. That was so much to the good, but he sought something better still. To quote his own words :

The Government strikes off the old shackles, but the Gospel must give a new and larger life. The real work of emancipation must rest with the missionaries. I cannot emphasize this too strongly. In order to hold his own, and take his place as a free man among freemen, the Pariah must be remade, and it is only the grace of God that will do that for him. Give him land and bullocks, and he will mortgage them, and have them sold by auction in less than five years. Give him freedom, and take him under the care and instruction of the Christian Church, and he will rise step by step to a place of honour and strength.

Yet what probability was there that the mind sinking lower and lower in its power to apprehend anything beyond the mere facts of physical existence, and continuing in this declension for centuries, could ever grasp the mere elements of reflection and self-determination involved in repentance and faith, or conceive of 'the living God,' with a heart touched with the feeling of our infirmities? The first sermons to such persons must have been far beyond their comprehension. They must indeed have 'heard their one hope with an empty wonder.' But the human heart, however degraded, always responds to love, and it was the love of the man, and not his teaching, that quickened a new life within the dark mind and still darker heart. They listened to the pleadings of love. They began to trust the man who could thus care for them. They gave their allegiance first to him, and then to the Lord in whose name he had come into their life. Conversions among the Panchamas began to be recorded.

Now the word 'Conversion' is music in the Methodist's ear. To him it marks the close of an effort to bring the sinner to Christ, and too often he thinks that he himself has nothing more to do for the man that has come within the embracing arms of Love Divine. Even in England such a view of a convert is a mistaken view, but in India the work of the Church at that stage, so far from being ended, is only beginning. Here we may well quote words written with a glowing pen, which alas! will write no more. The Rev. W. H. Findlay

in an able article contributed to *Work and Workers* in 1892, says :

Imagine Christians who have an inherited tendency to idolatry and ritual as strong as the inherited craving for drink which afflicts some poor creatures in England ; who have no sense of the Sabbath, or anything else that we count sacred ; to whom obscenity in speech and act and thought is as commonplace as eating and drinking ; who scarcely seem capable of shame for anything that we reckon sin ; whose knowledge of the world scarcely extends beyond their own little group of huts, and the limbs of their mental and spiritual being alike are shrivelled from long disuse. Imagine such *Christians*, I say, not heathens. Their claim to the name of ' Christian ' consists in their willingness to believe, in such measure as they can understand, what they are taught of Christ and His truth, and their claim to membership in our Societies is in their ' desire to flee from the wrath to come,' and their readiness to walk, with such steps as they can, in the new way. This is a picture of thousands and myriads of those who form the ' numerical increases ' over which the Church at home rejoices.

And again in the same article :

The seeds of infection in Hinduism are more active, virulent, and contagious than those that lingered in the dying paganism of Rome. The population of India is greater and more massed and welded together than were the populations of that Empire, and the transformation from heathen to Christian will be effected in India in less than half the time that separated Christ from Constantine. When the rush and whirl of mass-accessions begin, what is to save the Indian Church that is to be from such grievous corruption as still pollutes the Greek and Roman communions ?

Obviously the only safeguard is to be found in the careful instruction and pastoral care of the earlier accessions, so that when the real ' mass movement ' comes, it may find a body of Christian truth and experience that will be able to withstand its deteriorating influence. Many have for this reason counselled caution in admitting whole villages or communities to the Church, and their fears are not unreasonable. But they need not be deterrent, provided that the Christian Church will put forth pastors and teachers who may build up into Christian manhood and womanhood those who are coming in crowds to claim admission into the fellowship of believers.

The first real indication of a community movement was given in 1881, when the Rev. G. M. Cobban baptized thirty-eight persons belonging to a village in his Circuit—Madras

North. When the Rev. William Goudie took up his residence in Tiruvallur, many others came forward to be admitted into the Christian fellowship. The membership in the Tiruvallur Circuit rose from fifty-three in 1889 to three hundred and thirty-two in 1899 and to seven hundred and eighty in 1913, with a large number of others who were kept on probation. The villages from which they came were small, consisting of a Parcheri attached to the village proper in which people belonging to the higher classes resided. The work of the evangelists in these Parcheris was made the more difficult because their Catechumens were not found in any great number at one place, and as the light broke into villages in many cases far removed from the central station of the Circuit, the labour and the time involved in visiting the groups of inquirers were often very great. This difficulty could only be met by multiplying the number of Christian teachers and evangelists, and the training of a Christian agency was suddenly seen to be the urgent necessity which indeed it had been from the first.

The course of events which followed, and the different means adopted for the instruction of converts, have been recorded in another chapter of this History, and the story need not be repeated. Education, industry, and medical work were the chief features of the Missionary effort to lift up from the 'horrible pit' those who had never known the wider outlook and the 'ampler air' of life. When William Goudie visited his former Circuit as Secretary in 1920, he reported that the rate of numerical increase had lessened, but the Church life of the Christian community had developed and deepened in every phase. Especially notable was the part played by the laity of the Church, and the contrast between the self-respecting and efficient officers of the Church, and that which they had been when Goudie first came to share their life, could scarcely be described. In the course of his visit Goudie attended the Quarterly Meeting of the southern section of the Tiruvallur Circuit, and this is what he says :

As I sat and listened to the brethren conducting the business of that Quarterly Meeting, and doing it in a way that would have been a credit to an English Circuit, it was difficult to choose between the Minister and the Laymen for devotion and ability. My thoughts went back to the time when the first stone of this structure had not been laid, and my heart cried out, 'What hath God wrought !'

In the same report of an official visit, Goudie refers to a development of great significance for the Church of the future.

As in the early Church the city guilds gave the first suggestion of constitution, so in India the village Panchayat has provided us with a working pattern, and is being found of great value in constituting a Church with Elders from the earliest possible time. Put responsibility on the laymen of the Church, and they rise to it. Put it at the beginning, and it is a challenge to all that is best in them, and even makes them new men.

The second District to record a 'community movement' was Haidarabad. In 1885 the first converts from among the Malas were baptized, and until 1903, when a similar movement among the Madigas commenced, the accessions to the Church were almost entirely from this sub-section of the Panchama class. So great has been the number of those who have accepted Christ as their Lord and Master, that in 1920 the baptized community in this District numbered forty thousand, considerably more than half the population of the villages. In this District, more than in others, the phrase 'Mass Movement' may therefore be correctly used. The Telugu-speaking Panchamas have been described as 'more primitive, docile, and simple' than those found in the Tamil Districts of South India, but they resemble the latter in social degradation, in ignorance, and in superstition, as well as the dirt and squalor of their surroundings. The Malas are as a section of the community peculiarly distinct from all other groups. Caste erects its insuperable barrier between them and the Sudras, the class next above theirs, but deep-seated traditional prejudices completely cut them off from the Madigas, a lower section of the Panchama community. They have no properly defined creed or system of religious observance, for the non-descript rites which make up their religion in practice are not enforced by any organized priesthood; nor do they possess among themselves any special religious sanction, except such as tradition may supply. Their rites are nothing more than a mass of grotesque and degrading ceremonies, observed mostly in connexion with the celebration of marriages, or in times when pestilence or famine threatens death. There was therefore no formulated system of thought of which the mind needed to be dispossessed before the Christian Gospel could make an

effective appeal. In this particular, the situation before the Missionaries more nearly approximates to that found in Africa than in the other Districts of India where Methodist Missionaries have been at work.

It must not, however, be assumed that the Mala had nothing to surrender when he decided to follow Christ. Family ties are close and binding, and in accepting baptism the Mala cut himself off from all his family connexions. Until the movement became more general, he would find it difficult to arrange marriages for his sons and daughters. The women of his household clung to the old customs with extraordinary tenacity, and strongly objected to any change, while in becoming a Christian he would inevitably incur the cruel persecution which his Muhammadan or Hindu over-lords practised upon those who deprived them of the subservience they had so selfishly exploited in these tillers of the soil. There is also to be considered the demand which their new faith would make upon them in the sphere of morality. The licence of their former life would be replaced by an exacting rule of conduct, and after centuries of a life in which moral law had for them no existence, the bonds which were now to bind them to Christ might well seem to be fetters which galled the hitherto unbridled desires. What, then, were the motives which acted within the consciousness of these people to bring about so widespread an acceptance of the Christian rule of life? Missionaries offered no advantages in the form of material wealth, nor was any attempt made to persuade them to abandon the arduous and precarious occupation of cultivating fields which were so repeatedly reduced to sterility. How came it about that a change so rapid, and so completely a reversal of all their past, took place? The answer would seem to be twofold, but its two terms are so closely related that they may be reduced to one. The Mala saw that there had come into his life, in some way which to him must have been incomprehensible, a spirit of compassion which did not hesitate to enter the squalid hovel or to lay healing hands upon his body all foul with disease. A new thing came into his experience when he found that some one cared what he might be, and that with that love there went a power to uplift and to dignify his life. Probably the older men thought that little advantage would come to them, but the instinct of fatherhood made them

desire that their children should be set free from the fetters which had bound them to conditions which were degrading. Christianity was the way out of the house of bondage. It offered them a 'promised land' of opportunity to rise above the dirt and degradation of their former life. Love meant uplifting, and they surrendered to love. There is nothing in such a motive for which the Missionary need apologize. If it indicates a balancing of advantages against disadvantages, such a consideration was natural, and where the sense of sin could scarcely be said to exist, and the mind was utterly incapable of either logic or philosophy, there was no other motive likely to lead them to take action. Was it after all so unworthy a motive? 'God loves me, and I may by accepting His love enter into fullness of life'—such a proposition is the governing motive of every Christian. But even if to the student of Christian ethics such a motive seems insufficient, it was only the initial consideration and was soon replaced by one greater still. By yielding to it the Mala brought himself within the rays of light which stream from Him who is both the light and the life of men. Soon the all but blinded eyes were opened, and were held not by a prospect of advantage for the man or for his children, but by the glowing centre of the light that had given to his life a new radiance. Song or sermon might be the vehicle of this spiritual vibration, but the issue was that the vision of Christ was given him coming by way of the Gospel story—related or dramatized, what matter?—and that beauty won his ultimate allegiance. Grosser considerations disappeared. The Mala gave himself to Christ.

The movement gathered an extraordinary momentum, which so far from being spent in a few years is still on the increase. Figures given by Mr. Pratt in 1902, which eliminate all returns from Churches in the town and relate solely to village communities, show that

In 1885 there were forty Christians in three villages.

In 1890 there were seven hundred and eighty in thirty-five.

In 1895 there were three thousand four hundred and sixty-nine in a hundred and five.

In 1900 there were six thousand seven hundred and fifty-four in two hundred and two.

When Mr. Goudie visited this District in 1920, there were forty thousand baptized persons in the villages occupied by

Methodist Agents. Within the thirty-five years covered by Mr. Goudie's survey, an entirely new field had been opened and cultivated with this result. As we have described elsewhere, the Madigas had followed the Malas into the Church, and in 1920 more than six thousand of the former had been baptized. Of the social position of the Madigas and of the circumstances attending their admission into Church fellowship we have written elsewhere,¹ and we need not do more than indicate the prospect of still more remarkable numerical increases in the years to come.

Numbers form the first and most easily recorded criterion of the work of the Church. There are higher tests ; more exacting, for they are found in the domain of character ; more subtle, for they belong to the sphere of spiritual life. Judged by these there is every reason to believe that the grace and power of God are to be seen in the Church that is arising in the Haidarabad District. The triumphs of grace that are to be found in those who are the ' outcastes and the outcasts ' of Hinduism are the same as those to be found among the most highly placed Christians of any land, and if the fruits of the Spirit are the ultimate test of the Christian Church, then the harvest which is being gathered in this field is the fruit of God's husbandry, and the Church stands to the glory of His Name.

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The Santals form a distinct unit among the many populations of India. They inhabit a district in Lower Bengal lying north-west of Calcutta, and covering an area of five thousand square miles. In 1881 the population within this area was given as one and a half millions, and of these more than half a million were Santals, but the census of 1911 showed a Santal population of two millions, so that the rate of increase is a high one. They speak a language which belongs neither to the Aryan type nor to the Dravidian. It is generally held to indicate a connexion with the Kolarians—a tribe which in prehistoric days invaded India from the north-east. These people were split up into fragments by the thrust of the great Dravidian movement which followed, and detached sections of Kolarians were left in the jungles of Bengal, while the

¹ See p. 341

Dravidians pushed on to the south. The most considerable of these sections was the Santal.

Their religion is a form of Totemism, and exhibits the familiar features of that system in superstition and licentiousness. They are not therefore to be classed among the 'Outcastes' of Southern India, though their conditions of life approximate to those of the latter. In 1856 an insurrection against the Government took place among this tribe. It was suppressed with fearful carnage, but was followed by a readjustment in administration which has contented the people.

The chief Mission centres in this District are Bankura and Sarenga, and at no great distance is the important railway centre of Raniganj. The triangle formed by connecting these three towns is one of increasing importance from the industrial point of view. Coal mines and iron works have invaded the rice fields, and draw thousands of labourers from the simplicity of village life and agricultural pursuits into the vortex of mechanical industries. Such a change is certain to affect the mass of the people in North India, just as it did the people of England in the nineteenth century, and the Methodist Church has in the providence of God found itself placed in the very centre of the whole industrial movement. Whether it is to claim that movement for Christ is a question which that Church in England must face, but if the spirit which dwelt in our fathers and gave them their unique influence in Yorkshire and Lancashire dwells in that Church to-day, there is no doubt as to what that answer will be. This is, however, a digression, and we must return to the recording of the steps which led up to the Methodist occupation of this District.

We have seen that Hodson and Percival were attracted to Bankura, and that forty years after their first visit to that town a Catechist was sent there in 1871, the humble representative of the Methodist Church. Eight years after the first European Missionary, the Rev. J. R. Broadhead, was appointed to Bankura. There were at that time only five members of society in the Circuit, and with the exception of a school for girls no educational work had been attempted. To-day Bankura is the centre of a large and increasing Christian community and has one of the finest and most successful Mission colleges to be found in North India.

The Broadheads occupied a hired house, for there was then

no Mission property in the town, and their nearest fellow-worker was a Catechist stationed at Bishenpur, some twenty miles to the south. The first mention of the Santals occurs in the report for the year 1883, where the hope is expressed that it might become possible to begin work among these people so incurably shy that access to them was most difficult. A further difficulty was found in this, that they did not speak Bengali, and the Missionaries did not speak Santali. The means of intercommunication seemed very remote. But 'Love bridges the distance,' and the Santals have been 'made nigh in the blood of Christ.' The purchase of a site for a Mission bungalow and girls' boarding school was of importance, since Mr. Broadhead was able to place on the same site a boarding school for Santali boys. This was the first effective contact established with the Santals. In 1887 Mr. Broadhead was on furlough, and Mr. G. W. Olver was appointed to take his place at Bankura. He at once decided to make a sustained effort to reach the Santals. For many months he lived in tents, moving from one locality to another, where he hoped to get into touch with the people he sought, and he finally decided to make Sarenga the centre of operations on their behalf. About this time another step of great importance to our work was taken. The C.M.S. had maintained at Bankura for many years one of their Catechists. They had acquired a good deal of property, and had established schools for both boys and girls. As that Society now decided to withdraw from the district, their property was purchased, and the Methodist Church, thus left the sole Missionary agency in the neighbourhood, became responsible for the evangelization of the whole area. The first baptisms of Santals at Sarenga took place in 1891, and they marked the beginning of a community movement which may be as extensive as the area within which this people is to be found. More land was purchased at Sarenga for the erection of houses for workers among them, and it was also hoped to found in time a Christian settlement where those who were reclaimed from their wild life in the jungles might be persuaded to live. Several families were thus brought within easier reach of Christian influence. Their simple houses were soon erected, and they became tenants of the Mission. Unfortunately the rent they paid was not sufficient to keep their houses in repair, and the people

became more or less dependent on the Mission. Their children were sent to school, but a small sum was paid every month to their parents by way of compensation for the loss of their children's work in the fields. The situation which evolved was demoralizing, and in after days it was found necessary to set up quite a different scheme of management as far as this settlement was concerned.

Gradually the number of Santal converts increased, and in 1903 the Rev. G. E. Woodford was able to report that the Methodist Church had obtained a foothold in six villages, and that the number of Church members was two hundred. Some of these converts were men of independent means and had land of their own. They reproduced the spirit of the early Church in that some of them gave portions of their land to poorer brethren that they might cultivate them and support themselves. The year 1905 brought the large number of a hundred and forty-three baptisms among the Santals, and the movement was now clear to every one who took the trouble to consider it. In Bankura, too, the Chamars began to join the Church in considerable numbers. In a village near Madhupur, inhabited by a class resembling the Santals, but observing a rigid distinction, almost the entire population accepted Christ as their Lord and Master. When the Centenary year arrived, in Sarenga, Bishenpur, and Madhupur—the three chief centres of the Santal Mission—the Christian community numbered eight hundred and forty, while in Bankura there were five hundred and thirty-seven more. Such accessions are as yet far from deserving the name of 'a mass movement,' but they belong distinctly to the type of community movement, and if wisely directed, and above all if due regard be paid to the training of workers from among the Santals themselves, the Church will one day rejoice in witnessing a whole people turning to the Lord.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that the large accessions to the Church from among the Malas of Haidarabad, and similar accessions from the Pariahs of Madras, the Santals of Bengal, and the Doms of Benares, should raise the question whether the Methodist Church should or should not concentrate on the depressed classes in India to the exclusion of all attempts to reach the higher classes. At the Bradford Conference of 1897 Pratt and Goudie found themselves taking furlough at the

same time, and they, with Cobban, determined to press the Conference to decide in favour of this limitation to a field so boundless that it could scarcely be called a 'limitation.' Other interests at the Conference intervened, and they were unable to carry out their intention, but in the course of the year which followed the suggestion was brought before the Committee. It was not adopted, and subsequent events have shown that it would have been an error in policy if it had been. For the human family is one, and any attempt to limit the service of the Church to one section of it has its unhappy reactions upon the very class which it seeks to favour, to say nothing of the peril of giving up that 'undistinguishing regard' which is the character of the love Divine, and of limiting an interest and service which should embrace the whole world of human life. There is much to be said in favour of concentration and of specializing in many departments of work, but the motive at the back of this notable triumvirate was the apparent hopelessness of securing financial aid adequate to the boundless opportunity with which they were confronted. They took up this position, not because they were opposed to educational work as such—there have been few greater advocates of that work than the three men before us—but simply out of despair of seeing the Church rise to the point of making adequate provision for both. In view of this failure they cast about for other means of gathering their harvest, and this seemed the only way. But it was not in every District that these movements among the depressed classes were taking place, and if the Church had decided to limit its service in the direction suggested other Districts would have had their operations seriously curtailed, and the whole range and character of their influence diminished, with no prospect of a mass movement among the Panchamas to serve as compensation. But a still more serious consequence, disastrous to the very Church which they aimed at creating from among the outcaste population, was this—that by abandoning educational work they would lose the opportunity of providing for the need of the Christian community. The second generation of Panchama converts would not come under the same disqualifications as their parents. The fullest educational advantages would have been required for the youth of the Church, and to leave them to secure these in Government schools and colleges, where religious neutrality

could scarcely be distinguished from religious indifference, would have been to throw away what had been so hardly gained, and to have subjected the flower and promise of the Church to insidious and fatal peril. It is instructive in this connexion to note that when Mr. Goudie visited Ikkadu in 1920 he says in his report :

At the meeting of Old Boys and Girls assembled to welcome us a strong request was made for the teaching of English in boarding schools, and there is strong reason for introducing the subject. Boys—and the same is true of girls—who are able to go beyond the grade of the elementary schools find themselves hampered for want of English, and an English class might wisely be formed, and those scholars admitted to it who are doing sufficiently well in other subjects to warrant the experiment.

There was yet another disaster, and one of incalculable dimensions, involved ; but of this we shall let Mr. Pratt himself speak :

About four years ago we banished English from all our schools with the exception of those in Secunderabad. This step was entirely right in my judgement, and has been amply justified by results ; but it carries with it this disadvantage—that it reduces our recruiting-ground for the Native Ministry. As things are now the knowledge of English is all but essential to a man designated for the Ministry. We expected that the boys' home, to which most of the promising sons of Catechists and Native Ministers are sent, would supply us with candidates for the Ministry, but we have been disappointed.

Here Mr. Pratt touches upon one feature of educational work which is often ignored. It is that through this means the Church hopes to receive its instructed Ministers with minds trained by the disciplines of school and college, and with a consecration all the more complete because they have been led to surrender more in the way of affluence and social position. The sequel to the facts mentioned by Mr. Pratt is to be found in the return of the District to its abandoned work of higher education. The high school at Chadarghat, given up under the financial stress caused by the Missionary Controversy, was taken up again in Secunderabad, with special provision for Christian youths in the form of a hostel.

The dilemma in which Indian Missionaries found themselves by reason of mass movements is to be resolved by the Church's acceptance of the increased responsibility entailed by success,

and by its generous provision for the work entailed by God's answer to its many prayers that He would indeed open the windows of heaven and pour down such a blessing that there would be no room to contain it. As to the respective claims of different departments of the one undivided and indivisible work of the Church, the ancient saying is entirely apposite: 'This ought ye to have done and not leave the other undone.'

Up to the coming of the Centenary year community movements in other Districts of India had not become sufficiently prominent to call for notice in this chapter. Of hopeful beginnings in the Negapatam and the Mysore Districts we have written elsewhere.

SUPPLEMENT

THE INDIAN CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

THE story of the work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in India has been told in the preceding chapters as a series of geographical expansions. The chapters bear the names of Districts in the south and in the north. Thus we have been enabled to watch a Christian Mission 'winning its widening way,' but at the same time we have been reminded again and again that something more has been happening than a mere extension in space or an increase in the members of a religious community. The end of all missionary endeavour ought to be the establishment of a Native Church, and we have to judge of the success achieved by the progress which has been made towards the goal. This is the earthly measure which we must apply to the work of our Society in India.

In India the growth of the Church has been retarded especially by the characteristic Hindu institution—Caste. This has manifested its influence in two ways. The number of converts in areas where work has been carried on among the higher castes has been small. In the beginning the Missionary and his family of necessity made up the whole Christian congregation in a station; but as the years passed converts were gathered in one by one, and a little Christian community was formed. Some of these, as we have seen, belonged to the highest caste; they were Brahmans by birth, inheriting the privileges of learning and priestly rule. After Christian boarding schools, colleges, and training institutions had been established, young men and women and the children of converts received a Christian education, and many of them passed into the ranks of missionary service. The small Christian community has thus been made to yield a ministry of teachers, evangelists, and pastors far beyond its own power to support. Numbers are not negligible in the organization and development

of a Church ; for the fullness of its life there must be magnitude as well as intensity. Until the Christian community in some of our Districts greatly increases in size, it must remain dependent upon a Foreign Church for many of its activities. It cannot educate its own children, nor train youth for pastoral service, nor preach the Gospel widely among the millions who have not yet felt its appeal or understood its message. The slowness in the development of the Indian Church is due to the slowness of the process of conversion.

This is not to say that Missionaries have been unfaithful or that methods have been wrong. A *præparatio evangelica* of a people may be necessary before there can be a turning of many individuals towards Christ. In the preceding chapters results have been recorded which do not show in the membership rolls of Churches or the statistics of adult conversions. There is such a thing as the gradual penetration of a people's thought by Christian ideals—often an unrecognized and unacknowledged process. There are two outstanding examples of this in modern India. One is that already in a notable degree the educated Hindu who believes in God at all tends to think of Him as we know Him through the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth. The impersonal Absolute, the fearsome Siva and erotic Krishna, are yielding ground to 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The second proof is in the growing popular conviction that true religion has something to do with the neighbourly service of our fellow men. There has been an extraordinary change of attitude towards the despised and lowly. National Congresses and Legislative Councils now vie with Christian Missions in their proposals for the uplift of the Pariah and the general improvement of social conditions. But such movements as these have not yet resulted among Caste Hindus in a multitude of professing Christians ; they have not provided in sufficient quantity the human materials for an Indian Church. If, therefore, the development of an Indian Church tarries, and the Foreign Mission is more in evidence than a Native Church, the reason is not that the foreign Missionary asserts himself unduly or is loth to abdicate control, but rather that the Christian community is still small and straitened in its resources.

Caste has demonstrated its power in another way. It is also the explanation of the second fact that where many

converts have been won, they have belonged chiefly to the poor and depressed classes. Ten years ago it was estimated that Christians of the Wesleyan Methodist denomination in India numbered about 40,000; at the time of writing the number must be well over 60,000—an increase in a decade of more than fifty per cent. But this large and rapid accession has come chiefly through the mass movements among the Outcastes of the Haidarabad State and the Madras Presidency. The social status of the majority of the converts is a factor in the development of the Church. The Missionary cannot avoid being 'father and mother' to a Christian community of Outcaste origin in the early stages of the work. His converts lean upon him for instruction and guidance, for succour and discipline. Dependency for a time cannot be avoided.

But we ought not to acquiesce in the indefinite prolongation of this period in the life of the community; it ought to be no more than a passing phase. From the first there should be brought into operation a system of Christian nurture or education through village school and church, boarding school and seminary, high school and college, which will develop with the greatest possible rapidity the powers latent in the new community—once despised, now beloved; once enslaved, now set free. The system should seek out and discover the most gifted among the young and train and equip them for leadership. The story of the Haidarabad Mission, with its wide-spread and carefully supervised system of education in the villages, its boarding schools for boys and girls at each head quarters, its great training institutions at Medak, with the high school in Secunderabad and the United Theological College in Bangalore for the preparation of the ordained Ministers, is a fine illustration of what we mean. The progress already made by the people in the Haidarabad District is an inspiring proof of what can be accomplished within a short time. Among a people who a few years ago were illiterate and degraded, men and women have been raised up who are apt to teach and worthy to bear rule. An efficient educational system, inspired throughout by Christian tenderness, hope, and determination, is overcoming the handicaps of poverty, ignorance, and hereditary taint, and bringing near the establishment of an Indian Church.

But now there emerges a new consideration which applies

equally to the community that is small and to that which is great. It will be useless to have an educational system, continuously and rapidly developing the capacity of Christian converts and fitting them for positions of responsibility and influence, if the community must live under an ecclesiastical or Mission organization which condemns it to perpetual tutelage, and cannot naturally and without delay find room for those who have been brought forward and are equipped for leadership. Have we a constitution which retards or one which promotes the development of an Indian Church ?

We may distinguish two epochs in the constitutional history of our Indian Missions. For many years, we may say for more than three-quarters of the century under review, the Foreign Mission was the predominant body, and the Indian Christian community was subordinate. The authoritative assembly in the field was the District Meeting, composed at first entirely of foreign Missionaries and then gradually enlarged by the coming in of ordained Indian Ministers. Though their number tended continually to increase, it was the voice of the foreign Missionary which was most often heard and prevailed. At the home end the Missionary Committee received the representations of the District Meetings and exercised supreme control.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the genius and devotion of W. H. Findlay gave expression to the thoughts of many minds, and provided for the Indian, as for other fields, a new constitution, which was based upon the distinction between 'Church' and 'Mission' as fundamental. Findlay was possessed of, and inspired by, the conviction that the former must increase and the latter must decrease. He foresaw clearly that as the Indian Church grows in goodness, wisdom, and power, the Foreign Mission will become, and ought to become, ancillary to it. Keeping this ideal steadfastly before him, he drafted a constitution which makes the District Synod the court of the local Church. It is composed of Indian Ministers and laymen with the foreign Missionaries. It deals with questions of ministerial discipline and stationing, with the spiritual condition of the Churches and all work maintained out of local resources. Over against it is the Local Committee, which is the body of Missionaries in the District, though in some Districts Indian Ministers and laymen have been specially

elected to serve upon it. The Local Committee deals with the personal affairs of the Missionaries, and with work carried on with the funds of the Missionary Society. Further, a classification of Circuits was introduced, designed to encourage effort in the Indian Church. 'A' Circuits are those which are self-supporting and capable of filling all the lay offices of Methodism. 'B' Circuits are such as still need a grant-in-aid from the Missionary Society; while the 'C' Circuit is one which is mainly dependent upon it. This organization had some obvious defects. There was a certain amount of overlapping and duplication in it. But it had the great merit of holding up conspicuously a noble ideal.

At the time of writing it would appear that the constitution drafted by Mr. Findlay has served its day and achieved its purpose. Indian Methodism is ready for another step forward. It seems likely that changes will be introduced which will practically sweep away the Local Committee and commit all administration on the field to the Synod. We shall then have come near to the realization of our ultimate aim—an ecclesiastical organization which of itself finds room for the expanding capacity of the Indian Ministers and laymen, and, in course of time, with the progress and development of the Indian Church, must become a predominantly Indian body. But we need to be aware lest we have the form of freedom without its reality. After all, the highest guarantee for the liberties of the Indian Church is to be found, not in the most liberal constitution that can be devised, but in the genuine Christian spirit of our Missionaries and of the Church at home—in our willingness to co-operate as comrades and to serve, our desire not to exercise 'overlordship' but to be 'helpers of a joy.'

Pursuing this train of thought to its terminus, what do we discern as the Indian Church of the future? Plainly, unless some other influence came in to change the form and the direction of development and progress, the Indian Church would become a self-supporting, remote province of British Methodism, and finally it might hive off to form a separate Conference. That is how the work of the Missionary Society has culminated elsewhere. Will India, then, follow the example of Canada and Australasia and South Africa?

We think not, because two increasingly powerful influences

have been left out of the reckoning. One of these is the growing desire for union among Christians of different denominations ; and the other is the whole complex of emotion and resolve connoted by the word 'Nationalism.' These two impulses can be distinguished and kept apart in our treatment ; though in India, as a matter of fact, they have been closely associated, and have reinforced each other. Protestant Missionaries of many denominations and different nationalities feel that their divisions have lost their value, and are a sore hindrance. Over against Hinduism or Islam the dogmas separating the Christian sects and varieties of Church order shrink into insignificance. A Missionary is compelled, by his work and experience, to seek out the things that are fundamental, and to lay emphasis upon them alone. Moreover, the task of converting India is so stupendous that it calls for the most efficient disposition of the available forces. Denominational rivalry and overlapping are doubly wasteful and criminal on the Mission Field. Many great projects can only be carried through by whole-hearted co-operation among the Missions ; they are beyond the power of any one Mission to undertake in isolation. Thus, in one way and another, the mind of the Missionary has been impressed with the necessity for a united front and for common action. But above all and through all there has been the gracious influence of the Divine Spirit, rebuking faction, subduing pride, and leading Missionaries in the direction of a fuller fellowship. For many of them the priestly prayer of Christ, that we all may be one, will not be answered until there is again a visible expression of oneness in a reunited Church.

The first actual reunion in India took place among the Presbyterians of various nationalities, principally Scottish, Canadian, and American. Their Missions joined together in 1901 to form a Presbyterian Church of India. This coming together was comparatively easy, because it did not involve any revision of creeds or change in Church order. It was followed, however, by a much more significant act of union, when the South India United Church was formed out of the congregations of the London Missionary Society and the America Madura Mission, both of them with a Congregational ancestry and polity ; of the Missions belonging to the Established and Free Churches of Scotland ; and of the American

Arcot Mission, which is historically connected with the Dutch Reformed Church. Here it was necessary for all parties to consent to considerable changes in Church government, and new Confessions were adopted. For some time negotiations were carried on by the United Church with the Wesleyan Synods of South India, with the knowledge and approval of the Missionary Committee at home ; but they did not lead to any definite proposal of union. The strongest reluctance to join the United Church was shown by the Indian Ministers, among whom there was a natural and not unworthy desire to retain their connexion with the British Conference. But while we have remained outside of the United Church of South India, the movement has gone on, and to-day even more significant endeavours are on foot. Conferences of representatives of the South India United Church and of the Anglican congregations in India—in particular, of the great Tinnevely Church of C.M.S. origin—have been held. Here both parties came to grips with the great difficulty among Protestants—the dogma of the historic episcopate. Suggestions have been put forward which aim at preserving what is best in each organization represented—the voice of the congregation in the appointment of its Minister and the Local Committee for the administration of congregational affairs ; central government through a Synod and General Assembly ; and, finally, a constitutional episcopate, the Bishops being chosen by the Synods and acting in co-operation with them. The expedient of a ‘ Commission ’ which will confer upon the Ministers of one communion the power to preach and administer the Sacraments within the other communion is proposed to surmount the difficulty of the transition stage. Whether or not the proposed solution will prove practicable, there is evidence in these negotiations of a desire for union amounting to a passion. But what we are looking upon is not so much an Indian movement as an earnest endeavour of Western Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians to form a complete fellowship. It is the same movement as manifests itself in the homelands ; but in the Mission Field it is less hampered by traditions, and the positive forces impelling to reunion operate much more strongly.

Nationalism works alongside of this force for unity. If the origin of the reunion movement is to be found among

Foreign Missionaries, Nationalism has its springs in the heart of the Indian. The one is inspired by a vision of the Church and the other by a vision of the State. Nationalism cannot be limited to political activities, but its chief manifestation hitherto has been in politics.

Many an Indian Christian is no longer content that his religious life shall be directed by a foreign teacher, or that the affairs of the community to which he belongs shall be mainly under foreign control. He feels that this subordination fastens upon his race a stigma of inferiority, and that there is not within the Christian community scope for the powers of its most gifted members. Moreover, he believes that a predominantly foreign direction is always in danger of becoming misdirection, and that the Indian Church will never exhibit its natural graces or make its characteristic contribution to the fullness of Christian truth and life until it is free to go its own way and to manage its own affairs.

The Joint Committee of the South India United Church and of the Anglican Church in India adopted a statement in which they said, 'Our only desire, therefore, is so to organize the Church in India that it shall give the Indian expression of the spirit, the thought, and the life of the Church universal.' No one up to the present has been very successful or explicit in indicating what the Indian expression of this life will be. It has been said truly that the forms of worship used in Indian Churches are too Western; the hymns and liturgies, the forms of prayer and teaching, are sometimes painfully out of harmony with Indian culture. We may expect an Indian Church of the future to provide itself with modes of worship which are more in keeping with its genius. Then, again, the education given under foreign Missionaries in our boarding schools is criticized as being out of relation with the life of the people. When such institutions are wholly under Indian supervision and instruction, it is thought that beneficial changes will be introduced. India, with its contemplative habits and its speculative power, ought to furnish new views of the truth as it is in Jesus, but so far her contribution to Christian theology and philosophy has been small. This is a wide field for the activities of the Indian Church of the future.

While in the closing paragraphs of this chapter we have distinguished between the movements towards reunion and towards the 'Indianization' of the Church, it would be untrue to suggest that these two are in opposition. The one may have had its origin with the foreign Missionary and the other with the Indian Christian, but both are found within the one bosom and converge on the same end, and that is the establishment of one Church in India which shall be truly Indian.¹

Because the writer of this chapter believes that these two influences will ultimately prevail, his view of our Church in the future is not that it will be a separate Conference of Methodism, but that it will become a part of a great Indian Church. The ideal of an Ecumenical Methodism is no more likely to be realized in India than in China. For many years—no man can say how long—India will need the services of our Missionaries and the gifts of British Methodism; but the time may come when the Missionaries whom we send abroad will be 'permitted to labour in connexion with' an Indian Church, and our Missionary Society will enjoy the affection and esteem of that Church as a welcome Auxiliary.

¹ The National Christian Council of India has already effected a federation of the Protestant Churches of India, and as at present constituted it consists of Indians and foreign Missionaries in equal numbers.

PART III

METHODIST MISSIONS IN CHINA

I

PROLEGOMENA

'The greatest Mission Field in the World'—Knowledge and Ethics—The Lack of Power—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism—Opium and the British East India Company—An Evil Inheritance.

HENRY DRUMMOND has said that China is the greatest Mission Field in the world. This is true in more than one particular. China occupies one-third of Asia, and in geographical measurement it is one-tenth of the habitable globe. In population it is easily first of all. In material resources it is probably the wealthiest portion of the earth's surface, and in science and art it carries our thought back to the remote ages of the world's history. But that which gives China the pre-eminence among the different fields of missionary enterprise is not to be found in any of these things. It lies rather in the character of the people who inhabit a country so much before the attention of the civilized world to-day.

In the past China stood for two things; the first was the aristocracy of literature, and the other was an absolute surrender to moral ideals. If these had existed without admixture of antagonistic elements they might have placed China in the front rank of the nations; but to these generalizations we must add a third—China affords a conspicuous example of arrested development. The treasures of literature which she considered to be her sufficient enrichment belong to the past, and her moral ideals are to be found in the maxims of Confucius. But the man whom China delighted to honour was the scholar. The many thousands who crowded her examination halls knew that preferment would be given to the man whose essays approached that standard of perfection which was laid down in ancient canons. Neither military genius nor administrative ability could compare with the trained mind which was versed in the wisdom of the ancients

and had imbibed their spirit. If this acknowledgement of the supremacy of mind had been linked with openness of vision, and had contained within itself the vital principle which ensures continual growth, who can say what the position of China in the twentieth century would have been? The Chinese had a long start in front of other nations. They are a people

Whose astronomers made accurate recorded observations two hundred years before Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees; who used firearms at the beginning of the Christian era; who wore silk and lived in houses when our ancestors wore the undressed skins of animals and lived in caves; who invented printing by movable types five hundred years before that art was known in Europe; who discovered the principle of the mariner's compass, and who invented the arch, to which our modern architecture is so greatly indebted.¹

Yet these same people have been the mockery and the victims of other nations. They have been treated as a people of no account. The flimsiest pretexts have been put forward for occupying any part of Chinese territory which seemed to other nations desirable, either from the point of view of trade or from that of strategy. The occupation by Russia of Port Arthur and by Germany of Kiaou Chou was followed by the occupation of Wei Hai Wei by the British, and later still China stood by inert and helpless while the Japanese made one of her fairest provinces the theatre of their war. All this would have been impossible if it had not been that the Chinese were wrapped in luxurious dreams of their glorious past, and of their ancient superiority to other nations. They showed a strange incapacity to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing environment of modern times, and if life be 'the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external' the Chinese were indeed 'dead while they lived.'

The same hopeless contrast is to be found in the sphere of morals. Under the influence of the moral precepts of Confucius the average Chinaman exhibits certain qualities which appeal strongly to visitors from the West. The practice of courtesy is carried to a degree which seems an almost grotesque exaggeration, and the obedience which is shown to a recognized and accepted authority leaves little to be desired. It has secured

¹ A. J. Brown, *New Forces in Old China*, p. 39.

² Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Biology*, Vol. I., p. 74.

a wonderful solidarity of social and national life throughout the centuries. In industry, patience, and cheerfulness under adverse circumstances, the Chinaman may well be considered a pattern for other peoples. These are the easily recognized effects of the enforcing of Confucian ethics which has, for its centre, the duty of obedience to parents and respect for elders. But as soon as we pass from the categories of deportment and the more passive moral qualities, we step at once into a region of darkness. Corruption is notorious, not only among the officials of government but in all classes, and another widespread defect is to be found in cruelty. It has often been questioned whether the extraordinary insensibility to pain evinced by Chinese is the cause or the effect of a cruelty which forms so striking a contrast with the suavity and courtesy which they maintain in demeanour. The quality of mercy is little understood, and honour and purity seem to have died out so completely that it is scarcely possible to find terms which will express those ideas as they are commonly understood among Christians.

The cause of this failure on the positive side of right living will probably be found in the severance between religion and morality set up by the Confucian system.

The Chinese have the loftiest moral code which the human mind, unaided by Divine revelation, has ever produced, and its crystalline precepts have been the rich inheritance of every successive present from every successive past,¹

and yet this wide breach between doing and suffering pervades the whole region of moral conduct. To find its ultimate source we must go behind the failure inherent in the Confucian system, and we shall find that it shares the defect common to all systems of Pantheism. It is, indeed, a disputed point whether the idea of a personal God was ever held by the Chinese, but if it ever existed it has long since disappeared. The 'Heaven' which formed the object of worship in great Imperial celebrations seems to be used in the same sense as the 'Varuna' of Aryan times; and in the one case, as in the other, the conception speedily passed into that of an all-pervasive principle in which nothing of what we imply by 'personality' can be discovered. Now every system of

¹ A. H. Smith, *China in Convulsion*.

morals depends ultimately upon its doctrine of God. The first question which arises in considering any ethical system is, 'What are its sanctions?' If the authority at the back of the 'categorical imperative' be final, if its scope be sufficiently comprehensive to make the edict a universal law, then we may expect such a system to create character and conscience, both in the individual and in the society. Neither finality nor universality belongs to ethics apart from God, and it is not enough to know that God is worshipped; the question remains, What sort of God claims homage and obedience? Judged by these tests, the failure of Confucian ethics, impressive as they are, can be easily explained.

Given, then, a nation imbued with the custom of ancestral worship, glorifying its past and scorning to adjust itself to ever-changing conditions of life and the widening horizon of knowledge, possessing a justly revered moral code but lacking that principle of life which belongs to the great conception of the fatherhood of God, it is not difficult to account for the prevalent Chinese character. The Chinaman's ideals of life gather around knowledge; to this he gives the highest place and the greatest rewards. He acknowledges the appeal to righteousness, though this is applied to the passive rather than to the active and positive side of conduct. But knowledge has not given him power, and his morals are to be found in the worship of the letter rather than in obedience to the spirit.

In the Buddhism and the Taoism which the Chinaman adds to his Confucianism we may find the pathetic attempt to supplement the moral code which takes no count of God. The Chinaman cannot worship a code of laws, and so when the hunger for worship comes to him, as it comes to every human heart, he turns to the figure of the Buddha. Remote, passionless, undisturbed, it seems to him to suggest elements of deity which appeal to him; he renders it a ready worship, and places the image of the Buddha side by side with that of Confucius. It has sometimes been said that the three religions recognized by the State in China are one, but it is more accurate to say that while they are quite distinct, and in some respects mutually contradictory, they meet the differing moods of the Chinaman. They unite, not in their characteristic teachings, but in the consciousness of the worshipper who seeks each in

turn, as his need of the moment may dictate. Buddhism as a defined and authoritative system of religion has not been woven into the religious life of China as it has been in Thibet. It is more a fashion, a matter of occasional observance, than a religion. In 845 A.D., when it seemed likely to displace Confucianism, the Imperial authority became alarmed, and an edict was at once forthcoming, enacting the destruction of all monasteries and other Buddhistic buildings, and forcing the monks to return to secular employment. From that time it has become a matter of interest to intellectuals, and a happy hunting-ground for those who belonged to eclectic societies. Idolatry, though repugnant and meaningless to the first disciples of Gautama, became a feature of the later observance of Buddhists. The human heart took a deplorable revenge upon the teacher who had robbed it of its belief in God by deifying the teacher himself, and from worshipping the Buddha transition to the worship of other emblems was easy. The most popular of these is Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, and this deity received the adoration of those who in their sorrows long for the heart of compassion in One who is greater than the evil which has afflicted them. As is natural, women in particular, suffering from the many disappointments of the instincts of motherhood, or threatened with the displeasure of their husbands because those instincts lack fulfilment, crowd the temples of the Goddess of Mercy, and lay their infinitely pathetic offerings at the feet that never move an inch to comfort or relieve.

But neither Confucianism nor Buddhism covers the whole field of life for the Chinaman. There remains the world of dread, mysterious forces which have their effect upon his innate sense of wonder and awe. He dimly sees the working of laws for whose origin he offers no explanation, and for whose purpose he has no conjecture. He therefore adds to Confucian ethics and Buddhist ritual the superstition and the magic of the Taoist priest. Taoism, like Buddhism, has sadly degenerated from that which was taught by Lao Tsze, and is now a system of sorcery which trades upon superstition and ignorance. In time of trouble or anxiety it is to the Taoist temple that the fearful or the afflicted repair; charms which are guaranteed to protect against calamity may there be procured, and the exorcist, who for a price will drive out the

malevolent spirit which haunts the home or the person, will be found there. Taoist temples are full of idols to be propitiated or appeased.

This mere outline of the religious situation in China prior to the advent of Christianity is all that can be attempted here, but we may note the significant fact that when the Chinaman accepts Christianity he obtains exactly that which turns his natural endowments into strength and beauty of character. The conservatism which made his mind at first impenetrable to new truth now resolves itself into that tenacity of purpose and that perfect loyalty to truth which were seen to such effect on the occasion of the Boxer outbreak. During the few months of that convulsion thousands of Chinese Christians accepted torture and death rather than be false to their newly professed devotion to Christ, and it is recorded that of the hundreds of Christians who were taken into the shelter of the Foreign Legation precincts in Peking, not one proved false to those who had sheltered him.

Their former homage to moral teachings is now translated into obedience to the law of Christ, and the freedom with which Christ makes His people free breaks down the bonds of superstition ; the mind at once becomes joyous and receptive, ready to respond to every worthy appeal. The whole story of Pastor Hsi may be cited in illustration of our present contention that when Christ comes into the life of the Chinaman, all worthy natural endowments at once become instinct with life, and reveal a range of power—moral, intellectual, and spiritual—which, if it ever became universal, would place the Chinese once more in the leading files of the human race on its march to God. Our record has now to do with one of the many lines along which Christian truth has entered into the life of this amazing people. The story of its first approach in the ministry of Robert Morison makes an impressive chapter in the ever-repeated romance of human life, that romance which has to do with the Lover and the beloved ; with the pursuing and persistent Saviour, and proud, reluctant, but finally submitting man.

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In approaching the story of missionary enterprise in China it is not possible to secure a correct historical perspective without at least some reference to the subject of the opium

trade. For while the Christian faith, challenging the hold obtained upon the Chinese heart and mind by other systems, naturally evoked a certain amount of resentment and opposition, there can be no doubt that these were accentuated by the fact that the exponents of that faith were foreigners, and shared the bitter and unrelenting hostility with which foreigners were, and in a measure still are, regarded in China. The Missionary, no less than the merchant, was greeted with the cry of 'Foreign devil,' and the moral and spiritual truths he came to proclaim were heavily discounted before examination by this attitude towards those from whom the Chinaman had suffered so much. If we examine into the causes of such universal execration, we are confronted with the fact that in earlier days China was not opposed to intercourse with foreigners. The attitude of Kublai Khan towards the earliest Venetian traders, so far from indicating hostility, proves that the foreigner was not merely received with courtesy, but was admitted into the communal life of the State, and was advanced to both place and power. It is recorded that Marco Polo during the whole period of seventeen years which he spent in China was not only treated with respect and favour, but was even advanced to high office, and was finally appointed Governor of the city of Yang Chow. The earlier Missionaries of Rome, too, seem to have had no difficulty in penetrating into provinces far from the coast. Early in the seventeenth century the Jesuit Ricci was in high favour with the Imperial Court, and many churches were built for the worship of Romanists during the period in which he and John Adam Schall enjoyed the favour of the Emperor. It is on record that Kublai Khan went so far as to request the Pope to send a hundred Missionaries to China. But in the first half of the eighteenth century the Imperial authorities became alarmed at the political activities of the Romanists, and also at the increasing use of opium and the moral and physical effects which followed upon it. To say that opium was introduced by the British is contrary to fact. It was probably introduced by Arabs at a time long prior to the coming of the British trader, and its use and value for medical purposes were acknowledged. Apparently the smoking of opium began in the island of Formosa, and the practice spread from there to the mainland. The Portuguese and the Dutch traded in the drug, and when

these were ousted from their dominant position on the high seas the trade passed into the hands of the British. This was a disastrous issue to British enterprise and supremacy. Whatever relief it may have brought to Indian budgets, its moral effects have been calamitous. Edict after edict protesting against the introduction of opium was issued by the Court; the severest penalties were laid upon those who cultivated the poppy or took any part in the manufacture or sale of the drug. But the profits of the trade and the venality of local governors made such official denunciations of little value; smuggling was rife, and the trade rapidly assumed great dimensions. Between 1860 and 1900 the value of the opium exported to China rose from four and a half millions of pounds sterling to more than nine and a half millions, and nearly the whole of this came from India.

The attitude of the British East India Company to this trade was most reprehensible. When it was seen that the profits accruing were becoming considerable, the Company took over the business as a monopoly. Then followed the unhappy distinction made by Warren Hastings, when he said that 'Opium was not a necessity of life, but a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of commerce only; and the wisdom of the Government should carefully restrain internal consumption.' The commodity being prohibited in China, the contraband article was sold secretly to merchants. The sales increased by leaps and bounds, and the Indian revenue improved in proportion. It was in vain that the Chinese protested, and that the Governor of Canton thundered against the importation. The edicts of Government were couched in terms of the utmost contempt for all who took part in the unholy traffic, and such terms did much to create the popular feeling against all 'Foreign barbarians.' The East India Company meanwhile disclaimed, and instructed its officers in China to disclaim, all knowledge of the trade, though it licensed the ships that conveyed the forbidden drug, and complacently received the revenue that resulted. When in 1834 the monopoly of the East India Company over the China trade was brought to an end, the British Government sent out superintendents of trade; but the merchants who traded were left free to continue running their contraband cargoes, and the resentment of the Chinese presently

developed into open acts of hostility, until in 1839 Great Britain was at war with China. Doubtless the refusal of the Chinese to recognize the official rank and status of Lord Napier, who had been appointed Chief Superintendent of Trade, and the obstinate refusal of the Chinese to treat with the foreigner on terms of equality, had much to do with the actual outbreak of war ; but the question remains whether the refusal and opposition had not been formed, or at least accentuated, by the alarm obviously felt by the Chinese at the unscrupulous and determined attempt of traders to dispose of their baneful cargoes in a country which had declared opium to be contraband.

The result of the war was, of course, predetermined by the superiority of the British in modern warfare, and a treaty of peace was signed in 1842, by the terms of which Hong Kong was ceded to the British, five ports were thrown open to foreign trade, and the question of the traffic in opium was carefully ignored. Lin, the Chinese Commissioner, who had been sent to Canton to suppress the trade, and who had fought hard to fulfil his commission, was degraded by the Chinese Court, the fact of failure being considered to be a sufficient condemnation, whatever the conditions might be. This chapter of English history is not one which any right-minded Englishman can contemplate without shame, and that from that time the foreigner was exposed to the execrations of the Chinese is not a matter at which any one can be surprised. There were other more serious results. The indignation of the Chinese, their sense of humiliation, and their loss of respect for the Government which had accepted it, were contributory causes of the Tai-ping rebellion ; and the second war with Great Britain, which followed in 1856, while it arose from the reluctance of the Viceroy of Canton to admit foreigners into that city, or to maintain anything but the most distant relations with their representatives, was in reality due to a feeling which had been accentuated to the point of bitterness as a result of their earlier experience of foreigners who had been deaf to their entreaties and indifferent to the moral evil which had followed upon their illicit trade. The traders had filled their coffers, but they had smirched the fair name of England, and had created so strong an anti-foreign animus in the Chinese that for many years to come the more legitimate offers of trade,

and all advances in the direction of friendly intercourse, were met with suspicion, opposition, and hatred. Into this evil inheritance the Missionary entered by the mere fact that he belonged to the hated race. His efforts were thwarted by officials wherever it was safe to do so, and the common people refused to listen to a teaching which they associated with an immoral Government of unscrupulous barbarians. For years to come the Missionaries were forced to accept the sorry protection of the British gun-boat in the treaty-port.¹

¹ For an informing account of the later history of negotiations between Great Britain and China in the matter of the opium trade the reader is referred to the *Foreign Field* of 1911, p. 392.

II

CANTON : A BARRED ENTRANCE

A Reluctant Administration—George Piercy—The first Synod—The Tai-ping Rebellion—War with Great Britain—The Treaty of Tientsin—Fatshan—T. G. Selby—The Hakka People—Hong Kong—Political Agitation.

THE Wesleyan Missionary Society was long in making up its mind to begin work in China. After the proclamation of peace between Great Britain and China in 1842 several Societies turned their attention to the latter country, and considerable reinforcements were sent out by the London Missionary Society and by American Churches already at work in this field. But the Wesleyans seemed reluctant to move in this direction in spite of the fact that contributions towards work in this very field had been offered by individual members of the Church. This hesitation of the Society is easily understood, and was altogether reasonable. It was committed to an ever-increasing expenditure in the West Indies, Africa, the South Seas, and India. All these countries were under British administration, and ample facilities for work were to be found in them, while in China the Government had explicitly declared its unwillingness to tolerate the foreign teaching. Further, in the home Churches there was nothing like adequate provision for the work already begun in the countries mentioned. It was obvious that to establish and to develop that work the resources of the Society would be heavily taxed, and those resources seemed to have already reached the point of exhaustion. In 1844 the Society was in debt. Under such circumstances the home Committee was bound to turn away from the newly-opened field. In the Conference of 1846 both Dr. Bunting and Dr. Beecham urged strongly that it was impossible for the Committee to undertake what was likely to be an expensive Mission in addition to those to which it was already

committed. Donations for a Mission to China had been received, and were carefully preserved for such work when an adequate opening should present itself, but in their opinion there was no such opening at that time, nor were the offerings of the Church sufficient to justify them in embarking upon so great an enterprise. In spite of this statement, however, donations continued to come in, and the Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Thomas Farmer, offered to contribute the sum of a thousand pounds in ten annual instalments. In 1851, by which time six of these instalments had been paid, Mr. Farmer not only completed the full amount of a thousand pounds, but also promised to continue an annual subscription of one hundred pounds towards a Mission in China.

Another centre from which pressure was put upon the Committee was found in a gentleman of the name of Rowland Rees, who was attached to the Royal Engineers, then a civil department of the War Office. Mr. Rees was at that time stationed in Hong Kong, where he held meetings in his own house for Methodist soldiers, and conducted a Class-meeting. In 1844 he wrote to the Missionary Secretaries urging that a Missionary be sent to each of the five ports then opened on the terms of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and China. He also forwarded a subscription towards the work which he hoped would be begun. Some years after a grandson of Mr. Rees, the Rev. Philip Rees, became a Missionary in China, and we shall come to his story in due course. But the determining factor in breaking down the reluctance of the Committee was found in the action taken by a young Local Preacher in the Pickering Circuit. Mr. George Piercy had the burden of China laid upon his heart, and he was unable to wait until the Missionary Society had enough funds in sight to justify them in sending Missionaries to that country. He determined to go out at his own expense ; and he hoped that if the time should come when his funds would be exhausted he would be able to find employment by which he would be able to support himself while continuing his work as an evangelist. Here again we find 'the spirit of a great adventure.'

Mr. Piercy set himself to study the Chinese language, and sailed for Hong Kong in the autumn of 1850. It was known at the Mission House that a Methodist soldier, Sergeant Ross,

had gathered together a few devout soldiers for mutual aid and comfort of the spirit. Piercy therefore hoped to find a Methodist Class in being when he arrived at Hong Kong ; but when he landed he found that Sergeant Ross had died, and that only one of the Methodist band remained. He was, however, kindly received by Dr. Legge, of the London Missionary Society, and began work among the soldiers of the garrison. A Society was soon formed, a small chapel was opened for worship, and while thus ministering to the soldiers Piercy gave himself up to the study of Chinese. He also set himself to acquire some knowledge of medicine for the furtherance of his work. He was still, however, on the threshold ; not yet had he entered into the longed-for field of service. He speaks of himself as having come ' fresh from the plough,' and of having acquired few qualifications for work in China ' except a believing heart, a firm spirit, and an inflexibility of spirit not to be thwarted but by absolute impossibilities.' After all, these were no mean qualifications. The question now arose where he should begin his work when the way was opened for him to do so. The coast nearest to Hong Kong was in the district of Kowloon. That territory has since been ceded to Great Britain, but at that time there was no probability that he would be allowed to hold any property in that province, and he found the dialect spoken there so different from that which he had acquired in Hong Kong that the thought of beginning at Kowloon was soon abandoned. He was greatly attracted by Fatshan, the scene of a great medical service in after days, but he finally decided to begin in the western suburbs of Canton.

Other Missionaries were already at work in Canton, but in that swarming hive of human life there was abundant scope for a strong Methodist Mission. It was not a Mission which could be called ' strong ' which now approached Canton. The Methodist Church in China in December, 1851, was represented by a single and unordained Local Preacher, with no assured support from the Church to which he belonged. The Yorkshire lad ' fresh from the plough ' landed from his boat, and made his way through the crowded street, scarcely as yet able to speak to the men he met, and greeted with cries of ' Foreign devil '—it was in such wise that George Piercy entered upon his memorable ministry ; it was in such wise that the Methodist Church came to China.

After residing in Canton for some time Piercy was moved to make a formal offer of his service to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, sending with this offer his views of Methodist doctrine and discipline in catechetical form, and the Society in England was thus confronted with an alternative which it had long considered, but upon which it had not been able to take any definite action. Meantime others in England had felt the burden of China on their hearts. The Rev. W. R. Beach, who had been conscious for some time of a 'call' from that distant land, offered to go if the Society would accept his service, and a young student, then in Richmond College, offered to find his own maintenance if the Committee would grant him permission to join Piercy in Canton. The student's name was Josiah Cox, and in the providence of God he was to lay the foundations of a Church, the dimensions of which he never guessed at, in the very heart of a great Empire. It is a matter to be noted that the Methodist Church in China was born in the mind and heart of a few devoted men, and not in the deliberate and collective counsel of the Church.

The Committee, cautious as it was, could not withstand the pressure brought to bear upon it from so many directions, and in a letter to Piercy dated January 19, 1853, he was informed that Messrs. Beach and Cox had been ordained to the Ministry in China, and that they were instructed to bear to him a parchment equivalent to letters of ordination for Piercy himself. The position thus assigned to the Rev. George Piercy was afterwards questioned by some of the Presbyterian Missionaries in Canton, who objected to his joining them in the administration of the Lord's Supper on the ground that he had not been ordained by the imposition of hands, but the Secretaries in London, Dr. Osborn, Dr. Hoole, Dr. Beecham and William Arthur, defended the validity of his ordination, and insisted that 'the Methodist Connexion does not deem imposition of hands essential to a scriptural and valid Ministry, but a ceremony which may be used or not as circumstances require ; a scriptural ceremony indeed, highly becoming and generally expedient ; but not of the essence of ordination.' Together with this document there was also sent an elaborate statement described as 'Instructions to the Missionaries appointed to commence a Mission in China.' This document was afterwards printed in pursuance of a resolution of the

Committee. It consists of much more than 'Instructions.' The Secretaries justify their hesitation in beginning work in China on the grounds which we have already considered, and proceed to enumerate the causes which led to their changed purpose in the matter. They then consider the question of the most suitable sphere of their operations, finally deciding, largely on the ground that Piercy had already obtained a foothold in Canton, that this city should be their first centre. The question of finance is then considered, and the anxiety of the Committee on this matter is evidenced by the careful way in which expenditure is made to depend, not upon the discretion of the Missionaries, nor upon contingent circumstances, but upon a carefully defined plan, so that the Committee might be able to forecast at the commencement of each year what its commitments for that year would be. The funds allotted from year to year were not to be used 'except to a very limited extent' for the acquiring of property, but in the support and extension of the work itself. The Missionaries were to aim especially at the conversion of adults, and not to be deterred by the difficulty of securing a change of faith in these. Education, for the moment to be limited to the use of Chinese as a medium, was to be taken up, and the training of a Native Ministry is especially enjoined. Then follow minute instructions as to establishing the special ordinances, and maintaining the discipline, of the Methodist Church. It is evident that the Committee felt the importance of the step they were then taking in beginning new work in a country which differed in many ways from those in which work had been attempted hitherto, and which in its vast extent and population might lead to expense far beyond the means at their command. But it may be considered whether such minute instructions did not cramp and fetter those who were embarking upon an enterprise in which circumstances might demand a measure of freedom for those who were to commend the Christian faith to a people of strongly marked and strange characteristics.

In the year 1853 the first Synod of the Methodist Church in China was held. In the month of December of that year the three Missionaries already mentioned met in Canton. As Josiah Cox wrote, 'It did not seem a very imposing affair—three young men consulting over certain papers in a private room ;

but this is only the earnest of something more worthy of Methodism, and more adequate to the work.' He strongly supported Piercy in urging that educational work was a first necessity. The Missionaries took careful heed of the advice of the Committee to aim at the conversion of the adult, but they claimed that the educational branch of their work was of vital importance. They also pleaded for an immediate increase of their staff in view of the fact that two or three years must elapse before a Missionary would become an efficient preacher in Chinese. 'A long forethought, a long preparing, and a long service, are called for in a Chinese Mission.' This first Report of the 'three young men in a private room' is characterized by wisdom and loyalty. It offered an excellent augury for the new adventure of the Church. Two of them were destined, in the providence of God, to be the founders of the Methodist Church in two of the greatest centres of life in China, but Beach did not continue long in this service. In 1856 he withdrew from the Methodist Church and became a Chaplain in connexion with the Anglican Church.

Beach and Cox had not been many weeks in Canton before the Tai-ping rebellion drew the eyes of all the world to China. The movement began with the appearance of Hung Sin-ts'uan, the son of a humble settler, who presented himself for examination with a view of obtaining the degree which would qualify him for office. In the final trial he failed, and was convinced that bribery and favouritism were the real cause of his failure. The opium war of 1842 had further opened his eyes to the corruption and weakness of his country, and had induced in him a profound depression. While in this state of mind he happened to read certain books and tracts which had been given him by Liang A-fah, a convert of Dr. Milne's, and afterwards the coadjutor of Dr. Morrison in his literary work. He connected what he found in the books with certain visions which, he said, had been given him during his illness, and in consequence began to denounce idolatry and to lead a crusade against the Manchu dynasty. He finally proclaimed himself 'The King of Great Peace,' and in 1850 he took up arms against the Emperor. Early successes led to his being joined by crowds of malcontents. Secret societies, always to be found in China, espoused his cause, and he led a great army almost to the gates of Peking. There was much in the earlier

movement which suggested a Christian background, if not a Christian motive. Hung inculcated not only the condemnation of idolatry, but also the observance of the Sabbath, the circulation of the Christian Scriptures, and a considerable amount of Christian instruction. Hung himself had previously applied to an American Baptist Missionary for admission to the Christian Church, and his baptism was deferred only because it was felt that his motive was not free from suspicion. It can scarcely be a matter for wonder that Missionaries in China at that time regarded the movement with hope,¹ and we shall see that it had much to do with the commencement of our Mission in Wuchang.

In the *Notices* of 1853 there appears a long letter from Josiah Cox, giving a full account of the movement and of its prominent features. The writer concludes with the confession that he anticipates a good result from the movement, and commends it to God in prayer. He wrote, 'When I came to China I felt all around me the gloom of midnight darkness; now the clouds seem to be breaking, and I know not what the day may bring, but I hail the glimmering dawn.' This view of the Tai-ping rebellion was shared by the Committee in England. In a secretarial letter written by Dr. Beecham the statement is made :

To take the lowest view of the movement, God evidently appears, in His providence, to be breaking down the idolatrous Tartar power in China which hitherto has placed itself in opposition to His truth, and thus to be preparing the way for the more extensive introduction of the Gospel; and when we take into consideration the considerable amount of scriptural truth which the insurgents appear to possess we are led to anticipate some favourable result from its influence, notwithstanding the dangerous error with which that truth is commingled. We entertain the strong conviction that God will so overrule the whole as to make it subservient to His own gracious designs respecting China—that important portion of the inheritance of His dear Son.

But whatever element of Christianity may have been in the original movement, it was quickly obscured and discarded. The crusade degenerated into a rebellion, in the course of which millions of human beings were slain, and the whole country traversed by the army of Hung was devastated. Hung failed deplorably in the task of administration in the provinces he

¹ See *Griffiths John*, by the Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, pp. 124-142.

had occupied. He gave himself up to a life of self-indulgence, and when the Imperial troops under General Gordon captured Nanking in 1864, he closed his extraordinary career by suicide.

In 1856, while the whole country was in the throes of this rebellion, war again broke out between Great Britain and China, and, as on the former occasion, the opium traffic was its real cause. A small vessel, named the *Arrow*, was engaged in smuggling opium into China, and, entirely without authorization, was flying the British flag. The Chinese authorities seized the vessel as being engaged in contraband. This action of theirs was held to be an insult to the national flag, and war was declared. Peace was made at Tientsin, and in 1860 the resultant treaty was ratified in Peking. While the war continued it was impossible for the Missionaries to remain in Canton, that city coming under the bombardment of British men-of-war. They accordingly withdrew to the Portuguese settlement at Macao, and waited for better days. They were joined while they waited in Macao by three other Missionaries sent out from England in 1854. These were the Revs. S. Hutton, S. J. Smith, and J. Preston; but the years they spent at Macao were given up to the study of the language, so that when in 1858 they returned to Canton they had acquired 'a very good ability to preach,' while Hutton in addition had been able to instruct in theology a young Chinaman, who, it was hoped, might one day become a Missionary to his own people. During this time Josiah Cox visited Singapore and Malacca, distributing Bibles and other Christian literature to Chinese emigrants in those regions. When at last, in 1858, they returned to Canton, it was found that their houses and chapels had been burned to the ground, and they were obliged to reside in rented houses until their homes could be rebuilt.

The treaty of Tientsin was of importance from a Missionary point of view by reason of the following clause which it contained:

The Christian religion having for its essential object to lead men to virtue, the members of all Christian communions shall enjoy full security for their persons, their property, and the full exercise of their religious worship, and entire protection shall be given to Missionaries who peaceably enter the country furnished with passports. No obstacle shall be interposed by the Chinese authorities to the recognized right of any person in China to embrace Christianity, if he please, and to obey its requirements without being subjected on that account to

any penalty. Whatever has been hitherto written, proclaimed or published in China by order of Government against the Christian faith is wholly abrogated and annulled in all the provinces of the Empire.

This particular clause, however, in some mysterious way appeared only in the French version of the treaty, and the British authorities declared themselves unable to insist upon the privileges it describes, though French Missionaries were not slow to do so. Of greater importance was the fact that nine other cities, including Hankow, were thrown open to foreign trade and to foreigners who might choose to reside within them. This treaty was received with great joy by those who wished to bring to China something more than the uncertain advantages of trade. In a letter to the Secretaries Josiah Cox writes :

With regard to Missions, the treaty seems like a gift from God to His Church, and I receive it with much gratitude. . . . I think we may avail ourselves of its provisions without danger of inducing difficulties between the two Governments. If we are found faithful men, God will help us to go forward.

It was also found that the attitude of the Cantonese towards Missionaries had changed for the better, largely on account of the excellent behaviour of the British troops who had occupied the city during the war. So long as Missionaries remained in the city they were in safety, their chief obstacle at this time being the indifference of the people to the Gospel they proclaimed. In the country it was far otherwise. Time and again they were stoned and robbed, and found their lives in peril from robbers and ill-disposed villagers. In 1862 the Mission house in Canton was destroyed in a typhoon, in the course of which a large junk was driven right into the house. In spite of such things, however, the work was continued in the patience of hope.

Piercy had from the first felt the attractiveness of Fatshan as a centre of Mission work, and in 1860 he visited that city, leaving behind him two colporteurs who should distribute Christian literature. Later on Piercy's prophetic vision was fully justified, but the fulfilment was not seen for many years.

During the next twelve years eight Missionaries were sent to Canton, but of these only few were able to remain for anything like a considerable number of years. J. S. Parkes

returned with broken health after four years of service (1860-1864), and J. H. Rogers (1865-1869) did the same. F. P. Napier was transferred after one year to Wuchang. E. Sinzinex also remained in the District for only three years (1873-1876). The other four, H. Parkes (1862-1881), J. Gibson (1865-1879), S. Whitehead (1866-1875), T. G. Selby (1868-1882), and F. J. Masters (1872-1882), were able to remain longer, and proved themselves to be men of mark, contributing much to the new Methodist Church struggling into life. But the frequent removals were against the rapid development which might have been expected from so strong a reinforcement. One fruitful extension, however, belongs to this period. In 1863 a proposal was sent to England, endorsed by prominent residents in Canton, that stations outside Canton should be occupied by the Methodist Church. Three gentlemen, of whom the late Sir Robert Hart was one, promised to subscribe a hundred pounds each if this extension was made; but the stations suggested did not seem the most suitable, and there were not enough men with a knowledge of Chinese to make it possible. Shortly after the true line of advance was found in the North River District, and of this we shall have much to say in due course.

Meantime the Committee in England had not been remiss in pressing the claims of the Mission to China. Their policy at first was to look upon that Mission as special and extra to those to which they were already committed. Donations and subscriptions had been made for this specific object even before the work had begun, and the Committee urged that this method of financing the work should be continued. It was not until 1861 that the cost of the Mission to China was charged to the general fund of the Society. In 1854 a special meeting for the advocacy of the work in China was added to the anniversary services of the Society. This took the form of a breakfast, followed by a public meeting, and even after the reference of the meeting had been enlarged to cover other fields the gathering was known as 'The China Breakfast Meeting.' The first of these special meetings took place on May 29, 1854, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor of London, the Right Honourable Thomas Sidney. The results were most satisfactory. The financial proceeds, including one gift of a thousand pounds, amounted to three thousand

pounds. Another welcome gift was that of six thousand Chinese copies of the New Testament, but that which aroused as much interest as any was the gift of twenty-five pounds collected by Methodist soldiers serving in the Crimea. That these men, suffering the notorious hardships of the Crimean War, should thus have contributed to the service of their Church in distant China, shows how widespread and deep-seated was the Missionary feeling in the Methodist communion at that time. Another interesting gift was sent to Mr. Piercy towards the first Wesleyan chapel in Canton. This was the gift of Messrs. Cole Brothers, of Sheffield. Their father had contributed towards the chapel at Pickering, from which Circuit Piercy had come. The gift thus carried on their father's interest in the Pickering Church, and extended that interest to the Far East. In 1861 a large legacy for Missions in India and China was realized, and in the following year the Committee allowed their hope to pass into confidence and enterprise. The following extract appears in the Minutes of the Committee meeting on June 11, 1862 :

In regard to China, the Committee rejoice to find themselves in somewhat peculiar circumstances, the funds for the requisite extension having been already provided by the abounding liberality of two or three individuals who are amongst their most munificent supporters. The claims of Fatshan, so long and earnestly urged by Mr. Piercy, have been specifically and for the present amply provided for by an anonymous donor. It is therefore determined to commence operations there as soon as suitable men can be trained and sent. The opening at Hankow will be regarded by all the friends of the Society as one which it would be scarcely less than criminal to neglect. Considering the number and accessibility of the population, and the probability that it will become the centre of European commerce in that vast empire, the Committee feel that some portion of the liberal contributions entrusted to the Society last year for the specific purpose of extension in China may be most fittingly employed in the commencement of operations in Hankow, while any further accessions to their funds may with equal propriety be employed in laying the foundations of a Mission in Peking and Tientsin.

It was also decided to begin medical work in Fatshan. As early as 1858 Josiah Cox had associated himself with Dr. Wang, of the London Missionary Society, in beginning medical work in Canton, but the arrangement was not found to be workable, and was abandoned in 1859. Now a more mature scheme, and one destined to affect for good the whole of our

work in Canton, was prepared, but it was not until 1880 that Dr. Wenyon had the honour of giving effect to the purpose of the Committee.

Although the Committee was thus prepared to embark upon a greatly extended scheme of work in China, it must not be thought that they were reckless in their administration of the funds thus realized. At the breakfast meeting of 1858 the Rev. W. B. Boyce had thought it necessary to warn the Church that owing to the extent and importance of the field they could not afford to have a *little* Mission in China. Warnings were also sent to Piercy against overdrawing the grants allowed by the Committee, and a solemn injunction, which was scarcely necessary, was sent to the Synod of 1863 to the effect that the Missionaries should 'guard against the disposition to assimilate their style of living to that of the rich merchants and civilians with whom they were living on terms of social equality.'

The financial exhilaration of the Committee soon passed away, and its place was taken by an equal anxiety. This had a twofold effect, and in either case it was deplorable. On the one hand, it prevented the Committee from providing beforehand the supply of Missionaries to carry on the work when either the failure of health or the arrival of furlough entailed the return of Missionaries to England. Thus in 1865 Piercy was in England on furlough, and Cox had removed to Hankow. Preston, Smith, Hutton, and J. S. Parkes had all been in Canton for some years, and it seemed likely that family affliction would necessitate the return of several of these. There was every probability that in 1866 Preston would be the only Missionary of the first group remaining in Canton, and he would then have been ten years on the field. With the exception of Henry Parkes, who had been sent out for the special object of beginning work in Fatshan, no reinforcement had then reached Canton, and the Missionaries were depressed in contemplating the prospect before them. Piercy, during his furlough, wrote a piteous letter to the Secretaries, calling attention to this lack of provision on their part. He wrote in the deepest pain and sorrow to say that under such circumstances he could no longer say that he was ready to return to China. Happily the depression passed away, and he returned in 1866.

The second ill-effect of secretarial anxiety was that the letters written about this time to the men on the field were the very opposite of encouraging. Not only did they convey the information that new men for Canton could not be found ; they abounded in criticism of the expenditure of money on the field. Thus when the wife of one of the Missionaries was too ill to nurse her baby, objection was taken to the quite necessary provision of a wet-nurse. So constant was this feature of the letters written about this time to Canton that Cox was led on behalf of his married colleagues to protest against the spirit of such communications. He did so in a letter as strong as it was delicate and tender. He implores the Committee to give their confidence to the Missionaries on the field. Messrs. Gibson and Rogers arrived in Canton during the month of March, 1866 ; but, of course, until they had learned to speak Chinese they could not be supposed to fill the blanks caused by the return of those who were efficient preachers in that language. The Committee recognizes this in a statement made at the time, but it would have indicated something more like statesmanship if they had sent the men out three years before. The year 1866 may be taken as indicating the close of the first period of work in China, and the annual report shows that there were then six Missionaries attached to this field, and there were six Catechists to assist them. There were thirty-nine members in the Church, and Fatshan was the only station mentioned outside Canton.

Of the circumstances that led to the removal of Josiah Cox to Hankow, and of the Mission that resulted in that great central city, a full account will appear in a later chapter. In 1865 the work in Hankow was put under a separate administration, and from that time the new District was independent of that in Canton. The removal of Cox, and the return of Preston to England in 1866, left Piercy the sole survivor of those who had shared the labour and the peril of pioneer work among an unfriendly and often truculent people. He found himself the leader of men who for some years would be unable to render help in preaching to the people, and the fact that they were so much younger than himself and lacking in experience was unfortunate for Piercy himself. It led him to attempt to administer the work of the District, relying too much upon his own initiative, and contenting himself with the

approval of the Secretaries in London, without first securing the support of his colleagues. This course had unfortunate results later on. For the first few years the work was done by the Catechists who accompanied the Missionaries in touring among the villages and in distributing literature in Canton. Occasional visits were also paid to Fatshan, where one of these Catechists had been stationed for some years. In 1866 the Revs. F. P. Napier and Silvester Whitehead arrived in Canton, and two years later they were followed by the Rev. T. G. Selby. All of these were men of outstanding ability, and their selection shows the anxiety of the Committee to send their best recruits to the new Mission in China. In 1868 Mr. Whitehead was appointed to visit Fatshan three times in every month, but up to that time no convert had appeared in that city. It is noteworthy, too, that in that same year two colporteurs were appointed to reside in Shiuchow. Of this place we shall have much to say later on.

In 1870 there was a recrudescence of anti-foreign feeling throughout China, and this culminated in a particularly brutal attack upon the Roman Catholic orphanage established by the Sisters of Mercy in Tientsin. A similar animosity appeared in the far south, especially in Fatshan, where the Rev. T. G. Selby was singled out as the object of hatred and attack. His house was described in public placards, and an explicit invitation to destroy it was given. The vilest actions were ascribed to the Missionary as justification for any violence the mob might see fit to use, while Chinese Christians were told that they had only a few days to live. If Selby had claimed protection for himself under the terms of the Treaty of Tientsin, the only effect would have been an order from the British Consul to leave Fatshan and to reside in Canton. Fortunately at this point the American Consul intervened, and a proclamation was posted in Fatshan calling upon the people to show respect to foreigners and to abstain from acts of violence. The excitement at once died down, but it was some time before those who were beginning to show an interest in the Christian religion had the courage to do so openly. The hatred of the people, inflamed by the news from Tientsin, and encouraged by official delay in punishing the agents of that outrage, was only smothered by the vice-regal proclamation, and resentment thus curbed was all the more sullen.

In 1871 the mob was again excited by a rumour that a certain powder was being put into the public wells by the Missionaries, the effect of which would be a disease among those who used the water. Since the Missionaries were the only persons who could cure the ailment, people would be compelled to go to them for relief. When after a time no disease appeared the Chinese lost their faith in those who thus played upon their gullibility.

For many years Fatshan was the centre in which this hostile feeling was most apparent, but animosity gave way to the competitive spirit. Chinese associations were formed for the preaching of Confucian ethics, and for the inculcation of patriotic principles, missionary methods being slavishly copied in this propaganda. Little by little the hostile feeling diminished, and Selby was able to build a Mission house in Fatshan. Here he was joined in 1874 by the Rev. Edward Sinzinex, and in 1876 the two issued a circular advocating a system of itinerancy made binding upon all Missionaries, so that all would be expected to tour among the towns and villages, whether they liked it or not. The issuing of this document was due to the recognition of the unquestioned fact that such tours were most fruitful in bringing the Gospel before the attention of persons removed from the indifference and hostility prevalent in the larger towns and cities. But the scheme met with much criticism, largely on account of the rigidity of the rule proposed. Gibson in Canton and Scarborough in Hankow both wrote at great length against the adoption of any such rule. Perhaps the strongest adverse criticism was made by one who himself was one of the most assiduous and successful followers of the practice advocated. David Hill was strongly opposed to any such law being laid down by the Committee. He urged that the method of work should be more spontaneous on the part of the individual Missionary; that each man should discover the kind of work for which he was best adapted, and should follow that fully and freely. Hill was reluctant to increase the measure of organization already prominent in the Methodist system. He declared himself in favour of 'not the grinding service of the slave, but the abounding liberty of a son.' The scheme was not adopted, but the incident is of importance as indicating the bent of Selby's thought at this time. The burden of souls

in the inland provinces weighed heavily upon his heart. He was of opinion that 'the harvests are stunted and sickly and meagre that are overshadowed by Consular flags; but rich and golden harvests are to be reaped in these inland plains, under the open heaven. . . . To my ear the overruling providence of the last six years seems to say, "Out into these interior cities."' It was certainly significant that after twenty-five years of work there were only three stations in the District, two in Canton and one in Fatshan, and Selby considered that the time was ripe for inland extension. On his return from furlough in 1877 he began a Mission in the North River District, which was destined to prove a most fruitful field. He began by hiring a boat for three months, and he, with two Christian Catechists who accompanied him, made that boat their home. Together they made a circuit of seven places, visiting each once a week, and finally deciding to rent a house in Shiuchow, where the prospect seemed to be most favourable. Shiuchow is a prefectural city distant from Canton about two hundred and fifty miles. At first communications were by river, and entailed a journey of three weeks by boat; but subsequently a line of railway, destined eventually to connect Canton with Peking, reduced that expenditure of precious time to a period of seven hours, and it is now accomplished with a fair amount of comfort to the traveller. With the opening of the preaching-hall large congregations began to assemble, and presently inquirers came forward, until gradually a little Church was formed which increased year by year.

The people inhabiting this region are known as 'Hakkas,' or strangers, the name being given on account of the difference between them and the Cantonese, both in social custom and language. The linguistic variation was one of 'tone,' but the difference made by this was so great that a Missionary who was proficient in Cantonese would find his speech seriously affected if for any length of time he were to speak in Hakka. Our Missionaries in Shiuchow were accustomed to speak in Cantonese, since many of their hearers came from Canton, but the agents of the Roman Church were wise in using only the Hakka dialect in this region. Largely on account of this difference in dialect, the Hakka people were lightly esteemed by the Cantonese, and where the two communities were thrown together, it was taken for granted that the more menial tasks

and all inferior offices fell to the former. At the same time it must not be supposed that the Hakka people correspond to the Pariahs of India. They had their own *litterati* and higher social classes. The two communities differed as one clan from another ; feuds and conflicts between them were frequent and bitter.

In tone and temper the difference between the Hakkas and the Cantonese was most marked. The former were uniformly more courteous and more kindly in disposition than the latter. They were hospitable, and inclined to listen to the foreign teacher. Contempt for the foreigner as such was not nearly so pronounced as it was in the large cities further south. These characteristics indicated a favourable seed-bed for the dissemination of Gospel truth. In 1878 Selby was joined by Grainger Hargreaves, and in 1880 a little Church of twenty members was already in existence. From Shiuchow the light spread to Ying Tak, a town half-way between Shiuchow and Canton, thence to Mong Fu Kong and Tai-Tau-Ling, in which last-named places the Church increased so rapidly that these two stations were the first to guarantee the support of their own pastor, and thus to become self-supporting. Buildings were rented and adapted for worship at Ma-Pa, Sheung Tai, and Chak Tong, the cost of these being met almost entirely by local contributions.

The growth of the Church among the Hakka people has been both rapid and continuous. In 1890 the twenty members of ten years before had increased to more than three hundred. In 1900 there were five hundred and ninety-four persons in full membership, with two hundred others on probation for membership. In 1910 the numbers were eight hundred and eighty-two, and seventy-five ; and though in 1913 the number was slightly diminished, there were no less than twenty-four chapels in the North River Mission, with the same number of Chinese Ministers and Evangelists. The Circuit is thus one of the strongest in China, and Selby's contention has been fully justified. This welcome development was not the result of any marked change of method on the part of the Missionaries, nor was it due to any increase in their staff. The good seed fell into receptive hearts in distant cities, and often under other skies. Then, when the hearer returned to his village, his fellow countrymen heard of hearts that had been ' strangely

warmed,' and of a new outlook upon life, and such testimony led at last to a request for a Christian teacher, who found on his arrival 'a people prepared of the Lord.' It was thus that the word came to U-Nyen, thirty miles west of Shiuchow, and to Lok Ching, on the very borders of Hunan. The growth of the Church was not without an occasional set-back. Time and again the spirit of resentment was roused as the people saw their own rulers helpless against the aggression of foreigners. During the war with France the Mission premises at Ying Tak were wrecked, and the same thing occurred at Shiuchow in 1885. In the last-named city the unearthing of human skeletons while the foundations of the new hospital were being digged led to the cessation of the work, to the great disappointment of Roderick Macdonald. In 1895 the same spirit of vexation and unrest reappeared when China was defeated by Japan, and revolution in Canton was prevented only by the timely discovery of the plot, and by the execution of its promoters. During the Boxer outrages the government of Canton was in the strong hands of Li Hung Chang, who kept the turbulent element in that city under control. There was thus little disturbance in Canton or in the Hakka prefecture, but in Sunwui to the south-west of Canton the Missionaries had to deplore the destruction of chapels and other Mission property. In 1905 two Mission houses, occupied by Dewstoe and Robinson in Shiuchow, were burned to the ground. The personal loss to the Missionaries was very great, but greater still was their disappointment at the destruction of hope which had never been greater.

There was much disappointment, too, about this time over the inadequate provision made for the North River Mission both in men and material. As we have seen, this was by far the most fertile part of the Canton field, and if adequate buildings and an increase of staff could have been secured, a very large Church might have been established in this district. But the opportunity passed, and others pressed in and gathered the harvest which our men had sown. In every one of our Mission Districts, even where we have rejoiced over great ingatherings, the same story is to be told. It is the story of unaccepted opportunity; of a 'great and effectual door' flung open before Missionaries eager to enter, and of a Church hesitating to bid them do so, deterred by the fear of insufficient

support on the part of its members. This failure to provide for the work in China was realized when the Rev. Henry Haigh visited that field as Secretary in 1912. The occasion was critical in the history of a country distracted by foreign invasion, and by internal and oft-recurring revolt. The Boxer rising of 1900 was the latest convulsion of a nation weakened by its own failure to profit by the advance of knowledge, and also by the greed and corruption of its administrators. It had become the facile prey of unscrupulous foreigners, and was helpless to use the enormous natural advantages which it possessed. In despair the Government proceeded to launch, by way of imperial edict, one reform after another ; but the evil had gone too far to be arrested by edict, and the great revolution of 1912 swept the Manchu dynasty away and set up a Republic in its place. One of the first acts of the new Government was without parallel in the history of such convulsions, and the world was startled to find the newly-formed Government of China appealing to the Christian Church on its behalf. This edict is so remarkable that it may well find a place in our record :

Prayer is requested for the National Parliament now in session, for the newly established Government, for the President yet to be elected, for the Constitution of the Republic, that the Government may be recognized by the Powers, that peace may reign within our country, that strong, virtuous men may be elected to office, that the Government may be established upon a strong foundation.

Upon receipt of this telegram you are requested to notify all Christian Churches in your province that April 27, 1913, has been set aside as a Day of Prayer for the Nation.

Let all take part.

It was just at the moment of this most moving appeal to the Christian Church that Dr. Haigh made his secretarial visit to China. In the year that preceded it our Missionaries had baptized five hundred adult converts, and hope and expectation rose to the highest point. Our Mission in the country had then been in existence for more than sixty years, and the Methodist Church was well established in the three Districts, Canton, Wuchang, and Hunan. It might have been thought that within that time the material basis of a new and more vigorous enterprise would have been in position, and the organization of workers been perfected, so that into the

ferment of the new life that had been evolved the Church might have entered with power and grace in equal measure. But as the result of this official visit the Committee awoke to the fact that its work was on a scale far from adequate to the need and the opportunity of the hour. Mission buildings were insufficient and badly situated, while the stations were seriously understaffed, and the Missionaries were so fully occupied by ever-increasing tasks of administration that evangelistic work was not attempted as it should have been. Further, the long-continued neglect of educational work had led to the inevitable penalty of a paucity of trained Chinese Ministers and Catechists. At the very moment in which the Church should have sent out its agents in every direction those agents were not forthcoming. The reason for this is to be found in an illuminating fact duly recorded in 1892. In that year the first self-supporting Church in Canton was formed. There was great and legitimate rejoicing over this event. It was described as 'an important crisis in our history.' So it undoubtedly was. It meant that even if the European Missionary were withdrawn, there would remain established in Canton an indigenous Methodist Church. But the report goes on to declare that though Mr. Grainger Hargreaves was doing a successful work in connexion with a training college which he had inaugurated for Catechists and teachers, 'this new departure was considered to be of such importance that he was urged to leave this work, and to give himself to the oversight of the Canton Circuits.' It was not realized that the provision of pastoral and prophetic leadership in the indigenous Church thus coming into being was of supreme importance, and ought to have taken precedence of any other. The issue of this action appears ten years afterwards in a letter written by the Rev. W. Bridie. It exhibits a mind which is wise and a heart which is infinitely concerned for the well-being of the Church. In it he refers to the educational upheaval which followed upon the Boxer outbreak. Then at last the eyes of China were opened, and an extraordinary demand for education on modern lines made itself heard in all the eighteen provinces of China. In the schools and colleges set up by the Government in answer to this demand there was an avowed intention to exclude Christianity, and not only was the Christian student denied the opportunity of fitting himself to take part in the

life and work of the new China thus coming into existence,¹ but the Church was unable to reach the thousands of students who were to be the leaders of the new order.

The close of Piercy's administration was marred by the clash of strong minds in disagreement, and with a considerable amount of discord in consequence. Piercy had returned to England after the death of Mrs. Piercy in 1878, but sailed again for Canton in 1879. His own health was far from satisfactory, and in this extended period of his chairmanship he failed to take his colleagues sufficiently into consideration. In the matter of appointments to Circuits he was unable to secure the consent of other members of the Synod. It was thought by most of these that he ought to reside in Fatshan, but he held that he could best administer the affairs of the District if he remained in Canton. He secured a measure of support from the Secretaries in London, but only at the cost of estranging his brethren on the field, and destroying the concord desirable everywhere, but never anywhere more than on the Mission Field. Difficulties also arose in connexion with Selby's attitude to the Consular authorities. The latter resented the action taken with reference to a riot in which he and Marris had nearly lost their lives, and this led to a refusal to grant to Selby the passport necessary to enable him to travel from Canton to other cities. Selby evaded this difficulty by spending his last years in China at Shiuchow without returning to Canton; but when Piercy, acting as Chairman, sought to intervene between the Missionary and the Consul, he took a line of action which provoked Selby still further, and brought him into conflict with the London Secretaries. Selby's pen was mordant, and many things which he wrote to the Consul, to his Chairman, and to the Secretaries bit deeply into the feelings of sensitive men. It must be confessed that the staff of the Canton District was far from harmonious during the early 'eighties, and it was not until both Selby and Piercy returned to England in 1882 that peace and concord returned. The services of two able and experienced Missionaries were thus lost to the District. Selby had qualities of mind and heart peculiarly adapted to the requirements

¹ In Government colleges all students were required on fixed days in each month to worship the tablet of Confucius—an act in which, of course, no Christian could join.

of our work in China. His *Life of Christ* in Chinese was an able work, and is still being used as a text-book. His convictions, always strongly held, were sometimes expressed in a manner far from conciliatory, and this often gave rise to great vexation of spirit. But of his devotion to the work of an evangelist to the Chinese there could be no question. The intensity of his spirit appeared in that as in other things, and his name will be remembered as that of the founder of the North River Mission. Neither Piercy nor Selby returned to China. The former found congenial work among the Chinese in the Port of London, and continued to preach to them until his death in 1913 ; the latter speedily became known far beyond the boundaries of the Methodist Church for the excellence of the religious literature which he published.

The same year in which these two returned to England saw also the return of the Rev. G. Marris, whose health was so seriously affected that he could no longer remain in China. The Canton staff was sadly depleted, and when Dr. Wenyon succeeded to the Chairmanship, the District, so far as ministerial efficiency is concerned, was far from being in a satisfactory condition. But the Gospel still made its appeal to the hearts of the Chinese, and better days were close at hand. At that time Bone and Masters were in Canton, Hargreaves and Tope in the North River Mission, and Wenyon alone in Fatshan. This was a small staff for a District capable of indefinite expansion. Ten years later we find that within that period the Revs. William Bridie, H. J. Parker, and Dr. Macdonald had been sent out, but by the close of the decade Masters had returned to England, and Bridie was on furlough, so that Dr. Macdonald was the only addition to the working staff, and he had been sent out for special work. Passing on to the close of the following decade in 1903, we find Dr. W. J. Webb Anderson in Dr. Wenyon's hospital at Fatshan ; Parker and Hargreaves had both returned to England, and to fill the three vacancies the Revs. Edgar Dewstoe, C. A. Gaff, and Thomas Robinson had joined the staff. H. E. Anderson was 'acting under the direction of the Chairman of the District,' the Rev. C. Bone, both being stationed at Hong Kong. There were thus nine Missionaries on the staff as compared with eight in 1880, but two of these resided at Hong Kong, and another, S. G. Tope, was on furlough, so that while the important

additions of two hospitals had been made, and the North River Mission and the Kwang Si Mission had been taken up, as well as the work in Hong Kong, the net increase to the staff amounted to a single Missionary. It cannot be said that the Committee in London had sufficiently strengthened the hands of those who carried these extra burdens. In 1903 William Bridie wrote strongly, pointing out the serious consequences of being thus understaffed. Great opportunities had been offered, but had passed unaccepted. In comparison with this failure the case of the American Presbyterian Mission is cited. Ten years before their membership stood at ninety, but within the decade it had increased to nearly a thousand, while our increase in the same period was one hundred. In 1893 the Wesleyan Mission was numerically the strongest of all the Churches at work in South China ; in 1903 our place was the lowest of all. This comparison was made, not in the spirit of envy, but by way of showing how much might have been done if the workers had been adequately supported. But those years, so critical for the Church in China, were precisely those in which missionary enthusiasm in England was at a low point. The effect of the unhappy ' Missionary Controversy ' was still felt in the home Churches, with the sorrowful results recorded by Mr. Bridie.

In no part of the Canton District was the want of a sufficient staff more felt than in the newly opened work in the Sunwui Circuit. That Circuit lay south-west of Canton, and contained a population of two millions. A very large proportion of the emigrants to Australia and America were drawn from the people of this district. In the land of their temporary sojourn they had found the Methodist Church, and under its Ministry many of them had been led to Christ. When, on their return to their own country, they hoped to find the same Ministry awaiting them they were disappointed, and turned to the more efficiently manned Church of the Presbyterians. Such men, with the enlightenment which had come to them during their absence from China, would have been a strength to our Church in China, but the lack of pastoral oversight led them to seek a spiritual home elsewhere. The Missionary who first came to this district was the Rev. T. G. Selby, who visited it in 1872. For many years the work was carried on almost entirely by

¹ See Vol. i., chap. vii.

Chinese Catechists, the first of whom, Li Tsun Shi, afterwards entered the ranks of the ordained Ministry. Largely through the devoted labours of this Minister a Church was built up in the chief town, Sunning, which numbered nearly a hundred members in 1909. A considerable Circuit came into being, and in the Centenary year its membership was returned at more than four hundred—the largest aggregate of all the Circuits in the District.

Another Circuit in which repatriated Chinese made their influence felt was that of Heung Shan—the 'Fragrant Mountain.' This district is about eighty miles distant from Fatshan, and about thirty from Macao, where the Portuguese have long had a colony in which our Missionaries were glad to find a refuge when conditions in Canton forbade their residence there. Many persons from this region had migrated to Australia, and had returned impressed by the more civilized conditions of life in that country. Heung Shan presently became notable for two movements, one of which—the anti-opium crusade—was moral, and the other, in favour of the removal of the queue, was political, so that the ferment introduced by contact with European nations was particularly prominent in this district. In the year 1888 there seemed to be a promising opening for beginning work in this region, but for want of funds it was not accepted. In 1890, however, a Chinese Christian of the name of San Foon, who had returned from America, began to bear his witness for Christ. Mr. San Foon carried on his work at his own expense; schools were opened, and a small Society was formed. In 1908 its members numbered more than a hundred and forty.

The Methodist Church has from the first been the friend of the British soldier, and has sought to minister to his needs. It has been abundantly rewarded for such service, as the pages of this History have shown. It was a soldier who received George Piercy when he landed in Hong Kong, and the meeting of the two men marked the beginning of the Methodist fellowship in the Far East. It is, therefore, all the more strange that so many years passed before any attempt was made to minister to the soldiers and sailors stationed in Hong Kong. It was not until 1888 that the name of a European Missionary appears in the *Minutes* as being appointed to this station. For some years previously the familiar and melancholy entry

of 'One Wanted' appeared in connexion with the name of this great outpost of the British Empire, and the work had been taken up in the first instance to meet the need, not of Europeans, but of Chinese. In 1883 among the Chinese employed on the island there were about a dozen men who had been members of the Church in Canton and Fatshan. These petitioned the Missionaries in Canton to undertake pastoral work among them, promising to provide a suitable place of worship. A Catechist was appointed, and as two or three of the members were local preachers, it seemed likely that the spiritual needs of this little group of Methodists would be met if in addition to these workers one of the Missionaries in Canton were to visit the Society every few months to administer the Sacraments and to supervise the work. But in 1887 the Rev. J. A. Turner, who had been in the Canton District two years, was appointed to take charge of the Society, and on his arrival in January, 1888, it became possible to undertake regular work among the soldiers and sailors in the garrison. Turner, however, remained in Hong Kong for only one year, and on his removal the work was entrusted to the Rev. Leong-on-Tong, one of the Chinese Ministers. In 1894 the Rev. W. Musson was appointed to Hong Kong, and from that time the work, both among the Chinese and the soldiers, was put on a better footing. With the development of naval and commercial interests there was a large increase in the Chinese population, and the census of 1896 showed that there were two hundred and thirty thousand on the island. These were quick to see the advantage of education, and in 1897 there were more children in our Hong Kong schools than there were in all the other Wesleyan schools in China.¹ As many of these would one day return to their homes on the mainland this work did something to make good the deficiency in this branch of our work in other parts of the District. Musson was followed by the Rev. Charles Bone in 1900, by which time a suitable site for a soldiers' and sailors' home had been secured. The home was opened in 1901. Only those who realize the moral atmosphere of the East will understand the value of such an institution. Many an English lad has been brought to Christ in the Hong Kong home, and has found his faith to be also his

¹ In the Canton schools there were one hundred and seventy-three children in the schools as against five hundred in Hong Kong,

victory. It was notable, too, that the interest of the men in missionary service grew with their devotion to their Lord and Master. Bone was still in Hong Kong when the Centenary year came. Under his wise and loving care the two branches of the work developed, until in 1913 there were eighty-two members on the English side and one hundred and ninety-two on the Chinese.

Early in the new century the Fatshan Circuit was divided, and the pastoral care of the new section—the Man Cheung Sha Circuit—was put under the oversight of Dr. Webb Anderson, who thus added no slight burden to that which he was already carrying in the hospital. During the first decade of the century the prospect of immediate and rapid growth was given to the Church, and hope passed into the confidence of expectation. The murder of Dr. Roderick Macdonald¹ was a terrible blow to a Church which was at last beginning to move rapidly to its goal. Of that event, and of the dislocation in the medical service that followed it, we have written later. The consequence in Fatshan was that Dr. Webb Anderson was left alone in that city to carry on both his work in the hospital and the general administration of the Church. A further disaster followed in the form of a terrible flood, which brought death into many homes. Altogether 1907 was a sad and difficult year for the Missionary at work in the Canton District. Towards its close, however, a great Conference held in Shanghai restored the hope that had been so sadly dashed. On September 4, in the year 1807, the first Protestant Missionary in the person of Robert Morison had landed in China, and it was resolved to celebrate the centenary of that memorable day by a Conference, in which all Churches should be represented. No less than eleven hundred representatives assembled in Shanghai. Nearly seven hundred of these had come from twenty-five different countries, all pledged to win China for Christ, and the remainder consisted of delegates from the different Churches at work in China. The contrast between the picture of that heroic figure, the sole witness of the Protestant Church, landing at Canton, and the great assembly in Shanghai was an indication of the growth of the Church in the hundred years. But an even more impressive celebration of Morison's landing in China was held in Canton, where by a

¹ See p. 515.

purely Native impulse Chinese Christians numbering many thousands assembled to commemorate a day fraught with such gracious issues for their country. The Rev. C. Bone, describing this unique festival, said, ' No such gatherings have ever been held in China before ; nothing just like them can ever be celebrated again.'

During the last six years preceding the Centenary the Canton District showed that a great harvest might be gathered in a field that had often seemed hard to win. The years were not without political unrest and disturbance. During the year 1911 a revolution resulted in the overthrow of the Tartar Government and the setting up of a Republic in its place. The hope of reformation filled the minds and hearts of the people, and members of the Christian Church became prominent in the new social order. But the struggle for a more popular government gave occasion to lawless persons, and members of secret societies at once became active. Robbery and violence were rife, and the streets of Canton were more than once swept with rifle fire in the endeavour to suppress disorderly gangs. Missionaries in Canton had twice to leave their homes, and ladies and children were sent away from Wuchow, while the staff at Shiuchow, though ordered to leave the place, were for weeks unable to start. In the providence of God no Missionaries were injured, but obviously the interruption to their work was grievous to men who were at last beginning to reap the field so long in coming to harvest. Happily the Church continued to grow, and the storm meant a deeper rooting. The staff of Missionaries had never been stronger, and the spirit of unity and concord afforded a happy contrast with that of former times. The Methodist Church in the Canton District had never known happier days. The Chairman, the Rev. Charles Bone, resided at Hong Kong, and with the exception of a few months spent on furlough was the sole administrator of the Church during the period. The medical staff was particularly strong. Drs. Webb Anderson and Philip Rees were able to continue at work, carrying most of the time an excessive burden, and in the course of the period under review they were joined by Drs. A. W. Hooker, B. R. Vickers, W. B. Walmsley, R. P. Hadden, and P. V. Early. Other Missionaries who joined the staff were R. Ellison (1906), A. A. Baker (1910), J. R. Temple (1911), and C. C. Marris

(1913), while E. Dewstoe, S. G. Tope, C. A. Gaff, T. W. Scholes, H. E. Anderson, R. Hutchinson, and T. Robinson, who were already on the field in 1906, maintained a service unbroken except for furloughs, during which they went about among the home Churches declaring the coming of a kingdom not of this earth to a distracted and suffering people. The European staff was supplemented by a Chinese staff of six Ministers and forty-two Catechists. At last the District was able to rejoice in a ministerial strength that was fairly adequate to needs. During the seven years the membership of the Church increased from two thousand one hundred to two thousand six hundred.

One great result of Dr. Haigh's visit to China was the further reinforcement of the staff of the three Districts. Each branch of the service—evangelistic, medical, and educational—received in each District an additional worker, and the 'Methodist Eleven' sailed for China in the autumn of the Centenary year. The year which witnessed the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society could have received no more fitting celebration. The Centenary celebrations in Canton were, as elsewhere, the occasion of spiritual blessing to the Church. To the different congregations, small in number, poor in this world's goods, and often socially despised, there was given the consciousness of a great and worthy Church life. Its members felt that they were citizens of no mean city. The review of the history of a hundred years revealed to them that the hand of God was upon them for good. Thanksgiving and gratitude were awakened, and found expression in many a gift for the furtherance of the work of God. Some of those gifts were small—the world would say 'contemptible'—but they were the symbols of what the world can never measure or estimate—the love of the human heart for the Christ who had brought them out of darkness into marvellous light. While that love remains in the Chinese heart, whatever the convulsions of social and political life may be, the future of the Christian Church in China is assured.

The Methodist Church entered China by way of Canton, and it was not an easy way. The door was a reluctant door, and it moved with difficulty on its rusty hinges. Within were barriers innumerable to keep out the foreigner and his teaching. Only love's loyalty in surrender and persistence in service could

ever have won a way through. But that way was won at last, and in all the throes which proclaim the birth of a great nation into newness of life, the secret of that life is to be found in Canton. It seems that China, like other countries, must move through strife and conflict into peace and unity, but in all the political convulsions which we witness to-day the great and progressive city of the South will have its own word to say, and in that deciding utterance there will be somewhere a whisper of Christ.

III

WUCHANG : LOVE'S EMBASSY

Josiah Cox—Hankow—William Scarborough and David Hill—Christian Literature—David Hill's Furlough and its Consequences—Hunan—The Martyrdom of William Argent—The Passing of David Hill—The War with Japan—The Boxer Rising—Subsequent Developments.

THE first ten years of the Methodist Mission in China had been spent in securing a foothold in Canton, and in consolidating the work begun in that city, but with the opening of the new treaty-ports, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Tientsin, the time came for an extension which was to open up a far more fruitful sphere of Christian service, and the Missionary to whom it fell to enter the new field was Josiah Cox. In 1857 he had written to the Committee in London announcing his intention of returning to England for the purpose of retirement and prayer. Even then the hand of God was upon him, though he knew not where that guiding hand was to lead him, and he felt the need of quiet preparation for the clearer indication which was to come. While in Canton he had been thrown into intimate association with Hung Jin, 'the Shield King,' who was the brother of Hung Hsin Ts'uan, the leader in the Tai-ping rebellion. Cox had lived with the Shield King for four months, and there is little doubt that during the time they spent together Hung Jin had been drawn very near to Christ, though even then Cox had detected in him a certain lack of judgement and an instability of character which afterwards proved to be his ruin. The friendship, however, had important results for Cox, as we shall see. In 1860 Cox was in England, where he exerted a strong influence in favour of the new Mission to China. At the 'Breakfast Meeting' of 1861 he delivered a speech full of zeal and of the finest missionary feeling. In the course of his address he produced a great sensation by holding up before his audience a square of yellow

silk covered with Chinese characters, which had been put into his hands that very morning.

It was a letter from Hung Jin, who was then at Nanking, and the writer expressed the hope that his position in that city would be the means of furthering the cause of Christ in China. He closed his letter with an invitation to Cox to join him in preaching the Gospel. It must be borne in mind that at that time there was still prevalent in England the hope that the Tai-ping movement would lead to a distinctly Christian result in China. The invitation from the Shield King, thus dramatically presented to the Methodist Church, naturally greatly increased that hope. It was never fulfilled. But the effect of the invitation was to make clear to Cox the way in which he was to go, and within a few months he was on his way to Nanking. A long account of an interview between Cox and the Shield King appeared in the *Watchman* early in 1862, and from this it appears that whatever hope Cox may have entertained with reference to the Tai-pings was completely dissipated. Place and power, with unlimited opportunities for self-indulgence, had entirely destroyed whatever of Christian feeling had led to the inditing of the famous letter of invitation. The Shield King refused to grant permission for the Missionary to preach in Nanking on the plea that if they contested the religious position of his brother—the Heavenly King—they might suffer even death at the hands of his followers. Cox sums up his impressions of the whole movement as follows :

I did not apprehend that on a nearer view of these insurgents they would appear to my judgement so bereft of hopeful elements. I certainly fail to discover among them at present any party which promises to be capable of administering a government, and I can only regard them as marauding hordes, dreaded by all classes, save a portion of the very vilest of the people, whose only business is to plunder, and who carry calamities without hope of amelioration wherever they roam.

Idolatry, opium smoking, and gambling were strictly forbidden among the insurgents, and this was something to the good ; but it would appear that seven devils worse than the first had entered into the empty house. In any case, it was clear that Cox would not be allowed to preach in Nanking, and he therefore went on to Ningpo, where his impressions of the movement were confirmed. He returned at length to Shanghai, quite

convinced that the Tai-ping movement was far from favourable to the promulgation of the Christian faith.

In discussing this visit of Cox to the insurgents Piercy had called the attention of the Committee to what he considered a far more promising field of labour. His letter is dated June, 1861, and in it there appears the first mention of Hankow.

On March 1, 1862, Josiah Cox wrote his first letter from Hankow. To this letter we shall return presently, but pause for a moment to indicate what he himself describes as the commencement of the Mission to Central China :

Climbing one day to the top of the Tortoise Hill in Hanyang I looked down on the ancient city of Hanyang just rising from the desolations of the Tai-ping war ; on the far stretching walls of Wuchang, a former capital of the Empire, and now the seat of the provincial Government ; and on Hankow, a hive of six or seven hundred thousand people ; while in the fourth direction, and as far as the eye could see, were graves. The sight of these vast multitudes, and the thought of their spiritual darkness, stirred my spirit and led me to pray. In that prayer was the commencement of this Mission.

It may be that Josiah Cox did not trace his noble emotion to its source, but there can be no question of its origin, for we read how ' Jesus saw a great multitude, and He had compassion on them, for they were as sheep not having a shepherd, and He began to teach them many things.' The spirit of Jesus had been given to His servant.

Of all the centres of human life in which the Christian Missionary has appeared, Hankow, with its adjacent cities of Wuchang and Hanyang, is unique. When the traveller has arrived at Shanghai, in the delta of the Yangtsekiang, a river journey of six hundred miles awaits him before he arrives at the confluence of the Han with the mighty stream on which he is travelling ; and the Han, though so much smaller than the Yangtsekiang, is navigable for more than a thousand miles. Hankow is situated on the north bank of the Yangtse, and on the opposite bank, more than a mile across, is the city of Wuchang. On the south of the river Han is Hanyang, smaller than its two sister cities, but destined to become a great industrial centre, Hankow being one of the greatest emporiums of trade in the world, and Wuchang claiming pre-eminence as a city of literati. The three cities form the great nerve-centre of the Chinese Empire, and the political, commercial,

and intellectual interchange between this centre and its far-flung circumference is incessant. The Viceroy of two provinces—Hupeh and Hunan—has his capital in Wuchang, where he rules over a population of fifty-five millions. This central position is about to be connected by railway with both Peking and Canton. The line of communication crossing the incomparable waterway formed by the two rivers will indefinitely increase the significance of the three cities. From every point of view—in position, in importance, and in function—they form the heart of the Empire.

Josiah Cox was not the first Missionary to claim this mighty heart for Christ. That honour falls to the Rev. Griffith John and his colleague, the Rev. R. Wilson, both of them Missionaries of the London Missionary Society. They had arrived in Hankow in 1861, and when, a year after, Cox appeared on the scene he received from them the most generous and cordial welcome. In the letter written by Cox, to which reference has already been made, he writes as follows :

I cannot think it possible to find a more promising or inviting field of labour for the location of a strong Mission than meets me here. Indeed, it stirs me mightily to think of the masses centred here in the heart of the Empire, and the ease with which the commercial operations extend hence to every part of the land. We must accompany these far and wide ramified influences of trade with some rays and influences of the pure truth of our Saviour God. A strong desire is upon me to see a Mission commenced here this year. I have written for three men, but after seeing the great work before us I must ask for six. If the Church could be moved to take up this imperatively necessary Mission heartily, you could perhaps find men, and good true men, at the next Conference. We might plant two of them in Wuchang, two in Hanyang, and two in Kiu Kiang, to operate in Hankow immediately on their arrival. I mention Kiu Kiang because of the importance of that city and the facility with which the clusters of towns and cities round the Poyang Lake can be reached from thence.

For some months, until he was able to build a house in Hankow, Cox enjoyed the generous hospitality of his brethren in the L.M.S., but that generosity was to have a more signal expression. Cox spoke Cantonese, and that dialect was almost unintelligible in the central provinces. It thus became necessary for him to learn Mandarin, and on his consulting Griffith John as to finding some one who would be at once his teacher and his colleague in the work of preaching, the latter at once

offered him the services of Chu Sao Ngan. This was no small gift. Mr. Chu was the first convert of Griffith John in Hupeh, and as such was dear to the heart of his father in the Gospel. But, however costly the gift, it was freely given, and under this guidance Cox made rapid progress in the new dialect. Mr. Chu also learned much from his pupil, and in due course he was ordained the first Minister of the Wesleyan Church in China. For twenty-four years he exercised a most fruitful ministry in Wuchang, where the Church grew into beauty and strength under his gracious ministry. When at last he died, in 1899, the following record was duly inscribed in the *Minutes* of Conference (1900) :

As a Preacher he had no peer in the ranks of the Chinese Church in Central China. His power of illustration, especially, was unrivalled. He made a wide and varied reading pay tribute to his congregations ; Christian magazine or Confucian classic alike had to render up its store of things new and old to this wise householder, who verily had a treasury of such riches. He earned the unfeigned respect of his European colleagues by a blameless life and unimpeachable integrity.

Such an 'earnest' of the Christian Ministry in China left nothing to be desired.

We have seen that before the Committee was prepared to move in China there was a feeling in the Church that a strong Mission in that country should be undertaken. That feeling was intensified during the furlough of Josiah Cox, and he had returned to China strengthened by the support of such leaders as William Arthur on the ministerial side and Sir Francis Lycett among the laity. These had discussed with Cox the desirability of an extension in Central China, and though Hankow was not mentioned until Cox had definitely given up the idea of working in conformity with the Tai-ping movement, their approval of his decision was secured beforehand, and he enjoyed their strong and enthusiastic support. The devastation wrought by the insurgents had brought much vacant land into the market, and Cox was eager to seize the opportunity of acquiring a suitable site for Mission premises. The occasion was one in which to wait for the previous consent of the Committee would have meant the missing of an opportunity which might be many years in returning. Cox therefore anticipated consent ; he obtained a draft on the Committee

through the kindness of a British merchant and purchased a plot of land. In doing this Cox was aware that he was breaking the rule of his Society, and his conscientiousness and sensitive nature are revealed in a letter in which he almost piteously entreats the Committee to endorse his action and to honour his draft. 'Please honour that draft,' he wrote, 'nor suffer the name of your Missionary to be bandied about in connexion with a dishonoured bill.' His relief was intense when he at last received from the Secretaries a letter written by the Rev. William Arthur. It was such a letter as that Minister, pre-eminent in kindness, courtesy, and sympathy, would write. Mr. Arthur bade him dismiss all thought of a dishonoured bill, and said :

We trust you not to spend a single dollar of the Society's money unnecessarily, and I pray that the ground you have secured in that vast city may remain while the world stands a heritage of the Church, and become the site of many an event which angels will rejoice over, and men unborn will weep to see.

That prayer has already been answered ; but a larger answer yet will one day be given. Cox was immensely relieved, and proceeded to outline his scheme for the development of the Mission. His letter, dated March 31, 1862, is a remarkable production. There are few documents in the archives of the Mission House which reveal a truer statesmanship, a deeper insight into the essentials of missionary enterprise in China, or a truer consecration to the Master whom he served. After making a definite proposal that Hankow should be the centre of the new Mission, he enlarges upon the advantages which it offers. He then lays before the Committee the appointments which he considers necessary. In addition to the purely evangelistic work, which he rightly places in the first order, he would provide for both educational and medical work, and for the efficient occupation of the three towns he asks the Committee to send out seven men. He shows his appreciation of the field before him by asking that 'only first-class men' should be sent. His own interpretation of that much-abused term 'a first-class man' is worth considering—'a brother wise and gifted to undertake a service as noble and important as perhaps the Methodist Church ever offered her Ministers ; a little experience, a temper and a character that shall unite his

colleagues to him in love ; mental power to grapple with the language ; and these all sanctified by the pure love of Christ.' These words may stand as a description of the ideal Missionary, and if the Secretaries asked themselves where such a one could be found, God had His answer to give. He gave it in David Hill.

Cox then passes to consider the financial question, and presents the Committee with a detailed statement of expenses that would be involved. He claims for himself the humble position of ' a sort of pioneer for abler men.' The whole statement was well thought out, and its delineation reveals the line of advance for years to come. But, most of all, the heart and mind of a true Missionary of Jesus Christ are before us as we read the masterly plan of a great and efficient Mission. If the Church at home could have risen to this ideal, the success which we shall presently record would have seemed insignificant by the side of that which might have been.

In 1863 building operations were sufficiently advanced for Cox to move into the first Mission house in Central China, and by that time he had the joy of baptizing his first convert. In the following year he welcomed his first colleague, and it is significant that that colleague was a medical Missionary—Dr. F. Porter Smith, who served in Hankow for six years. Medical work in China has proved to be of such importance that it will be necessary for us to describe its inception and subsequent development in a separate chapter of the History. We shall, therefore, not do more here than record his arrival. He was followed in 1865 by two notable Missionaries—the Revs. William Scarborough and David Hill. It now became possible to begin work on a more efficient scale, though it was not until 1868 that any further addition was made to the staff, and Cox's advice that seven men should be sent out remained ' a counsel of perfection,' but the men who now joined him were men after his own heart, and when in 1868 the Rev. F. P. Napier was added to the list, the new Mission, as far as quality and calibre are concerned, was most admirably staffed.

In 1864 William Scarborough and David Hill were ordained in the city of York, and were destined for the service of Christ in China. The appointment was fraught with issues which only the eye of faith could then have visualized. In the great city to which they were appointed few of the Chinese had,

up to that time, confessed Christ in baptism. They would have to learn a language of peculiar difficulty before they would be able to assure men of the love which would win them to that confession. Around them would surge and seethe the great tides of human life, apparently wholly irresponsible to the truth they were being sent to proclaim. They would be met on their arrival with hostility to themselves as barbarians whose appropriate epithet was that of ' devils,' and when China prefixed to that epithet the word ' foreign,' then it was understood by all that her attitude to these new teachers was contemptuous as well as hostile. But the two young men taking their vows in the crowded chapel were destined to see the birth and the growth of a Christian Church where such a thing might have seemed to many an idle dream. Contempt was to be displaced by boundless confidence, and hatred was to be changed into love, and the one secret of this amazing change stood in the consecration of these men to Jesus Christ. Infinite weakness challenged infinite strength—and won, for it was the weakness of those who were content to be less than nothing that Christ might be all in all. William Scarborough accomplished a great work in China, and his name is held in great and deserved honour, but David Hill was, in the providence of God, to win the hearts of the Chinese for Christ as few men have ever done. At first it seemed as though his ministry in China would be brief. His health suffered, and he was obliged to seek recovery by a sea voyage, first to Canton and then, a few months after, to Japan. But when the period of acclimatization was safely passed he was able to endure every form of physical fatigue and discomfort until men of far more robust physique marvelled at him. The spirit of the man made him triumphant over disabilities which at one time threatened disaster. He had at his command considerable financial resources, but what to many might have been the cause of weakness was transformed by his spirit into strength. He regarded wealth as an instrument to be used in his Master's service, and never was steward more conscientious in using aright that which he held on trust. His governing motive is clearly seen in those ' Principles to guide me in Mission Work ' which were found in an old note-book, and which appear in the memoir of his life.¹ The sixth principle reads as follows :

¹ *David Hill, an Apostle to the Chinese*, by the Rev. W. T. A. Barber, D.D.

Let evangelistic work be accompanied by benevolent activity to the physical wants of men so long as I have it in my power to do so. Go on spending and being spent for others as God opens my way, even to the disposal of all personal property. Let me do all I can for the bodies and souls of men, remembering that first that which is natural and then that which is spiritual is generally the order of God.

Dr. Barber goes on to describe how this principle was carried out :

He lived on the absolute minimum of need, often at the rate of two or three pence a day, giving all his income and much of his capital to the work. He recognized the perils of gathering around him those who would come for the loaves and fishes, but he deliberately took the risk, considering that he was following in Christ's steps and manifesting the Christ-life.¹

His first sphere of work was found in Wuchang, where he occupied a small house, the largest room of which was used as a preaching-hall. After five years he had gathered a Church of sixteen members, and a Mission house and chapel were built on the main street. On the return of Josiah Cox from furlough he took charge of the work in Wuchang, and David Hill removed to Wusueh, a hundred and twenty miles down the river, where certain inquirers had been found at Kwangtsi, twenty miles farther inland. For the next six years David Hill lived at Wusueh, itinerating through the villages and preaching the Gospel. Towards the close of 1877 the civilized world was shocked by accounts of the famine in Shansi. The worst features of such calamities were frequent, and the death-rate in a single year was seventy-three per cent. of the population. Hill was one of the first to enter the stricken province, taking with him a large sum of money in the hope of using it to relieve the starving people. The centre from which he worked was Ping Yang, and it was here that he met the Chinese scholar, known, through the charming pages of Mrs. Howard Taylor, as 'Pastor Hsi.' The influence of the Christian life and character of David Hill culminated at last in the surrender to Christ of one who came as near to the reproduction of the life of Jesus as mortal man may hope to come. When the time came for David Hill to return from Shansi to Central China, the separation of these two kindred disciples of Christ was costly

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 36.

to them both. This was in 1880, and the following year Hill was in England for a very necessary furlough. In the Report of 1880 it is stated that the Missionary Committee contemplated adding Ping Yang to the stations of the Central China Mission. It was, however, a wise counsel by which it was decided to leave the promising work begun in that province to the China Inland Mission, and to concentrate upon districts nearer to the central Mission in Hankow. David Hill returned to Hankow in 1882.

Meantime his colleagues had been working each in his own way, though all had found that the most effective work was done by itinerating among the villages and towns. Scarborough writes with great regret of the official intimation that protection could not be assured to any Englishman outside the treaty-ports. Not only so, but regulations were also passed that foreign purchasers of land must first acquaint local Mandarins of their intention before official sanction would be given to the transaction. As the Mandarins were almost certain to raise objections to their obtaining property where it was likely to be of use to the Mission, this enactment meant the relegation to back streets of all preaching-centres, thus severely limiting the opportunities of the Missionaries. Even in Wuchang David Hill found great difficulty in obtaining possession of a site for which he had already paid. Fifteen months passed before he was able to build. But the delay was really of advantage, for in December, 1887, we find him rejoicing that the new chapel had not been built, since it would certainly have been destroyed in the disaster which fell upon Wuchang when a hundred tons of gunpowder were exploded by accident. So great was the violence of the explosion that it was felt a hundred and fifty miles away, where it was thought that an earthquake had occurred. When at last the chapel and Mission house had been built, there was great relief, for if it had been longer delayed the Rev. F. P. Napier would have been obliged to leave Wuchang for want of a suitable residence.

Josiah Cox excelled—as he himself had felt—as a pioneer. His eager spirit gave him no rest. He was continually on the look-out for the opportunity of extending the range of missionary activity. In 1867 he determined to open a new station at Kiu Kiang, where he had bought a site of four acres. In doing this he failed to carry the convictions of his colleagues

as to the desirability of this extension, and the Committee in London considered that the wiser policy was to concentrate on the three cities rather than to go further afield. By this time the first flush of enthusiasm for the China Mission had passed, and the Committee was again feeling the necessity of caution in the expenditure of money. Cox was greatly disappointed, but in 1873 work was begun in Kwangtsi, a district on the eastern border of the Hupeh province, and in the following year Wusueh and Kwangtsi appear on the Minutes of the Society. Kwangtsi is one of the sixty-five counties of Hupeh, and the capital of the county—of the same name—had a population of fifteen thousand, with a large village population in its vicinity. Wusueh, however, is a more important town, serving as the river port of Kwangtsi, and having a population of fifty thousand. In the last-named city the American Methodist Episcopal Church had been at work since 1870, and one of our colporteurs had been moving about in Kwangtsi since 1872. In the following year by mutual consent the American Methodists handed over their work to our Society, and the two towns were constituted a 'Circuit.' The charge of the new field was handed over to David Hill, having as his colleague the Rev. Joseph Race, who had been sent to reinforce the Hankow staff. Josiah Cox removed to Wuchang with the Rev. J. W. Brewer—another new arrival—and William Scarborough remained at Hankow. By this time the District had lost the service of Dr. Porter Smith, and the Rev. F. P. Napier, whose wife had died, and who had himself been brought to death's door, was obliged to return to England. A still more serious depletion of the staff took place in 1874, when the Chairman—Josiah Cox—was so stricken down with illness that he was obliged to return to England and to seek complete rest in retirement from the active work of the Ministry. Happily he recovered sufficiently to resume work in 1876, but his service in China had closed. To this faithful steward of the mysteries of God it was given to see, before he left China, at least the birth of the Christian Church where, when he first arrived in the country, there was only one follower of Christ among the Chinese. The total membership in Hankow, Wuchang, and the Kwangtsi Circuit then amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine, with more than that number on trial for admission into the Church.

Cox was followed in the Chairmanship by William Scarborough, who worthily upheld the tradition he then received. During the ten years of his administration there was no great increase in the membership of the Church, but there was an extensive development in missionary activity, and to meet the need of the new stations the decade saw the beginning of an indigenous Ministry. For in the Minutes of 1876 the name of Chu Sao Ngan appears, with the designation of 'Chinese Missionary.' Of this forerunner of a great company of Chinese Ministers we have already written. He was ordained to the full ministerial position in 1881. There were also welcome reinforcements from England, but unfortunately the close of the decade witnessed a grievous depletion owing to sickness and death. The strength of the District at the beginning of the decade allowed Scarborough to make preparations for the development of both medical and educational work, though it was not until the régime of his successor that these schemes were realized.

The hopes with which the work in Kwangtsi and Wusueh was begun were some time in reaching fulfilment. In 1874 the large number of members on probation was accounted for by those who were taken over from the American Methodists when this sphere of operations passed into the care of our Missionaries. After a while, when the novelty of the Mission had worn away, many of these withdrew from our fellowship, but their withdrawal left the Church stronger than it had been before, and David Hill could point to several indications of an approaching awakening. Events were to prove that he had rightly read the signs of the times. It is not a matter for surprise that the Chinese were at first slow to enter the Christian Church. Though they were not hindered by the rigorous law of caste which obtained in India, there was a fierce opposition from their neighbours to any such act on the part of an individual. That opposition was open in expression and most determined in character. It was not only because objection was raised to his change of faith and practice, but specially because his entering the Christian Church made him by treaty-right exempt from the payment of all taxes connected with idolatrous worship in the temples and public processions in the streets. As the sum-total of expenses incurred by these was fixed at a certain amount for each village and for each

street, the share of any individual claiming exemption fell upon his neighbours, who strongly resented the additional burden.

The removal of suspicion, too, was slow in process, and among people who were both superstitious and bigoted, and who had in addition their extraordinary national vanity reinforced by complete ignorance of other nations, this was only to be expected. It was finally broken down by the tender and disinterested service of doctors and nurses in the hospitals, but the time for that was not yet. The next best thing available was to move about freely among the people, and evangelistic tours, entailing much discomfort and a certain amount of peril, were freely undertaken. The year 1875 brought the Rev. A. W. Nightingale to Hankow, and he was followed during the next year by the Revs. W. S. Tomlinson and William Bramfitt, and in 1879 by the Rev. J. S. Fordham.

In 1880 David Hill had returned from Shansi deeply impressed with the value of Christian literature as an evangelistic agency. Examinations held by the Government in the great provincial centres were attended by thousands of graduates, whose preferment depended upon their success in such tests, and Missionaries had adopted the plan of presenting each candidate with Scripture portions or small treatises on some aspect or other of the Christian faith. In Ping Yang, during the time of the great famine, prizes were offered for the best essays on subjects chosen, and it was the winning of one of these which brought David Hill and Mr. Hsi into the association which had so happy an issue. It is not to be wondered at that David Hill, on his return, set himself to develop this branch of work. The co-operation of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the Religious Tract Society was assured beforehand, and with their help a Central China Tract Society, with its head quarters in Hankow, was formed. This particular method of Christian propaganda from this time onward was diligently followed, and proved most fruitful in securing a thoughtful examination of the Christian position, leading in many instances to a confession of Christ. Sometimes the influx of candidates for examination from remote parts of the province led to anti-Christian demonstrations, which were not without peril to Native Christians as well as to Missionaries. An instance of this occurred in 1878, when Messrs. Brewer and Nightingale were assaulted and severely

injured. It is significant of much that the people of Wuchang took no part in that attack, and that the authorities did their best to seek out and punish the ringleaders. Later on a similar outburst took place at Teian, when David Hill was seriously hurt and the Mission premises were wrecked.

The 'eighties were marked by a grievous mortality in the ranks of our workers. In 1880 the Rev. Joseph Race, who had joined the staff in 1873, was taken away after a short illness, and his colleagues were left to mourn the loss of a beloved brother and an efficient fellow labourer. In 1883 the Rev. W. S. Tomlinson was obliged to return to England on account of the breakdown of his wife's health, and in the following year the service of the Rev. A. W. Nightingale was closed by death. In June, 1884, the wife of the Rev. William Scarborough was taken suddenly ill and died, leaving a husband disconsolate and a Mission sorely bereaved. Mrs. Scarborough had won the hearts of the Chinese women by the sweetness of her temper and the unselfishness of her service. Her husband never recovered from the shock of her death, and in 1885 he returned to England. The toll of death was not yet complete in the sorely stricken District. The Rev. Joseph Bell had entered the home Ministry, but in 1883 he was led to offer himself for service in China. When it was found that the funds of the Society would not permit the sending out of another Missionary, he offered his service without official remuneration or support, relying on the gifts of friends which afforded a bare subsistence. But of him it might well be said, 'It was well that it was in thy heart.' After only two years in the country his health failed, and an immediate return to England became necessary. Within a few months of his arrival in England he too was called to his reward. His widow, who had been a wife for only six months, determined to devote herself to the cause for which her husband had died. She took up a course of nursing and dispensing, and then returned to Hankow to serve in the women's hospital. There we shall meet her again. All these losses occurred within the brief space of five years, just when it seemed that the presence of so many able and devoted men on the field might justify a large development in evangelistic work. But the falling torch was seized by ready and loyal hands. J. W. Brewer, Thomas E. North, and William H. Watson were soon in Central China,

and these three men were spared to see the work of the Lord prosper in their hands amazingly. In the pages that follow their names will often be before us. The names of new stations began to appear in the *Minutes* of Conference, with Catechists to occupy the new centres until it should appear whether there was any likelihood of permanent Churches being established. Of these Hanyang and Teian were the most promising.

In 1881 David Hill was on furlough in England, and few Missionaries during the period of their rest—often no rest at all—have been able to impress the Churches at home as he did. The obvious sincerity of the man, added to the warmth of his enthusiasm for China and the sane and balanced presentation of the work, touched the heart of the Methodist people. In this service, as in that which he had rendered in China, he was wholly consecrated to his Lord and Master. He lived in an atmosphere of prayer, and this communion with God was the secret spring of his advocacy in England as it was of his service in China. He kindled a flame wherever he went, and the Central China Mission was thenceforth assured of its place in the affection and interest of the Methodist Church. It would be difficult to say how many received their call to the Mission field through David Hill. Dr. Barber¹ says that 'almost all the recruits to Central China for the next ten years were due directly or indirectly to his personal advocacy during this visit.' Reference may be made to at least two of these. Before David Hill left China for this memorable furlough it was felt that a strong movement in the direction of educational work should be made. The scheme proposed was elaborate. It included, in addition to a day school in which Western science and the English language should be taught, a boarding school into which the more promising boys from day schools in other parts of the District should be brought, and there was also a department for the training of Catechists and candidates for the Ministry. It was proposed that the institution should be located in Wuchang. The Committee in England had not been blind to this need. In 1878 it had called attention to the fact that in the whole area covered by the Mission there were only three schools containing not more than fifty children, and in the Report for 1883 there occurs the

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 69.

entry 'Educational Work. One earnestly requested.' This urgent plea was met by the offer of the Rev. W. T. A. Barber, M.A., at that time acting as Assistant Tutor in Richmond College. No more distinguished or better qualified Missionary could have been either desired or discovered. Dr. Barber—as he afterwards became—arrived in Wuchang in the spring of 1885.

Among the many schools and colleges visited by David Hill during his visit to England was The Leys School in Cambridge, and there he won for China one of the most talented and devoted of Missionaries in Dr. Sydney Rupert Hodge. His work will come before us in another chapter.¹

Another result of this furlough was the formation of 'The Central China Prayer Union.' Conditions of membership were few and simple. The members pledged themselves to offer prayer for this particular branch of the work, and to do so every day. It is noteworthy that immediately after its formation we read in the annual Report of signs of spiritual quickening in the Native Church. This Prayer Union continues to this day, and its effect can never be measured.

It soon became clear to the eager advocate of the Central China Mission that the financial resources of the Missionary Committee would not allow of any great increase in the grant already made to the District, and in consequence David Hill appealed wherever he went for workers who would support themselves wholly or in part. Such appeals were not fruitless, and before he left England he was cheered to know that the Revs. Joseph Bell and W. H. Watson were prepared to serve in China without expense to the Society. It was a development of this method of increasing the staff which led to the formation of the Laymen's Mission. The sad decrease of workers already recorded prevented the full advantage which Hill hoped to secure in evangelizing the villages and towns of Hupeh. The withdrawal of Scarborough especially affected him, for by common consent he was, sorely against his will, appointed to the vacant chairmanship. It was with great reluctance that he accepted the appointment. He was one of those who are always content to serve. Authority was to him a burden rather than an attraction. Only a sense of duty compelled him at last to accept the position of Chairman of

¹ See p. 517.

the District. At the same time he was able to visualize both the opportunities and the needs of the Church, and he had a very definite policy in mind for the acceptance of the one and the meeting of the other. He hoped that Missionaries might soon be appointed to every prefecture in the province. He had conceived large schemes for the inception or the furtherance of philanthropic work, such as might be done in hospitals, in a school for the blind, and in an institute for foundlings. All of these were in due course taken up, though he did not live to see them all in full operation. Especially did he feel the need of securing a full measure of training for Chinese workers. Three-fourths of his Native co-workers were illiterate, and he realized the limitation that this fact imposed upon the activities of the Church. Vexatious delays in securing a site for the projected school and training college in Wuchang prevented Barber from carrying out at once the comprehensive scheme which had been accepted by the Synod. When at length the High School was opened in the autumn of 1887, the first Assistant engaged proved to be unsatisfactory, and it became necessary to dismiss him. At the close of the year there were ten adults and four boys attending the school.

Hopeful features of the work were, however, in strong evidence. In the Kwangtsi and Wusueh Circuit Watson reported considerable accessions to the Church. Not only were these to be found in the two towns which gave the Circuit its name, but in villages like Taitung Shiang—described by Watson as 'the most promising country station in the District'—the membership had doubled in a single year, and there were, in addition, nearly a hundred persons on probation. This was largely due to the loyal witness of a single individual for Christ. The indigenous movement is always the strongest.

Between the two provinces of Hupeh and Canton lies the province of Hunan, covering an area of eighty-five thousand square miles, and containing a population of twenty-one millions. This province is remarkable both for its natural resources and for the character of its people. It is exceedingly rich in agricultural produce, in minerals, and in timber. It is well watered, and its many rivers discharge themselves into the Tungting Lake, which opens into the Yangtse. It offers a peculiarly rich field for antiquarian research, and its history

is such as to create a legitimate pride in its people. The Hunanese are by far the most virile and warlike of the many peoples of China, and they took a prominent part in the suppression of the Tai-ping rebellion. If they were well trained and equipped they might easily become a formidable military force. Their consciousness of power, and their pride in their own prowess, have, however, made them the most unapproachable and reactionary people in China. Gradually the province became the resort of retired officials, who were convinced in their own minds of the immeasurable superiority of everything Chinese when compared with what the rest of the world had to offer, and they were bent upon maintaining the isolation which they considered to be one of the chief sources of strength. Such men inflamed the feeling of the Hunanese against everything that was foreign, and the province became notorious for the violence and rancour with which they received every attempt of outsiders to enter into relations with them. Missionaries shared to the full in suffering from this anti-foreign animus.

The first European to enter the capital of the province was Mr. Adam Dorward, a member of the China Inland Mission, and he was so roughly handled that after a few months of great suffering he died, the first Christian martyr of Hunan. Not content with resisting the approach of the foreign teacher, the leaders of the Hunanese soon became aggressive, and began to publish 'literature' in which the Christian religion was held up to ridicule, and the vilest epithets were freely used to characterize its Divine Lord. Then the personal character of its teachers was assailed, and actions and motives were attributed to them too indecent for us to repeat. Medical work came in for special attention. Its wonderful works called for explanation, and its methods were to be held up for public censure. The common explanation offered was that drugs were compounded from the hearts of women and from the eyes of children, and the cures—which could not be denied—were secured by the use of such medicines. In this way the antipathy of the people was inflamed, until it became much more than antipathy. Incitements to actual violence were not lacking. Dr. Tatchell¹ quotes one placard which may be considered representative of a large class. It read as follows :

¹ *Medical Missions in China*, p. 265.

Should you come across a foreign devil, you must act as may be most expedient under the circumstances, and rob him of his money, strip him of his clothes, deprive him of his food, or cut off his ears or nose.

Equal treatment was to be dealt out to Chinese Christians. One placard directed that

Each clan shall investigate its own territory, and should any person, whether he be scholar, agriculturist, artist or merchant, be found who will not sacrifice to the spirit of the most perfect, most holy, and most ancient teacher, Confucius, and to the spirit tablet of his ancestors, it is thereby certain that he is one who has been bewitched by the spies of foreign devils, and has the religion of a hog, the religion of Jesus. He is to be dragged immediately to his ancestral temple and severely dealt with by the clan. He must be compelled to forsake his depraved heresy and return to the right way. Should he refuse to obey, the clan shall take the entire family of the pig-goat-devil, old and young, male and female, and drive them out of the place. Moreover, the names and numbers of them shall be printed in a list, and be sent all over the surrounding districts, to all prefectures and sub-prefectures, so that everywhere they shall be driven out. They shall not be allowed to live within the borders of Hunan, and the names of the pig-goat-devils shall be erased from the family registers.

It is clear that such placards indicated not a mere spasmodic outburst of hostility, but a deliberate attempt to destroy the followers of Christ, or at any rate to make it impossible for them to have any place or portion within the province of Hunan. It was a confession of alarm, and as such it might have been even welcomed by the Christian workers, but among a people so inflammable as the Chinese these publications were dangerous. The alarm of the leaders of the Hunanese was not allayed by the accounts which reached them of the Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1890. This was attended by five or six hundred Missionaries from every part of China except Hunan. The success which they recorded was sufficiently disturbing, but when it became known that the Conference had issued a challenge to the Home Churches to send a thousand new Missionaries to China within the following five years, the Hunan anti-Christian propaganda, which had somewhat died down, appeared again, with even increased virulence in its tone, and it was scattered broadcast over all the surrounding provinces. Its effect was seen in the destruction of chapels and Mission houses, but the Missionaries

were cheered by not a few tokens of friendliness, and of appreciation of their work. It is probable that the agitation would have died down without any act of personal violence being attempted, but on the fifth of June, 1891, a Chinaman was seen in Wusueh carrying four children to receive the blessing of the Roman Catholic priest, and when the man was asked whether he was taking the children to be killed he was foolish enough to say 'Yes.' A crowd of infuriated people quickly came together. In the crush one of the children was killed, and the crowd was all the more enraged. The cry was raised that the Mission houses should be destroyed. The Rev. F. Boden and Mr. Protheroe, at that time stationed in Wusueh, were away on tour, but their wives and children, together with Mrs. Warren, were at once in deadliest peril. But for the help of Chinese Christians it is probable that all would have been killed. As it was, their escape seems to have been all but miraculous. Meantime Mr. William Argent, of the *Joyful News* Mission, had been nursing a sick brother in the Mission House of Rest on the hills opposite Wusueh, and was waiting for the steamer to take him back to Hankow. Mr. Green, of H.I.M. Customs Service, was also at the office waiting for the steamer. When the two men saw the flames of the houses which had been set on fire they went to render assistance, having been told of the riot. They were met by the mob, and both were done to death in the most brutal fashion. Of William Argent, the first martyr of the Methodist Church in China, we shall write later. It is through such sacrificial death that the Church is ever being reconsecrated to the winning of the world for Him who gave His life for it.

It was thought by many at the time that this outburst of ignorant and unreasoning violence was really arranged by the agents of some secret political society, seeking to embroil the Chinese Government with European powers in the hope that the ruling dynasty might be overthrown. Be that as it may, the issues of this murder were such as its perpetrators could never have imagined. An international demonstration of respect and reverence was made at the funeral of the two victims, and this was followed by an Imperial edict posted on the walls of all the fourteen hundred cities of the Empire. This edict forms the Magna Charta of Chinese Christian liberty, and runs to the effect that Christianity was to be considered

one of the tolerated religions of China ; that Christian Missionaries should be protected in the discharge of their duties, and that Christian converts should not be persecuted for their change of faith, nor should vexatious law-suits be taken up against them, while all suits then pending should be honourably settled. Compensation on a liberal scale was granted to the relatives of the murdered men, and though it was with difficulty that the mother of Mr. Argent could be persuaded to accept it, she finally consented to do so on the understanding that the money was set aside for purely Christian work in China. With part of the sum allowed a memorial chapel, consecrated to the service of God and the memory of William Argent, was built in Chiao Kow, a suburb of Hankow. Four additional evangelists from the *Joyful News* Mission were at once appointed, and thus the loving service of William Argent was both increased and perpetuated.

But his martyrdom had another effect, the end of which can only be guessed at now. It was felt that the only worthy retaliation was to be found in the evangelization of the province from which had come the promptings to this violence. 'To carry the Gospel of peace to the fountain head of China's unrest and sorrow, and the Gospel of pardon to our brethren's murderers'—such was the Christian reply to brutality and murder. It was therefore proposed to open six Mission stations in Hupeh, close to the Hunan frontier, in readiness for an immediate advance into the province when the way was opened. But before those stations could be occupied, the way into the very heart of Hunan had been opened to the Ministers of peace and forgiveness. Ten years after Argent had laid down his life Wesleyan Missionaries were in Changsha, the capital of the province. The story of their entering will be told when we describe the formation of the Hunan District.

The riot in Wusueh, followed as it was by the edict already mentioned, had another important effect upon the social and civic standing of all Chinese Christians. Once in every generation the clan registers, in which the lineal descent of all male members is entered, are corrected and brought up to date. It is a matter of supreme importance to Chinese that every one should be able to verify his social position by the production of such registers ; otherwise not only does he become a social outcast, but he is also debarred from the public examinations

upon which all official advancement depends. Now towards the close of the 'eighties the family record of the Lan clan was thus corrected, and the names of certain members who had joined the Christian Church were excluded for no other reason than that they were Christians. Attempts were made by the Missionaries to have a new register made, as such exclusions were in contravention of the Anglo-Chinese treaty which had secured religious liberty for all the subjects of the Emperor. Local Mandarins and provincial Viceroy's were interviewed, but in the manner characteristic of the Oriental these were able by masterly inactivity to postpone the matter apparently *sine die*. After the Wusueh riots it was decided to take up the matter again, and to make it a test case, inasmuch as it affected the legal status of Native Christians throughout the province. Further attempts were made to shelve the question, but at last the Rev. T. Bramfitt had the satisfaction of securing the adjustment of the claim, and the reinstatement of the persons concerned in their clan. This was recorded as a distinct strengthening of the Christian position in Central China, and in the face of this decision no further attempts to ostracize Christian people on the ground of their faith were likely to occur.

All this was so much to the good, but for some time the situation for the Missionaries was difficult. All those who were in outlying parts of the District were brought in to the central cities ; and, as a further precaution, all missionary ladies were obliged to take refuge in the British Concession. But the skies were clearing. Orders were received from Peking to destroy the blocks used in preparing the anti-foreign placards, and to punish the publishers and designers of the outrageous productions. The chief leader of the propagandists found it convenient to disappear, and the offices frequented by his clientele were closed. In spite of this agitation in Hunan, the work in Hupeh continued to advance. Chapels were built in country stations, one of which, at Hwang Shih Kang, was distinguished as being the first sanctuary in the District built entirely from Native funds.

In the autumn of 1891 David Hill was again in England for what was to be his last furlough. He returned the following year, taking with him a considerable sum of money, the token of the confidence of the Church in this apostolic Missionary.

This money was set apart as the nucleus of a District Extension Fund. It seemed as if the District staff, increased as it was by eight *Joyful News* Evangelists and four ladies, was to be at its strongest. But it lost two of its Ministers in the return to England of Messrs. Barber and Boden, both of whose wives were so broken down in health as to make their return imperative. In 1893 the way into Hunan was beginning to appear, and it was opened by Chinese Christians. One of the members of the Church in Teian came one day to Mr. Warren and related to him the story of a vision which had appeared to him in the night. In his vision he had seen Christ, and not only had He revealed to him the needs of Hunan, but also He had bidden him go to the relief of His yet ungathered flock in that province. The story was repeated in the hearing of the whole Church on the following Sunday, and the Chinese pastor, Chang Yihtze, was so impressed by the recital that he declared his readiness to go with Li Kwang Ti. The Church thereupon formed itself into a missionary society, guaranteeing the necessary funds; and the two men, fully provided with tracts and Scriptures, entered the province, taking with them the Gospel of peace, and in their hearts the love which was to transform the intolerant province and make it the garden of the Lord. So from Teian, where only a few years before David Hill had been cruelly entreated and his house destroyed, the love of Jesus went forth to win an implacable people. The following year the Rev. E. C. Cooper entered the province without hindrance; others followed, and 1902 saw Cooper and his Chinese colleague—the Rev. Lo Yu Shan—occupying rented premises in the capital. From that time development was rapid, as will be seen when the story of Hunan is before us.

The next two years saw a great extension in Hupeh. The story of the Church in the Chung Yang Circuit reads like a chapter from the Acts of the Apostles, or shall we say like the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel? We have a Missionary on a journey stopping to rest at a wayside tea-shop, and entering into conversation with the woman who kept it. She comes to find in her own heart a 'well of water springing up into eternal life' and seeks to bring her neighbours to the Christ. On his next visit the Missionary found a company of believers ready for baptism, and now the Church in Chung Yang

numbers more than sixty members. The field was white unto harvest.

Another Circuit whose history is full of interest is Tayeh. This Circuit was nursed through its infancy by Missionaries of the Laymen's Mission, and in 1894 the work had so developed that the Circuit was handed over to the pastoral care of the parent Society and amalgamated with the Wusueh Circuit. Tayeh and two other towns in its vicinity had been visited by David Hill and other Missionaries, but the first definite sign of a movement towards Christ was discovered by that devoted Missionary, Mr. George Miles, who came in contact with Dr. Chia, afterwards the first in this Circuit to confess Christ in baptism. Thomas Protheroe first visited the neighbourhood in 1888, when Dr. Chia and one or two other inquirers met for worship on the boat by which Mr. Protheroe had travelled. Later on Mr. Protheroe became the first pastor of the little Church which came into being, dwelling for some time in a disused cow-shed. A chapel was then built by the members of the Church, the opening sermons being preached by Mr. Protheroe and Mr. Bramfitt, and in 1899 a second chapel was built at Hwang Shih Kang, where the opening service was conducted by Mr. Dempsey. At that time there were seventy-seven members in the Circuit, but ten years after that number had increased to a hundred and fifty-six, with fifty-four others on probation. The joy of the laymen must have been great when they thus handed over to their ministerial brethren a Church already formed and growing, while they passed on to fields yet unexplored.

But death still took toll of the men and women thus bringing to these Chinese villages and towns the Gospel of love. Miss Duncan, one of the ladies sent out to work in this field, died in 1894, and Mr. Hudson, who had returned to England for rest, passed away during his furlough in the same year ; a few months after the wife of the Rev. T. E. North was taken, and on April 18, 1896, he who, under God, had filled the Chinese Church with the knowledge of the love of God in Christ Jesus, was called to the greater ministry for which he was so fully prepared, and David Hill went home to God.

A large number of destitute people, driven from their villages by famine, had crowded into Wuchang during the winter of 1895. To relieve these a fund had been created by Chinese

officials, and the distribution of relief had been entrusted by them to David Hill—the foreigner so often execrated. That he should be thus trusted, that he should be made the minister of their philanthropy, was the crown that China placed upon the head of a foreigner and a Missionary. But the work entailed the entering of huts and hovels where every law of sanitation was defied, and the fever lurking in every corner touched him as he passed upon his Christlike ministry. All that loving care and skill could do was at his side. In Christian homes, Chinese and European, holy hands of prayer were lifted in supplication that if it were God's will this life might be spared. But it was not to be. Human plummets cannot fathom the Divine thought, and it suffices us to know that He with whom life, for David Hill, was an unbroken fellowship, called His servant to the larger service that awaited him elsewhere.

Upon both Christian and non-Christian in China, and far away in the Church that had sent him to this service, the blow fell with almost benumbing force. Men's voices were hushed in reverence, as this greatest yet humblest Minister in the kingdom of love passed to his reward. But his passing created neither panic in the Church nor resentment in the hearts of those who loved him. Rather it touched the springs of all that was deepest and all that was highest in the spiritual perceptions of the Church. The 'beauty of holiness' broke upon the vision of men. It had never been more clearly seen save in Him in whose footsteps David Hill had walked in great humility. In the heavenly music which was his life three notes were dominant—his real and immediate fellowship with Christ, his complete self-obliteration, and his measureless love for all men. He was love's great ambassador.

We need not wonder that the following year in the Central China Mission was one of marked progress. The seed that had died at once began to bear much fruit. Chapels were opened in no less than ten new centres; the High School went into its permanent home, while Chung Yang and Tung Cheng, towns well on the way to the border of Hunan, were visited in the hope of linking the established work in Hupeh with that now becoming possible in the forbidden province which David Hill had longed to enter. In 1900 the membership reached the figure one thousand. The first half of this was the fruit of

thirty years of labour ; the second half had been gathered in five ; and when the Centenary year arrived the total membership in the Wuchang and Hunan Districts was two thousand six hundred, with more than eleven hundred on trial for membership.

During the administration of David Hill he had the comfort and the co-operation of a brotherhood of Missionaries second only to himself in those qualities which go to the building up of the Church of Christ—Thomas Bramfitt (1876-1897), T. E. North (1879-1916), W. H. Watson (1882-), F. Boden (1884-1892), S. R. Hodge (1882-1907), W. T. A. Barber (1885-1892), W. A. Cornaby (1885-1921), G. G. Warren (1886-), J. K. Hill (1890-1922), G. L. Pullan (1890-1915), and E. F. Gedye (1893-1922). These were in addition to an equally impressive list of those who served as members of the Laymen's and *Joyful News* Missions. Of these last we have written later, and as the eye passes over the list of names it is safe to say that no other Mission Field records within an equal period so varied, so gifted, and so devoted a service. Some are still alive, loved and honoured by their brethren ; others have given life itself as the pledge of their devotion. But all in life and in death served as do those who love their fellow men in Christ. To them it was given to build up in this strange and unfriendly land a Christian Church, replacing hatred by love and the darkness of ignorance by the light of truth. They won for Christ the love and homage of hundreds of human hearts. Can life hold for men any larger fruition than that ?

Before the death of David Hill, in 1894, war had broken out between China and Japan, and this had serious secondary effects upon Mission work. Their humiliating defeat at last revealed to the Chinese people that they must abandon their self-satisfaction and adopt Western methods if they were to hold their own among the nations. A party of reform came into existence, led by the young Emperor himself and K'ang Yuwei, a reformer of strong and independent views. At the close of an inglorious campaign there ensued an unseemly scramble on the part of Europeans to secure concessions for the building of railways and the opening of mines. These were granted by the Government in the hope that by doing so they would make the resources of China available for the State, and so prevent any such humiliation as that which they had

suffered in their defeat by the Japanese. But European Powers also made haste to divide the spoil. Russia, France, and Germany demanded concessions of territory, and England, lest she should find herself in a disadvantageous position, secured by lease a strong position at Wei-hai-wei. All this roused a spirit of resentment among the Chinese. It was thought that the Emperor had been weak in yielding to political pressure. He was virtually deposed, and authority passed into the hands of the Dowager Empress, who speedily set up a policy which was reactionary in character and ruthless in its method of administration. Prominent reformers were put to death without the semblance of a trial, and the country was thus deprived of the service of some of her best sons. Then preparations were made for 'driving into the sea' the foreigners who had slighted the majesty of China, and annexed whatever of her territory best suited their schemes of political or mercantile aggrandisement. Naturally in most of the provinces officials made haste to come into line with the Imperial court. Happily for those provinces in which the Methodist Missionaries were at work, not only were the Viceroys in power opposed to a scheme that was born of ignorance and doomed to futility, but they were also men of sufficient strength and determination to see that their personal rule was respected. Li Hung Chang at Canton, and Chang Chih Tung in the Yangtse provinces kept unruly elements in order, and directed their subordinates to protect and befriend all foreigners in their districts, so that, though there was great alarm and an expectation of the worst, not a single foreigner lost his life in those provinces.

But in other parts of the country there was great and widespread calamity. We may not enter in these pages into a description of the Boxer movement, or of the intrigues of the Dowager Empress, who sought to make a secret association the instrument of her policy, so that in case of defeat she might be able to 'save her face' by throwing responsibility upon the 'Fists of righteous harmony.' In the course of a few months two hundred and forty members of the missionary community, men, women, and children, were murdered, and more than thirty thousand Chinese Christians were done to death, in many cases with unspeakable barbarity and every imaginable torture. There can be little doubt that, together with the scheme of ousting all foreigners, there was a deep-laid plot for destroying

the Christian Church in China. The loyalty of those who accepted death rather than renounce their allegiance to Christ left the world silent in a reverence that could never be expressed in words, and little was heard in those days of the unworthy and unmerited term of reproach—'Rice Christians.'

In June, 1900, the Imperial Government openly identified itself with the Boxers, and there followed the siege of the Legations in Peking, the march of the international relieving force to that city, the flight of the Chinese court to Hsian Fu, and the disgraceful looting of Peking. Terms of peace were at last agreed upon, but there resulted an international situation which culminated in the Russo-Japanese war of 1903. All this meant a considerable dislocation of missionary work in the central provinces. The occupants of outlying Circuits were brought into central stations, and women and children were removed to places of safety. With the return of peace the Missionaries speedily took up their work in their several spheres of labour, and as the fidelity of their fellow Christians who had been faithful unto death became known, the Church was reconsecrated to the same loyalty to Christ, and the prospect became brighter than ever.

In 1906 the services of the Rev. W. A. Cornaby were lent to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. Cornaby had rapidly made a position of his own in Central China. His gifts in science, art, and philosophy came little short of genius. He had by diligent and sympathetic study acquired an intimate knowledge of Chinese modes of thought, and his skill as an artist made him an adept in all departments of Chinese literary composition. Added to such attainments was a spirit which penetrated to the inmost shrine of religious experience. Prayer to him was the breath of life, and communion with God a supreme reality. It was no small gift which the Methodist Church made to the general cause of Christian Missions when it lent his service to the Christian Literature Society. For a number of years he edited a high-class magazine which had great influence in forming the ideals of those who moved in official circles, and were honestly concerned for the well-being of their country. In 1911 he returned to the work of a Methodist Circuit, serving in Hanyang and Hanchuan. In these he travelled incessantly, and the consequent exposure

and the hardships of travel in China proved too great a tax upon a constitution never very robust. He passed away while seeking recovery in the Kuling Sanatorium, at the very moment when this chapter was being written in 1921.

The Sanatorium was a notable addition made to the resources of the District in 1898, when a home of rest was built among the beautiful hills of Kuling. The estate had been secured by an American Missionary, who transferred the property to a Board of Trustees representing the Missionary Societies at work in Central China. Other Europeans were invited to share in the advantages of having a sanatorium five thousand feet above sea level, within easy access from Hankow, where women and children and invalids might escape from the stifling heat and sickening odours of a Chinese city. In a few years the estate was dotted over with homes of rest and health. The benefit to our Missionaries has been very great, and in remembrance of the long list of those who have died in this part of the Mission Field one can only wish that it had been possible to secure this advantage earlier. David Hill's name appears in the list of the original trustees, and his generosity did much to secure the erection of the first bungalow provided for our workers.

The decade which followed the death of David Hill was marked by a continuous increase in Church membership, and by the appearance of newly appointed Missionaries to fill the lamentable gaps in the line of workers. The Rev. Thomas Bramfitt succeeded to the Chair, and such Missionaries as C. W. Allan, G. A. Clayton, H. B. Sutton, E. F. P. Scholes, W. Rowley, A. C. Rose, and T. Protheroe ensured the continuation of a service of such high quality and of such fruitfulness as had marked the years which had gone before. A marked development of medical work belongs to this decade, and will be described in a later chapter. The outstanding event of the period was the entrance of Christian Missionaries into Hunan, and so rapidly did their work in that province come to harvest that by the time the decade had run its course it was found necessary for purposes of administration to establish a separate District organization in the province which had so long and so bitterly opposed the entrance of the Christian faith. The story of the coming of the Gospel to the Hunanese belongs to another section of this History, and we do no more here than

record that from 1903 to 1907 the work of the Church in that District was administered from Hankow.

The Centenary year—1913—marks the limit within which this History records the service of the Methodist Church in China. Of the decade immediately preceding that year we may not say more than can be comprised in a hasty review of salient points in each of the more developed Circuits of the District. Perhaps the most notable event in Hankow was the revival of 1909. A great wave of spiritual influence had passed over the Mission Churches in Korea and Manchuria, and when the Rev. W. Goforth, of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, whose service in those countries had been the means of blessing to very many, visited Hankow, the same gracious power was manifested in the Churches of that city. Men were convicted of sin, and confessed with cries and tears their unfaithfulness. Christian workers, brought in from outlying stations, were moved to reconsecrate themselves to the service of Christ, and returned to their Circuits with a new passion for the souls of men.

One of the most beautiful of the many philanthropies of David Hill is to be found in the school for the blind in Hankow, and place must be found for a slightly more extended notice of this institution. Ophthalmia, due to many causes, is terribly common in China, and for the helpless victims of this disease Confucianism has no word of help or comfort to speak. Blind children were usually flung away to die in their infancy ; others were left to drag out a miserable existence. In 1888 David Hill had erected at his own expense certain buildings which were intended to serve the purpose of an industrial school for boys, but difficulty in maintaining a qualified staff led to the abandonment of the industrial school, and the buildings were then given over to the service of the blind. An American Missionary, by name Crosette, had been for some years at work in Peking, where he had identified himself with the poorest of the poor, and had been specially employed in ministering to the blind. At Mr. Hill's request he now came to Hankow to assist in founding the school. On his arrival he found that one of his own pupils in Peking, a Mr. Yu, was already assisting in Hankow, and these two, with David Hill, entered into a noble confederacy to minister to the hapless blind of that city. Industries such as blind folk may undertake were started, and

at once met with success, but perhaps the greatest boon conferred on the inmates of the school was the gift of power to read. An ingenious adaptation of the Braille system to the Hankow dialect immensely relieved the labour involved in teaching, and soon those who walked in darkness were able to see for themselves the light of truth. In 1890 Mr. J. L. Dowson, a local preacher from Bishop Auckland, sailed to take up work in this school, Mr. Crosette having by that time returned to Peking. In the interim Mrs. Poole had mothered the boys, but after a long period of suffering she passed to her rest in 1891. With the assistance of Mr. Bramfitt as interpreter, Mr. Dowson began work ; but in 1892 he left Hankow for America, and Mr. Yu was left in sole charge of the school. From time to time Mrs. Cornaby and other ladies of the Mission gave what help they could, but the appointment of a manager and matron was greatly needed, and the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Enberley in 1894 gave a new impetus to the work. The growth of the school necessitated increased accommodation, and a new section was opened in 1907 as part of a scheme of extension to be gradually taken up. Most of the boys could now read, and some had found the way to Christ, and began to be employed as Scripture readers in hospitals, where obviously they might render most helpful service. Dr. Tatchell describes the ministry accomplished by one of these, Hu Huan Hsi, in the Hankow hospital, and speaks of him as ' probably the one man whom God has used above all others, and is still blessing in the spiritual work of the hospital.'¹ Many rendered excellent service as organists and teachers of music, and presently it came to be seen that this work, undertaken purely out of love for suffering humanity, was likely to become a most efficient factor in the evangelization of China. To non-Christian Chinese this work appealed with so much force that presently similar institutions were started in Honan and Szechwan, while a large school of the same sort was erected in Shanghai through the generosity of a single individual. In 1902 Mr. Entwistle was in charge of the school, and continued to serve its interests until 1909, when serious illness compelled his return to England, and the school was taken over by the Rev. G. A. Clayton.

Wuchang was early marked out as the appropriate centre

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

for educational mission work, and in the Centenary year we find established in that centre Wesley College, the Union Normal School, and the Theological Training Institution of the District. Of these institutions we shall write in the section in which the educational work of the District comes under review. It is not necessary to say more here than that in 1913 all three were in full working order, admirably staffed, and most efficiently worked.

An excellent boarding school for girls was opened in Hanyang, where the ladies sent out by the Women's Auxiliary found a happy and most fruitful sphere of service.

The story of Wusueh is full of interest. In 1907 the Rev. H. B. Sutton, at that time in charge of the Circuit, wrote :

It is impossible to exaggerate the wickedness of this city and the awful indifference to the gospel message which has crept over the people. It is appalling to think that after thirty-seven years' work, with some of the best and holiest men here at one time or another, we have only a Church of some dozen members. The Sunday services are cold, the folk inattentive. Pray ; pray for us.

Yet two years after the same Missionary wrote :

Special prayer has been offered and is certainly being answered. Formerly it was impossible to enjoy a walk without being assailed by vile epithets ; now we can go anywhere, and are greeted with kindness. The congregations are wonderfully improved. The Sunday services are a source of great pleasure. We get the chapel crowded with men. . . . It is no unusual thing to go over to the chapel to begin the service and to find some twenty men sitting in the guest-room waiting for the doors to open. Very many faces are becoming quite familiar to us, and the service is an inspiration to the Preacher.

We may add that in the Centenary year, only six years after that first and almost despondent appeal for prayer, there were a hundred and forty-eight fully accredited members in the Wusueh Circuit with fifty-six others on probation for admission to full membership. Such is the power of prayer.

At Anlu, a peculiarly hard and unfruitful field, protracted negotiations closed at last, leaving the Missionaries in possession of one of the finest sites in the whole District. Upon this land a chapel, a mission house, a hospital and a boys' boarding school were speedily in course of erection, and by 1913 the returns of membership show that there were a hundred and

fifty-nine members in full fellowship, with a hundred and fifteen on probation. Much of this success is to be attributed to the ministry of the Rev. W. and Mrs. Rowley,¹ whose work in this centre, begun in 1909, at once bore fruit, not only in turning opposition into friendliness, but also in winning men and women for Christ.

Suichow is another Circuit which contributes to the general cause by possessing a special institution of its own. This is to be found in the home for destitute boys which was built by the Rev. J. K. Hill, a happy memorial of his own dear child. In 1907 the Committee accepted responsibility for its upkeep, thus making it a permanent element in the many philanthropies of this District. Suichow suffered much during the second revolution, which broke out in 1912, and which resolved itself into a civil war between the north and the south. The Yangtse valley, midway between the seats of the two rival Governments, naturally became the theatre of war, and gangs of brigands roamed the country, and their plundering became a greater cause of desolation than the pitched battles between the organized forces of the two contestants. Two country stations of this Circuit were destroyed, and in Suichow itself it seemed several times as if the town was likely to be attacked. The danger, however, passed; and in 1913 the membership of the Circuit stood at one hundred and seventy-eight, with seventy-six on trial.

During this decade the District was sufficiently strong to make further contributions to the general cause of Missions in China by setting free from Circuit work the Rev. C. W. Allan that he might co-operate in the work of preparing a Mandarin version of the Scriptures. The work was undertaken by the three Bible Societies of England, Scotland, and America; and its importance for all Societies at work in China can scarcely be exaggerated. A further gift to the general cause was made when the Rev. Hardy Jowett was sent from Hunan to serve in connexion with the Young Men's Christian Association in Japan, where hundreds of Chinese were to be found. They had gone to that country in the hope of acquiring the secret of Japan's pre-eminence in Asia, that they might afterwards confer upon their own country a greater power than it possessed among the nations. The University of Tokio and other centres

¹ See pp. 520, 524.

were crowded with Chinese, and the Y.M.C.A. was wisely guided in seeking to help these men during the formative period of their life. Many a Chinese student returned from Japan with more than he set out to gain. Scores of conversions took place, and the fuller fruitage of their consecration is yet to be seen. It is certain that the Y.M.C.A. movement in the East is only at the beginning of its history, and the Church which identifies itself with that movement is wise.

The following statistics relating to the Wuchang District are full of significance, and it must be remembered in studying them that the Mission in Hunan, which is an offset from this District, is not represented in these returns. The figures are for 1913.

Chapels	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
Other Preaching-Places			..	..	..	..	14
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
Chinese Ministers	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..	..	42
Day School Teachers	..	..	..	..	..	..	55
Membership	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,583
Scholars in Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,213

The work of our Missionaries in Hankow suffered most serious dislocation just at the time when the Methodist Church was preparing to celebrate the Centenary of the Missionary Society. On October 10, 1911, there broke out in Central China a revolution which was to issue in the deposing of the dynasty which had ruled the country from the year 1644, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking and assumed an absolute sovereignty over the whole Empire. An autocratic rule which had existed for nearly two hundred and seventy years was overthrown, and a Republican system of Government was set up in its place. The issues of this extraordinary event have not even now fully appeared, but the destinies of the world are involved in what few imagined to be within the range of possibilities. To understand its significance we must closely distinguish between the Manchus and the Chinese properly so called. The former have not only usurped authority over a people superior to them in many particulars, but have exploited their industry and their wealth, and have subjected them to every sort of humiliation.

of which latter the familiar pig-tail was the symbol and sign. They were carefully excluded from both place and power, while freedom of speech was placed under an absolute embargo. For many years this subordination was accepted by the Chinese, but as soon as they began to study the learning common in most progressive countries, and as soon as they themselves began to taste the sweets of freedom in those countries which they visited, revolution became ultimately inevitable. Some concession was made to the rising tide of feeling by the institution of reforms after the Russo-Japanese War, but these proved to be far from operative, and were likely to remain so as long as the administration remained in the hands of Manchu officials. But some sort of a constitution was set up, with provincial assemblies as a prominent feature, and it was these last which precipitated the overthrow of a rule which had never ceased to be reactionary. These assemblies, though carefully 'packed,' were found to contain men who were enlightened, fearless, and outspoken, while the army upon which the Imperial Government relied was found to be more inclined to side with the subversive element in the national life than with the reactionary. When the recruiting for the Republican Army took place in Hankow, the ranks of the new army were filled by young men of good family, and not a few of the Christian youth of the city enlisted to fight in the battle for freedom. The three great cities of Central China became the theatre of war, and on October 10, 1911, the Missionaries in Hankow woke up to find the city in flames. The Imperial army from the North were firing incendiary shells into the city, and, while in the Concession there was a fair amount of security, the Native town was quickly on fire. Of the peril to the inmates of the Mission hospital and the school for the blind we have written later.

There was no indication of an anti-missionary feeling in this movement. On the contrary—as we have just stated—Native Christians freely joined in it, and a Red Cross Society was formed for the succour of the wounded. In this Society both Chinese and Europeans freely co-operated, and thus the amazing thing was seen that non-Christian Chinese were willing to range themselves for service under the sacred symbol of a religion which their fathers had treated with contempt, and they themselves were far from accepting.

This historic event clearly marks the beginning of a new era for these people so fruitful in supplying surprises for the rest of the world, and he would be a bold prophet who declared what its ultimate issue is to be. It is possible that China may accept a material interpretation of life, to the increasing difficulty of those who would commend to her the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. Or China may devote her extraordinary resources to the increase of militarism, until the 'Yellow Peril,' of which so many have spoken, becomes a real menace to the rest of the world. Or, again, it may be that the witness for Christ, so unflinchingly borne by thousands of Chinese martyrs, together with the service of Missionaries who have reflected the mind that was in Christ, may suddenly bear fruit beyond the imagination of the world. But whether these hopes or fears be realized, it is clear that the Christian Church is now confronted with a situation which challenges her powers of insight, her utmost resources, and her spirit of devotion to Him who waits for the filling up of what remains of His suffering, that so by 'the word of the Cross' new power and joy and life may come to the world of men.

IV

HUNAN : THE BARRIERS DOWN AT LAST

The intolerant Province—The Occupation of Hunan—Changsha—Riots—The Growth of the Church.

OF all the provinces of China, Hunan has been the most intolerant of the foreigner. From the time of the Tai-ping rebellion it had prided itself on its 'splendid isolation,' and had maintained a spirit of contemptuous exclusion of all that appeared to threaten its self-sufficiency. Before the Treaty of Tientsin set up its aftermath of hatred in the hearts of the Chinese this attitude of exclusiveness was not prominent. In 1863 Josiah Cox had visited Changsha, the capital of the province, and we do not find that his visit provoked any expression of resentment; while the Romanists had been at work in the province with such effect that in 1856 Hunan was made into a separate see in their ecclesiastical administration. But when Messrs. Dorward and Dick, of the China Inland Mission, entered Changsha in 1886, they were compelled to leave at once, with an official escort to see them across the frontier of the province. From that time until the beginning of the new century Hunan not only excluded the foreigner, but became the centre of anti-foreign propaganda which was scurrilous, defiant, and implacable. It was not until after the Boxer rising at the beginning of the twentieth century that our Missionaries, after many efforts, were able to begin systematic work in the province. And yet this same province has proved to be the most immediately responsive to the proclamation of the truth as it is in Jesus. When the Centenary year came in 1913 it found a Methodist Church established in the province, with a membership of more than eleven hundred; and, in the septennial period following this, that number was doubled, while a staff of fifteen or sixteen European Missionaries moved freely in the province, and had

established their centres of work in nine cities, including Changsha.

The former intolerance of the Hunanese may be attributed to two connected causes. During the Tai-ping rebellion they had shown themselves to be by far the most courageous and efficient in resisting the rebels, and their capital had fairly earned the proud title of 'The City of the Iron Gates.' In the period of dislocation and confusion which followed, their leaders had been resourceful and successful in re-establishing order and government. The province became known throughout the Empire as containing the best soldiers and the most capable administrators. After the Treaty of Tientsin officials from other parts of the country, humiliated by defeat and personally embittered by loss of office, found an asylum in Hunan, and some of these so worked upon the pride of the Hunanese that they created a bitter and determined spirit of animosity against all foreign barbarians. But when the Japanese war, and the suppression of the Boxer movement by European Powers, had broken down this unreasoning enmity against everything that was foreign, the true character of the people, and their original elements of strength, asserted themselves, and found in Christianity nothing that was destructive of what was worth preserving. In the subsequent reforms their leaders took a prominent part. Knowledge became a matter to be sought earnestly, and when it was found, a complete change of mind took place. The energetic and independent spirit of the people became a strong factor in favour of the reception of Christian teaching. No finer seed-bed for the dissemination of Christian truth could be desired, and when to this was added that the sower came with a dearly bought experience gathered in the more difficult fields of Canton and Hankow, and feeling behind him the increasing momentum of a Chinese Church already in being, we need not wonder that the advance of Christianity was rapid and widespread. To an account of the establishment of the Methodist Church in this, the fairest and the strongest of all the provinces of China, we now address ourselves.

We have already described the first attempt on the part of Methodists to enter Hunan,¹ and we have seen that it was due to the influence of the Spirit of God in the hearts of those who

¹ See p. 482.

were already Christians and who were native to China. The first official statement that Hunan was included in the list of Mission stations occurs in the Report of 1899, where the 'Hunan Mission' is said to be under the direction of the Rev. G. G. Warren, and two additional Missionaries are desired. In 1900 Messrs. Warren, Watson, and North made a tour through nine of the Hunan counties, arriving at last at Changsha. Here they found a Missionary belonging to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, residing in a boat and daily preaching and distributing Christian literature in the streets of the city. This was Mr. B. H. Alexander, and he was the first to do any continuous work in that proud and exclusive capital. In 1901 appeared a communication from the Rev. W. H. Watson indicating the line of advance for the Methodist Church, and this was followed by another from the Rev. E. C. Cooper written from Changsha, where he was then living in a rented house and already receiving indications that the hearts of the Hunanese were at last open to the Gospel message. Cooper insisted upon the need of a strong Mission policy from the outset. The opportunism so characteristic of the beginnings of missionary enterprise in other centres was to be allowed no place in this latest field. Higher education and medical work were both to be provided, and a chapel, with other 'plant,' was a first necessity. Above all, it was necessary that there should be an adequate staff of Missionaries. The scheme was very similar to that which had been formulated by Josiah Cox in Hankow, but now the lessons of inadequacy had been well learned, both on the field and by the administrative body in England. The new Mission was started with advantages unknown to earlier Missionaries in China.

In 1902 the names of Missionaries definitely appointed to serve in Hunan appear in the *Minutes* for the first time. The names are those of the Revs. E. C. Cooper, Sidney Helps, and H. B. Rattenbury. In the following year the last two were removed to the Hupeh Section, but William Watson and Hardy Jowett were to be found in Changsha, and E. C. Cooper and W. W. Gibson in Paoking. These had, however, to mourn the death of their colleague, the Rev. Lo Yu Shan. The latter had come to Changsha with Cooper, and his kindness of disposition and unfailing tact were a great asset in the work of forming the new Mission. Before he passed to the

higher service he had given to him the unspeakable joy of baptizing the first three converts in Changsha, and a devoted ministry was thus made singularly complete. One of these was the Buddhist zealot Li T'ai Kai, of whom an interesting account is given by the Rev. E. C. Cooper in the *Foreign Field* of 1910. Within three years after his admission into the Christian Church he had brought more than ninety of his former co-religionists into the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Scarcely had the work begun before the Boxer rising took place, and though the anarchy and the murderous onslaught upon the followers of Christ took place mostly in the north of China, there were not a few indications that but for the strong rule of the Viceroy of Central and South China there would have been in those regions also a terrible ordeal for those who had accepted the Christian faith, and for the Missionaries who had led them to Christ. But, as things were, the Missionaries were obliged to leave the province of Hunan, and outside of Yochow all newly-acquired Mission property was destroyed. To add to the difficulties of the time, the city of Changsha was visited by a severe outbreak of cholera in 1902. By then the trouble caused by the Boxer outbreak had subsided, and the Missionaries had returned to their Circuits, but this new calamity did not make it easy for them to take up again their interrupted service. The work, however, continued to develop. In Paoking an excellent site for Mission premises had been secured, and it was decided to make this city the head quarters of medical work. In 1906 Dr. and Mrs. Pell¹ sailed from England to take up their ministry of healing. An equally good site was subsequently obtained in Yungchow, where work was begun in 1907 by Dr. G. Hadden. The greatest hope and confident expectation was felt by our workers in Hunan, and this was common in all departments. Not less was this the case in England, where their service was followed with increasing interest and sympathy. The Committee was not slow in sending out the men required as the range of operations extended, and in 1907—only seven years from the commencement of the Mission—there were ten Missionaries on the field, with an equal number of Catechists to assist them. The membership had increased to two hundred and

¹ See p. 520.

ninety-four, and there was a promise of large accessions to the Church. It was therefore decided to recognize Hunan as a District, distinct in administration from Hankow, and this was done, with the Rev. G. G. Warren as the first Chairman. The arrangement had the desirable effect of relieving the administration in the older District, where the burden of a rapidly increasing Church was severely felt. Six years make a brief period in which an offset from a parent Church arrives at sufficient maturity to warrant an independent existence, but the issue has abundantly justified whatever spirit of adventure may have led to the decision, and the new District showed a rapid advance in all that pertains to the establishment of a Christian Church. Some little difficulty was felt at first in that some candidates for admission to the Church hoped that by coming forward they would secure the intervention of the Missionaries in certain lawsuits in which they were involved. Romish priests in former years had used their influence with civic administrators in this way, but our Missionaries were too wise to adopt their custom, and such attempts on the part of Chinese litigants proved fruitless.

It was found that higher education in the city of Changsha was already in the capable hands of the representatives of Yale University, and it was wisely considered best to leave that part of the work with them, and not to attempt to set up another college in the city. A boarding school for girls was opened in Yungchow, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, and the first lady to take up this work was Miss Emma Denham. She retired, however, in 1911, and up to the time of the Centenary year her successor had not yet appeared. A similar school was opened at Yiyang in 1912, under the charge of Miss Lilian Grand.

The wave of religious revival which, as we have seen, began in Korea, and, under the ministry of the Rev. W. Goforth, reached and blessed the Churches in Central China, was felt also in Hunan. Here the Rev. W. H. Watson was led to commence a series of services for the deepening of spiritual life in 1909. In Changsha and other towns remarkable scenes were witnessed. Chinese and Europeans, made as one by their common spiritual need, sought and found the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Chinese were more than refreshed by this river of the grace of God. New life and power were given,

and believers were built up in their most precious faith. The fruit of this was seen in the fact that the full membership rose in that year from two hundred and thirty to three hundred and ninety, an increase of over sixty-seven per cent. By this time there were three Circuits in Hunan, and in one of these there occurred a striking indication of the power of God in the life of a Hunanese convert :

Away among the mountains some sixty Chinese converts gathered for worship on July 7, 1909, and nineteen of these were received into the Church by baptism. Each one of the nineteen had known something of the truth for at least five years. The scene of this baptismal service was the ancestral hall of a leading clan of the neighbourhood, and the first to receive the sacred rite was the woman who had been the chief messenger of the Gospel to those who were baptized with her. Her husband had already been baptized at the city chapel. Seven years before sentence of expulsion from the clan or death had been sent on to that very ancestral hall from the head hall of the clan on this worthy couple, because they dared to believe in Jesus. They were driven from their homes in the depth of winter, and the wife, after accompanying her husband to the city, braved the walk back to their home alone and then back again to the city, a distance of seventy miles through the deep snow. Mr. and Mrs. T'ang deserve to be named among the heroes of the Cross of Christ.

The year in which this occurred was marked by a general increase throughout the District. In Yiyang Mrs. Champness opened a school for training women in both evangelistic and educational work, and the members of the Church made themselves responsible for the opening and the maintenance of a Mission hall in the town. Within the two years which followed six students were sent from this Circuit to study in the theological institution opened in Changsha. Each of these three recorded incidents forms a clear indication of a living Church.

In Pingkiang a boarding school for boys was begun. Pingkiang was one of the first towns visited by the Missionaries after coming to Changsha, and in 1903 we read of determined opposition. When it was proposed to build a chapel the local Mandarin stirred up trouble for our agents, and the followers of Confucius published a filthy and violent placard against them. Yet no centre has proved more fruitful than this. The name of the Circuit appears first in the Report of 1905, when the Revs. Hardy Jowett and Vincent Johnson were

stationed there. That year the membership stood at fifteen. Four years after it stood at a hundred and ninety-four, and in the Centenary year that membership had increased to five hundred and thirty-six—more than half the total membership of the District. At the beginning of 1910 there were four chapels in the Circuit; at the close of that year there were seven. It is to be questioned whether so great and so immediate a harvest has been gathered in any field.

Continuing our survey of the different Circuits in the year 1909, we note that in Paoking Dr. W. B. Heyward had arrived from Australia, and the long-closed dispensary was reopened. In the other centre of medical work, Yungchow, Dr. Hadden was busily at work, and a preaching-hall was opened. In this Circuit there was another boarding school for boys, and the administration which decided to multiply this agency rather than to centralize the work was a wise one. At Chenchow, the most southern Circuit in the province, the soil seemed more stubborn in yielding the longed-for harvest, but preparations were made for its ingathering, and a chapel and Mission house were in course of construction by the Rev. E. F. P. Scholes. This confidence was confirmed by a membership of fifty-three in the Centenary year.

As we have seen, the Rev. W. H. Watson had been set apart for District evangelistic work, and in 1909 we find him travelling through the remote regions to the west of the province, regions which were inhabited by aboriginal tribes of Chinese. The wild people inhabiting those districts had never acknowledged the government of the Manchus, but remained under the rule of their own chiefs, and enjoyed a certain amount of security in their mountain fastnesses.

In Changsha the most important development of all was to be found in the opening of a theological institution under the care of the Rev. Hardy Jowett. A happy spirit of co-operation among the different Societies at work in the province allowed this institution to admit students belonging to other Churches. That it should be opened after only ten years of work in the province affords a happy contrast with the delay of other Districts in beginning this essential branch of the work.

Thus every department of the work of the Church was prosperous, when there broke out in Changsha one of those

riots which seem to be periodic in China, and which may in an hour undo the work of years. The storm broke on April 10, 1910. At that time Warren and Cooper were resident in Changsha, and with them were two newly appointed Missionaries, the Revs. E. Cowling and W. L. Oakes. It originated in a bitter resentment felt by the populace against the action of the civic authorities, but its effects were painfully felt by the Missionaries at work in the city. Famine in other districts had raised the price of rice in Changsha, and the delay of the Governor in opening the public granaries led to angry demonstrations on the part of the mob. Government buildings in every part of the city were set on fire, and looting took place in all directions. Presently the mob broke into the homes of the Missionaries, and they had hastily to seek refuge on a vessel lying in the river. No lives were lost, but much property belonging to the Mission party was destroyed, and all Christian work in the city was brought to a standstill. It was thought that the old anti-foreign animus, still smouldering in the mind of the upper classes of society, was really at the back of this outburst of feeling, and it was held by some that the rioting of a hungry people had anticipated a still more violent outburst against the presence of foreigners in the city, and had caused its miscarriage. There was doubtless a certain amount of reaction against the spirit of reform which was becoming prevalent. The loan of foreign capital for railway construction was resented, as giving to foreigners a hold on the country, and there was much opposition to allowing these to acquire property in land. The riots were, on this showing, not anti-missionary but anti-foreign, and they evidenced a growing spirit of revolt against the ruling dynasty. This culminated in the great revolution of 1911, when the Manchu Government was overthrown, and a Republic set up in its place. It is full of significance that of three Mission hospitals in Changsha not one was injured. Comment is unnecessary.

The revolution of 1911 was, as we have seen, the occasion of much distress to missionary societies and of temporary dislocation in work in Canton and Hankow, but in Hunan these effects were not felt so severely. The people of the province had settled down to more or less normal conditions of life, and the Missionaries were able to report 'A good year.' Yiyang and Pingkiang continued to show rapid growth, and

the statistics published by the Rev. C. S. Champness in the *Foreign Field* of 1912 are full of interest :

Yiyang Circuit	1908	1911
Preaching-Places	1 ..	6
Adult Membership	58 ..	119
Local Preachers	3 ..	15
Schools	1 (mixed)	
„ Boys	— ..	2
„ Girls (Boarding) ..	— ..	1
„ Bible Training ..	— ..	1

A happy incident of the year was that of a United Summer School held at Nanyoh, where a famous shrine, visited daily by thousands of pilgrims, is to be found. More than eighty students gathered together in this place for study and evangelistic work among the pilgrims. They came from twenty-three different counties, from thirty-six different towns or cities, and from forty-four Churches. Altogether nine different Missions were represented on the occasion.

We met under no denominational name; we joined together in one common worship, and round one table broke bread together in one common sacrament.¹

No less than seventy thousand New Testaments, Gospel extracts, and other Christian literature were distributed. The incident was one of happy augury. For both the problem of Christian education, and that of evangelizing the vast and yet unevangelized populations of China, are to be solved by co-operation between the different Churches at work in that country. It is possible that China may be the first to show the way to the alluring goal of 'the union of the Churches.' The writer well remembers the effect produced upon the members of the Edinburgh Conference by the dry and somewhat caustic utterance of a Chinese Delegate, when he said: 'We in China are not interested in sectarian differences.' The words fell like a rebuke upon the Churches assembled on that occasion. It is entirely in accord with this tendency that it

¹ See the *Foreign Field* for 1912, p. 383.

was proposed in 1913 that the Methodist theological institution in Changsha should be merged in a 'Union Institution.' Our premises were put at the service of the common cause, and the Rev. E. C. Cooper was appointed the first Principal of the institution. Yet another indication of the same character, but revealing a special and welcome feature of its own, was a proposal that the Yale University Mission should establish a University in Changsha. That Mission at once acquiesced, and invited the other Societies at work in the city to join them in their endeavour, and this proposed establishing of a Christian University came from the Provincial Government of Hunan. This was in 1913; and it was only in 1900 that Warren, Watson and North first entered the city.

We have now come in our survey to the chief events of the year which marks the limit of the Methodist Centenary History of Mission work. The following statistics taken from the Society's Report for that year may well be studied. They relate to the Hunan District :

Chapels	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
European Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Chinese Ministers	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Catechists	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Local Preachers	..	..	..	..	..	..	36
Christian Community	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,150

It will be seen from a study of these figures that the story of the Methodist Church in Hunan differs from that of Canton and Wuchang at least in one particular. It is the story of an immediate harvest. It gives us the picture of a long-closed door suddenly flung wide open to the ambassadors of the love of God in Jesus Christ. It lacks the element of uncertainty, and of long-continued waiting for results while the Missionary moved in this direction and in that, and learned through many a failure the right method of approach. It is not, indeed, wanting in the true romance of the great adventure. In the story of this field, as in that of others, there awaits the reader the thrill with which he will read of 'hopeless odds,' and the triumph of those who 'out of weakness were made strong.' His own spiritual experience will be enriched, or possibly rebuked, as there passes before his eyes the picture of the

simplicity of faith crowned with its assured victory ; of men and women accepting whatever circumstances might bring in the form of hardship, pain, and even death, if only they might obtain the privilege of bringing to Christ remote, ignorant, and half unintelligible villagers in those great tracts of country which make the heart of China. But such interest as usually attaches to the men who have to ' feel their way ' in a strange and dark land is not prominent here, as it is in the earliest records of the work of their brethren in Africa and India, and in those of the first-established Missions in China itself. The Missionaries in Hunan had scarcely begun to sow before the time of reaping was upon them, and within thirteen years the Christian community which had accepted their Ministry of Christ numbered more than a thousand.

To account for this difference we must always remember that this latest Mission of the Methodist Church enjoyed the incalculable advantage of having for its pioneers men who were already perfectly at home in speaking the language of the people. They were familiar with the Chinese habit of thought, and had learned in the hard school of experience the best line of approach. They were also thoroughly acclimatized. In themselves they were men of great ability, sterling character, and they enjoyed a rich and deep experience of Christ. Such men as Warren, Cooper, and Watson—to mention only three—might be trusted to lay a good foundation for the Church in Hunan. But there was another cause of this ready acceptance of the Christian faith. It is to be found in the character of the Hunanese. We have ourselves written of these as being at first ' anti-Christian ' and rigidly exclusive of everything foreign. But subsequent events have proved that they were such only under the guidance and influence of their social and political leaders. As soon as the people themselves had come to understand the motive of the Christian Missionary, and had felt ' the power of Jesus' Name,' they gave not merely a hearing to the Gospel, but their very hearts to Christ. Then the independence and courage which had given them their place among the different peoples of China were both brought into subjection to Christ, and made them as staunch in their allegiance as they had been obstinate in their refusal. An excellent illustration of this is to be found in the story of Dr. Teng. In a village some distance

from Changsha Dr. Teng, with three other men, was thrown into prison for connivance in the burning of idols in a temple some years before.

The four men, after a delay of six months, were brought to trial and sentenced to terms of two, three, and four years' imprisonment respectively. When the first two had completed their sentences, in accordance with Chinese custom, word was sent to their clansmen to become bond for their future behaviour. 'Give up the foreign religion,' said the clansmen to the prisoners, 'and we will give our bond.' The prisoners absolutely refused to give any such guarantee, and their friends replied, 'Then do not blame us for declining to be bound. We do not know whether you will repeat the offence or not, and if you should do so, and we are bondmen for you, we should suffer.' The men actually continued on for ten months beyond the sentence before the prison gates opened. The fourth man—Dr. Teng—was kept in prison until last year, which was a year of grace to such prisoners as he. Imperial proclamation conferred pardon on certain classes of offenders, and our friend petitioned the magistrate for the fulfilment of the Imperial promise. But the unoiled wheels of Chinese justice declined to turn. Then it happened that the magistrate's wife fell ill, and this particular prisoner, being a doctor, was enabled to cure her. The effect was immediate. Before the necessary communications with the Government could be carried out the prisoner was released on parole—a parole which he daily honoured by a return to prison for the night—and as soon as possible the release was made permanent. But the prisoner, unbaptized and uncommissioned as he had been all the years of his imprisonment, did not leave the city jail until he had proclaimed the opening of another kind of prison to those who had been his fellow prisoners.¹

Another indication of the same steadfast loyalty to Christ may well be placed on record. During the rioting in Changsha which took place in 1910, it was thought desirable to remove for a time to a place of safety all foreigners living in the province. The flock was left without a shepherd. It was no slight test of a newly acknowledged faith. The Christians had every reason to apprehend persecution, if not death. Yet the members of the Church, bereft of their spiritual leaders, kept unsullied their loyalty to Christ, and quietly met together as before for Christian worship. The future of a Church whose members are of such character is assured. The secret of Jesus is with them, and coming generations in Western lands may one day marvel at the revelation of Christ to be seen in the Church of Hunan.

¹ Quoted in the Society's Report for 1910.

V

MEDICAL MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA

Slow Growth of this Work in Methodist Missions—First Attempts in Hankow and in Canton—Dr. Wenyon—Dr. Roderick Macdonald—Wuchow—Hankow and Dr. Hodge—A Succession of Missionary Doctors—The Medical Service of Women—The Wuchang Hospital and Dr. Margaret Bennett.

It is the most natural thing in the world that the Christian Missionary should regard the ministry of healing as a feature of the service to which he is called. It was prominent in the work of our Lord Himself, and scarcely less so in that of His disciples, whose commission embraced the healing of the sick. But even if these compelling examples had been lacking, the general character and spirit of the Christian religion would have enforced its adoption. Love for mankind implies a pitiful regard for all who suffer and an obligation to relieve them where it is possible. The same spirit which breaks the fetters of the slave, or toils and suffers for the emancipation of those who are 'fast bound in sin and nature's night,' insists upon the effort being made to relieve the physical sufferings of men. Even those Missionaries who have had the most elementary knowledge of the use of drugs have been driven to prescribe when they have met with such ailments as were familiar to them, in default of trained physicians to whom the sufferer might be sent. Sometimes this 'zeal not according to knowledge' has had disastrous effects, and the practice of the amateur doctor is now discountenanced. But this is due to the fact that in most Mission Fields the fully qualified doctor is now to be found, and medical and surgical instalments have been set up, to the immeasurable advantage of missionary operations in general. It must, however, be confessed that most Missionary Societies, and notably that of the Methodist Church, have been slow in taking up this branch of the

work, and even to-day medical Missions do not receive one-tenth of the attention they deserve.

It may be that this has been due to an unhappy and utterly false discrimination between the medical and the evangelistic work. It was thought that the Missionary's one work was 'to save souls'; it was not seen that the soul might be reached through the body, that our Lord's example was a sufficient endorsement of such a ministry, and that common philanthropy demanded its exercise. But it must not be supposed that those who direct the affairs of the different Societies were the victims of any such delusion. Probably that which caused their long-deferred and quite insufficient provision for such work was the simple fact that they had no adequate means for its furtherance at their disposal. Hospitals, with all that they entail in appliances and in personnel, are expensive, and with limited funds missionary Boards were quite unable to finance the schemes that were put before them. It must be remembered, too, that fully qualified men and women who are willing to serve as Christian Missionaries were not easily met with fifty years ago, though it is one of the happier signs of our times that they are now more frequently found.

It is quite unnecessary to enlarge here upon the need for such work among pagan people. The tender mercies of those who are ignorant of anatomy or physiology are often the very refinement of cruelty inflicted upon those who are already in a condition of suffering, and few countries have surpassed China in the torture inflicted upon the victims of disease. The national vanity of the Chinese made them incapable of seeing any defect in their system of curing the sick. The consequence has been that, apart from the futility of charms, incantations, and other similar methods of dealing with disease, methods not by any means confined to China, the stories of actual suffering inflicted in the name of science upon the sick baffle description. Christianity brought to China its own peculiar endowment of wise, skilful, and sympathetic treatment. Even in India, where the knowledge of medicine was on a far higher plane than that on which it was found in China, hospitals were unknown before the Christian appeared. Those homes of healing and love are the distinct product of the Christian ethic, which compels every acquired product of a

mind set free from superstition and open to receive an ever-advancing knowledge to bow itself in the service of all who suffer. To the Christian, knowledge—like everything else—is given as a trust to be used for others.

The first medical representative of the Protestant Christian Church who came to China was the Rev. Karl F. A. Gützlaff, of the Netherlands Mission. He began work in 1827, and in 1835 the American Board of Missions, whose generous provision for their work may well be a matter for envy to others, sent no less than five medical Missionaries to that country. The first British medical Missionary to appear in China was William Lockhart, who arrived in 1839, and served for twenty years.

We have seen that in the scheme of missionary work prepared by Josiah Cox, a distinct place was given to medical work, and the first colleague to join him in Hankow was Dr. F. Porter Smith. He had been educated at Wesley College, Taunton, and after a brilliant course at King's College and Hospital in London he took up a practice at Shepton Mallet, in Somersetshire. But in 1863, soon after Cox had laid his scheme before the Committee, he offered his services to our Society.

Here, then, was a distinct answer to prayer, and we can imagine the joy that filled the heart of the lonely Missionary in Hankow. In May, 1864, Dr. and Mrs. Porter Smith arrived in Hankow after a voyage of five months. The spirit in which the new work was undertaken is shown in the first 'Minute' of the miniature Synod. 'A weekly meeting shall be held on Friday evenings at seven o'clock, for the dispatch of business and for prayer. It is to be understood that the secular business shall be quickly passed, so as to leave time for prayer.'

A small house was taken, and in this Dr. Smith began work, Cox acting as interpreter. It was a modest hospital, but 'its work soon began to make a great impression. Its influence affected every grade of society. Patients from almost every province attended. Tartar officials, Mandarins, literary graduates, undistinguished citizens, soldiers, villagers, and beggars, were to be found amongst the patients.' In 1866 a small hospital was built in close proximity to the Mission house, and this was the first hospital specially erected in Central China. Dr. Smith added to his already excessive labour a considerable amount of literary work; but his

health, never very robust, suffered in consequence. In spite of warnings that he was overtaxing his strength, he continued to work at high pressure, and once a week he crossed the river to do similar service in Wuchang. The strain of such work upon one who was single-handed was too great, and though in 1870 he was joined by Dr. E. P. Hardey, he was obliged to return to England so weakened that a second term of service was impossible. Dr. Hardey was thus left to support this burden alone. How heavy it was may be guessed from the fact that the patients attending the hospital in a single year numbered ten thousand. The work was too heavy for one man to do it without running the risk of a failure in health, and after five years Dr. Hardey, too, was obliged to return to England. A successor was found; but he only remained in Hankow for a year before he resigned, and for ten long years the medical work in Central China was given up.

Meantime medical work had been begun in Canton, and the honour of its inception belongs to the Rev. Dr. Wenyon, who arrived in Canton in 1871. After three months spent in considering the best centre it was decided that this branch of work should be located in Fatshan. The place was well chosen. We have seen that the anti-foreign feeling was peculiarly strong in that city, and if its inhabitants were to be disarmed of their animosity nothing was so likely to be effective as the ministry of healing, with its disinterested compassion. But the difficulty of finding suitable premises was very great, and after many futile efforts Dr. Wenyon determined to make a start in the building which had served as a chapel during the years in which the faithful Chinese agents had unflinchingly borne witness to the love of God in Christ Jesus. The little vestry which served as a consulting-room was quickly crowded out, and Dr. Wenyon had to devise ingenious methods of preventing wealthier patients from preventing the approach of the poor. While the patients waited their turn in the chapel evangelistic addresses were given and Christian literature was distributed. During those early days Wenyon's position was most precarious. In an address given in Exeter Hall during his furlough he thus describes it :

The introduction of operative surgery to such a township as Fatshan was invested with special risk and difficulty. There was no

British Consul there, no European gun-boat, no police protection, and no place of refuge. My first serious operation, therefore, was an experience which I would not like to go through again. . . . If I operated successfully it would establish the reputation of our hospital ; but if I operated and failed, not only should I lose my patient—always a sorrow to a surgeon's heart—but the life of myself and of my family would be endangered ; we should certainly have been driven from the town, our enterprise there would have collapsed, and similar enterprises in other parts of the province would have been seriously prejudiced. I felt this was a case in which I had a right to look for some special Divine assistance. I put it into the hands of the Great Physician, and then undertook the operation with no other assistance than that of a few raw students who had not yet become used to the sight of blood.

Happily the operation was conspicuously successful, but the story as told by Dr. Wenyon illustrates the peculiar difficulty which our medical Missionaries have had to confront in their work. It soon became evident that the situation could not continue. Surgical skill and the personal devotion of the Missionary to his duty were thrown away unless more adequate provision in the form of a hospital were provided. An appeal to the Committee for funds was met by the all too frequent reply that the funds of the Society were not in a condition to allow of a grant being made for the purpose. Dr. Wenyon then made a public appeal through the Press, and at the same time, with the audacity of faith, acquired a building suitable to his purpose at a rental of a hundred pounds per annum. The responsibility for this he of course was obliged to accept, but faith met with its due reward. A generous friend in England guaranteed the rent for five years, and other donations enabled the doctor to furnish a hospital in which a hundred patients might be received. Every effort was made to secure at least some measure of local support, but the anxiety of meeting the expense of such an institution weighed heavily upon the mind of the Missionary. It was deplorable that he should have been allowed to carry any such burden.

It must not be forgotten that throughout that first period Dr. Wenyon had to work without trained assistants. He was entirely alone, with a hostile people round him, ready to believe the most outrageous statements as to the methods and purpose of this incomprehensible foreigner, who seemed to have at his command a magical power suggesting supernatural, if not diabolic, co-operation. But the doctor held

on his course, and speaks of having treated as many as three hundred patients in one day. We can only marvel at the physique which enabled him to endure so great a strain. Possibly the enforced closing of the hospital in 1883, owing to riots in Canton, came by way of a happy relief. The British Consul in Canton considered that the presence of an Englishman in Fatshan during the unrest of that time could not be allowed, and Dr. Wenyon was obliged to accept a month's holiday. By that time he had been able to form a class for training medical students, and again we are amazed at the resources which enabled him to do so. But the results have been beyond all praise. They are to be seen in the long list of students who have, in spite of innumerable difficulties, acquired no mean skill in medicine and surgery. Some of these remained after their course to assist their teacher, and on occasion have ably carried on the work of the hospital in the absence of the doctor. Dr. Tatchell mentions the interesting fact that when the first meeting of the Chinese Medical Society was held in Canton, only doctors who had been taught on Western lines being admitted, about one-third of those present had received their training in Fatshan. If Dr. Wenyon's work had secured no other result than this he might well have been content. It was no small thing to have made available for Chinese sufferers that large measure of remedial power. But there was much more than this, for many found in the Fatshan hospital that a greater Healer than the Missionary was present to cure the sin-sick soul. Dr. Wenyon draws a pathetic picture of the baptism of two lepers whom he baptized during the first year he spent in Fatshan :

They had received their light through reading the Bible in Chinese, and they gave such satisfactory evidence of their conversion that I could not refuse their request. They could not, of course, come into our chapel, lepers as they were. So I went out to see them at their place of banishment among the hills. Hard by the lonely hut in which they were living ran a beautiful clear stream, and down to this stream I went like John the Baptist, the lepers being with me, and there, beneath the broad blue dome of heaven, lit up by God's own sunshine, I baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

After some time help came to the over-tasked doctor. Mr. Anton Anderssen was engaged as dispenser, and in 1884

Dr. Roderick Macdonald arrived in Canton. Mr. Anderssen was a Swede who had joined Dr. Wenyon soon after the latter began his ministry in Fatshan. He was an ideal collaborator. His patience and courage were equalled only by his modesty and diligence. He was able by study and observation to become at last a qualified practitioner, taking his degree in an American University. When Dr. Wenyon retired in 1896 the full responsibility fell upon Dr. Anderssen, and faithfully and ably did he carry on the work which Dr. Wenyon laid down. He finally retired in 1903.

Of Dr. Macdonald it is hard for an old schoolfellow and friend to write. The affection which 'Roddy' elicited in his boyhood surges up in the memory, and makes it difficult in describing his ministry to find expressions which appear adequate. Happily the full story of his life, written by his wife, is available for those who would study the conditions of medical work in China, and the character of one of the saintliest men who have given life itself in token and pledge of their devotion to Christ. Six months after his arrival in Canton he had to accept the sole responsibility of the hospital in Fatshan, Dr. Wenyon having offered his services on behalf of the Chinese soldiers, the Empire being then at war with France. On the return of Dr. Wenyon branch dispensaries were opened at Shi Kiu and Shiuchow, on the North River, but owing to the small staff available these were soon closed again. To the latter of the two places Dr. Macdonald was appointed in 1890. But circumstances were against him from the first, and interminable delays, intentionally caused, prevented anything like efficient work being done at this centre. It remained in abeyance until 1908, when a fresh start was made by Dr. Dansey Smith, but up to the Centenary year the hospital remained unbuilt; occasional visits from other medical centres were all that was possible.

Macdonald returned from furlough in 1893 and took over the Fatshan hospital while Wenyon and Anderssen were on furlough, but the strain was too great, and on Wenyon's return in 1895 he found Macdonald so seriously broken down that only an immediate voyage to Japan saved his life, and at the end of that year it was decided that he should return to England. It seemed then that his service in China was closed, but in 1897 he had so recovered that he was able to

return, and he was asked to begin medical work at Wuchow, a city on the West River about two hundred and twenty-four miles from Canton. Wuchow is the capital of the Kwangsi province ; and had been recently opened as a treaty-port. It was thought that there was an opportunity of beginning work in that province. It is impossible for want of space to follow the course of Macdonald's ministry in Wuchow. The outbreak of plague in 1899, and of famine in 1903, preceded as this latter was by a disastrous flooding of the West River, were occasions of proving his devotion to those whose sufferings can scarcely be described, and in 1899 the first converts in the new Mission were received by baptism into the Christian Church. Macdonald secured an admirable site for Mission premises, and at once set about the erection of a hospital. It was feared at one time that the site of the hospital, fronting the Fu River, was unsuitable owing to the frequent flooding of the river, and the possible erosion of its banks. That fear was, however, happily removed, and the spaciousness of the site presented possibilities of extension inevitable in any medical Mission that attains a measure of success. In the course of time, though the design of the hospital was admirably conceived, some of the buildings proved to be inadequate, and an amount of structural alteration was indicated as necessary. Later on a leper asylum, the cost of which is borne by the 'Mission to Lepers in India and the East,' was opened on an island some miles up the river.

Macdonald did not live to see the completion of his hospital. When he was returning from the Synod of 1906 the steamer on which he travelled was attacked by pirates, and while seeking to succour the captain, who was severely wounded, Macdonald was shot down and died on the spot. Of the life that reached so tragic a close it is enough to say in the words of the Commissioner of Customs in the city of Wuchow, 'Such men do not die ; their lives are part of the Life Eternal, and in their measure they live in those who have known and loved them.'¹

To return to Fatshan. Dr. W. J. Webb Anderson came to the relief of a sadly overworked staff in 1900, and steps were soon taken to build a new hospital. The one which had done duty up to that time was admirably placed so far as centrality was concerned, and it continued to be used as a dispensary.

¹ Quoted by Mrs. Macdonald in *Roderick Macdonald*, p. 291.

But its surroundings were far from hygienic, and for the purposes of a hospital it was necessary to seek a cleaner locality. In 1905 Dr. Dansey Smith took the place of Dr. Webb Anderson, whose health necessitated a furlough, and shortly after he was joined by Dr. Philip Rees,¹ but the latter was shortly after transferred to Wuchow. The last-named of the many excellent doctors who served in China was another of those whom to know was to love. To his eminent gifts as a doctor he added a wonderfully charming personality, and a deep love for Christ and for the Chinese people irradiated all his work. For six years he continued to exercise a most gracious ministry in Wuchow. In 1911 he was with reluctance compelled to take furlough, and returned to China in 1912, though prudence would have forbidden him to do so. In August of that year, while he was on a visit to Hong Kong, an operation became necessary, and he lacked the necessary reserves of strength which would have enabled him to rally. So yet another name was added to the list of those who counted not their own lives dear to them that they might minister to Christ's needy ones in China. Shortly before his death he was joined at Wuchow by Dr. B. R. Vickers, upon whom the heavy burden of an unshared service fell.

In 1908 Dr. Webb Anderson, who had returned from furlough, was joined by Dr. Alfred Hooker at Fatshan, and in the same year the new hospital was opened, a grant of five hundred pounds from the Twentieth Century Fund being a great relief to the Missionaries in their financial embarrassments. The old hospital continued to be used as a dispensary, and was ably served by Dr. So Kit San. The greater part of the cost of the new hospital was received from Chinese sources, an indication of the appreciation of those who knew its value, and the current charges are also fully met by the income from fees, the poorer patients being treated gratuitously. In the Centenary year Dr. Webb Anderson was still in charge of this hospital, and its range and efficiency continually increased. During that year more than nine thousand patients were treated within its walls, and the number of out-patients made a demand upon the staff which, great as it was, they were only too happy to meet. In the course of time additions were made to the site, until eventually an area of four acres had

¹ See p. 432.

been secured. This allowed room for buildings made necessary by the development of the work, and it was hoped that in time a home and school for nurses might be added, so as not only to add to the convenience of working the hospital, but also to carry its gracious ministry into the homes of the people. The cost of all this extension was met from the income of the hospital, which has not only been adequate to the purpose, but has made it possible to help the work at Wuchow and Shiuchow, and still to spare something for schools and chapels in the District. It is interesting to note that in the Centenary year the number of Church members in Fatshan stood at two hundred and ninety. When Dr. Wenyon began work in that city there were only three Chinese Christians within its walls.

Having thus traced the course of this work in the southern District, we may now return to Hankow, where, as we have seen, the work was in abeyance for ten years. The arrival of Dr. Sydney Hodge marked the beginning of a remarkable extension of this branch of work in Central China, but the situation in 1887 was such as would have reduced to despair any one of a less patient disposition and a less determined will. Dr. Hodge was without either hospital or dispensary. There was not even a room available for the reception of patients. He made his own study do duty for all three. What the inconvenience must have been is left to the imagination, and only the instructed imagination will be able to measure it. At the same time Hodge gave invaluable help by superintending the erection of the women's hospital, and when a plot of ground on the opposite side of the same street was acquired for a men's hospital he gave himself up to the plans and specifications for this also. His earliest months in the country, which should have been given to the acquirement of the language, were thus filled with work which called for immediate attention, and he was the only man on the spot who could give it. By 1890 the first block of the buildings as planned was completed, as well as an out-patients' department. Then the inevitable happened. The overtaxed physique, which had been drawn upon with such prodigality, suffered a breakdown. Hodge was compelled to withdraw in order to recuperate, and there was nothing for it but to close the hospital. It can never be too often repeated that to begin a medical

Mission with less than two qualified Missionaries is to invite the calamity of a breakdown in the health of the doctor, and a serious set-back in the work. Throughout the 'nineties the appeal—never more pathetic—of 'One wanted' for medical work appears year after year in the Society's Report, but it was not until 1900 that a second name was added to Dr. Hodge's. This name was that of Dr. R. T. Booth. A few brief years of happy and most devoted work followed, and then in 1907—the same year as that in which Thomas Protheroe died—the Central China Mission was called to mourn the loss of one of its most devoted Missionaries. The death of Dr. Hodge left the Hankow District most sorely bereaved. We may only say here that the same unsparing energy, the same unstinted service, whether rendered to a brother Missionary, a high-placed Mandarin, or some abject Chinese beggar, and the same unqualified devotion to Christ, marked the ministry of Dr. Hodge to its earthly close.

He was a wise, far-seeing counsellor, a skilful surgeon and painstaking physician, a vigorous leader of men, a sympathetic, tender-hearted friend, a faithful preacher, a man of God, of faith, of prayer.

The work of healing was to him in itself a sacred manifestation of Christ the Healer, and no mere adjunct to a scheme for gaining converts.

Such are some of the tributes borne to him. His death left a great gap in the ranks of the Mission staff. To fill it Dr. Tatchell was transferred to Hankow, his place at Tayeh being taken by Dr. Pell.

The origin and the course of the Wesleyan Laymen's Mission will appear before us in another chapter, but their extensive and most admirable service in the medical branch of the work accounts for the statement made above that other doctors were immediately available to fill the vacancy in the Hankow hospital. In 1886 Dr. Arthur Morley arrived in Hankow. He was the second layman to respond to the appeal of David Hill, and he began his great work in Teian. He bore a name well known to all Methodists, and the part that his grandfather had played in forming the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been fully described in Volume I. of this History.¹ He was now, in the providence of God, to begin a ministry the full fruition of which will appear in years still in the future.

¹ See p. 40.

His gifts are many and great, but each is graced by a disposition so simple and so sincere as almost to conceal the sterling quality of his mental endowment, while his sympathy and tenderness have greatly endeared him to the people among whom and for whom he has spent the best years of his life. Teian (the name was formerly spelt Teh Ngan) lies to the north of Hankow and is distant from that city about a hundred miles. Mission work had been carried on in that city for a number of years, but always with difficulty. Opposition to all foreigners was pronounced and relentless. On three different occasions the Mission premises had been attacked, and when Dr. Morley began his work there, the first task that awaited him was to rebuild a Mission house which had been left in ruin for three years. He soon had patients enough, and though on one occasion he was badly handled by a mob and shamefully entreated, his influence was soon acknowledged. His hospital was small and its furniture far from adequate, but in 1899 it was decided to begin the erection of a worthier home of healing in another part of the city. This was made possible through the generosity of the relatives of David Hill in York, and the hospital now stands as a fitting memorial of one of the greatest Missionaries of the Methodist Church. In 1900 the new hospital was opened. It had been designed by Dr. Morley, and the style of the buildings conforms to Chinese ideas of architecture. Another building, a short distance away, was afterwards adapted to the use of a women's hospital. When this chapter was written Dr. Morley was completing his thirty-sixth year of work—a record of continuous service.

Another notable centre of medical work is to be found in Anlu, which is situated on the River Han, about two hundred and fifty miles from Hankow. The name of that city, when rendered into English, appears as 'The Land of Peace,' and its inhabitants were peaceful to the extent of apathy. Several of the most devoted Missionaries laboured here, but the irresponsiveness of the inhabitants would have induced despair, if that had been possible to Christian Missionaries. In 1907 Dr. Edward Cundall of York was appointed to this station, and Dr. Tatchell, writing in 1909, wonders whether medical missionary work will appeal to the temperament of those who dwell in this 'Land of Peace.' He did not remain long in

uncertainty, for while in 1907 the membership in Anlu was sixty-eight, six years after it had risen to two hundred and seventy-four, and when the hospital was visited by Dr. Wigfield in 1920 he speaks of Anlu as 'the head and centre of one of the most prosperous Circuits in the District.' The medical Mission had crystallized the faithful service so long 'held in solution.' Two years after Dr. Cundall's appointment to Anlu, the Rev. William Rowley was also appointed to that Circuit; and his wife, whose medical service before her marriage will shortly come before us, at once began to serve in the same Christlike way the needy women of Anlu. For some years her work was done in a rented Chinese house, but in 1913 a new hospital for women was built and opened. It has been so immediately successful that within a very few years the new buildings were found to be cramped and insufficient for the patients who crowded into them.

Tayeh is situated in the south-east of the province, near the Yangtse. In 1907 work was begun here by Dr. Tatchell. The following year he was appointed to Hankow to assist Dr. Booth after the death of Dr. Hodge. His place was taken at Tayeh by Dr. Pell, who soon acquired land large enough to allow for the building of a hospital, a Mission house, and a chapel. A tablet presented to Dr. Pell in 1911 bears the inscription, 'Kind is his heart and loving is his hand,' and this was acknowledged in a city in which for years the most determined opposition was raised whenever the Missionary attempted to secure a foothold. In the Centenary year Dr. Pell was succeeded by Dr. P. K. Hill, and later on a notable addition to the staff was made by the appointment of Dr. Chiang. The latter had completed his medical course in England and now returned to minister to his own countrymen. When Dr. Wigfield visited this station in 1920 he found him superintending the work of the hospital, and exerting a gracious influence upon men whom the European Missionary would have found it difficult to reach.

We must now return to Hankow, where Dr. Tatchell had joined Dr. Booth when Dr. Sydney Hodge was taken away by death from the 'Hospital of Universal Love.' Dr. Booth had come to Hankow with Dr. Hodge when the latter returned from furlough in 1899. He was the special representative of the Methodist Christian Endeavour Societies in Ireland, and

they could scarcely have found any one more worthy to represent them. His first term of service came to an end in 1911, and he returned to Ireland for his furlough. But before he could return to China he, too, was called to higher service, and yet another name was added to the long list of those who have given their lives for China. Dr. Booth was one of the many gifted medical Missionaries who have not counted their lives dear unto them. The strong, daring, impulsive boy developed into a brilliant surgeon and a devoted Missionary. There seemed to be no limit to his energy, and his gifts were as varied as they were effective in his use of them. The tenderness of his heart appeared when the native city of Hankow was deliberately destroyed by the Imperial troops in the revolution of 1911. 'He wept like a child,' says his biographer, Dr. Tatchell, when he found that he could not get to his patients in the Hankow hospital, and the boys in the school for the blind, to rescue them from what seemed the imminent peril of being burned alive. For the moving story of their ultimate rescue the reader must refer to the biography quoted above. During his furlough in 1912 he underwent a minor operation, but the germs of malarial fever contracted in China were in his system, and in the moment of his weakness these asserted themselves, and he who had consecrated his brilliant powers to the service of suffering humanity in China passed into the presence of Him in whose Name his great service had been rendered.

Since 1912 Dr. Tatchell has borne the burden of laborious days, and though time and again it seemed as if his health could no longer endure the strain he put upon it, he still continued his splendid service, and was in sole charge of the Hankow hospital when the Centenary year arrived. What this service has entailed may be guessed from the fact that in that year there were eleven hundred and fifty patients admitted to the hospital, while the number of out-patients was no less than fifteen thousand. The number of operations approached one thousand. The physical force expended in carrying through a year's work of such dimensions must have been very great. When Dr. Tatchell retired from direct missionary work he was able to look back upon years of worthiest service in the greatest of all great causes.

In the Centenary year Dr. W. B. Heyward, who had come

from Tasmania to serve in Hunan, was set apart for special work in the Union Medical College in Hankow. This had been in existence four years, and the Missions associated in the college were the London Missionary Society, the American Baptist Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Each of these contributed the sum of twenty-five pounds a year to the college, while their doctors resident in Hankow took part in the teaching required. By setting apart Dr. Heyward for this work our Society made a worthy contribution to the service of medical Missions in China. For just as the evangelist aims at securing an indigenous Church in the country where he serves, so the doctor sees quite clearly that the medical service of the Church can be adequately rendered only through the ministry of qualified Chinese doctors. It follows that the work of such an institution is one of first importance, and it was hoped that the Hankow College would send out year by year those who, like Hodge and Booth and Roderick Macdonald, and many another, add to their efficient skill in medicine and surgery the Christian spirit and devotion which will make them a blessing to their country and a pride and joy to their Church.¹

Meantime a very necessary development in the direction of medical work among women had taken place. It was a quite inevitable extension. The heart sickens at the thought of the inheritance of pain into which every Chinese woman was born. Doctors have never dared to disclose all that they have known. We have stood in silent horror before the grim gates which conceal a world of suffering revolting and nauseating to the imagination, with which alone one is able to approach them. Nor, under the conditions which govern domestic life in China—and, indeed, all through Asia—was it possible to give adequate relief in a general hospital such as that in Hankow. Some amount of alleviation was given to those who were able to defy conventionalities, and allow the foreign doctor to make a diagnosis, but this was as nothing in comparison with what remained untouched. Missionaries' wives must have suffered much from the sympathy which could never get near enough to alleviate their sisters' pain. When Mrs. North came with her husband to Wusueh in 1882 the rising tide broke through the

¹ This school was given up (1915) and the work of training medical students was transferred to the Shantung Christian University at Tsinan, in which the W.M.M.S. co-operates, and on the staff of which the Society has its direct representative.

barriers, and a small dispensary was opened in that city. When, after eighteen months in Wusueh, Mrs. North removed to Hankow, she determined to continue. It was a heavy tax which she imposed upon strength barely sufficient to carry the burdens of home life in a country like China, but love receives the increasing burden with increase of love, and the mother's arms make nothing of the growing weight they are proud to carry. So the dispensary was opened, and the crowd that besieged it was eloquent of what human need demanded. An appeal through the Women's Auxiliary in England was responded to by Miss L. G. Sugden. She had received special training in nursing and medicine, and though not fully qualified, she had 'a natural aptitude for the work, and an enthusiastic daring which stood her in good stead.' She came into the fellowship of the missionary circle like the breath of a spring morning. Her gaiety and her gift of song were an infinite refreshment to jaded men and women. In 1886 she arrived in Hankow, and some months were spent in learning the language and helping Mrs. North while a small dispensary was being built. This was the first building erected for medical work among women in Central China. Two years after Mrs. Bell¹ came back to Hankow, and at once gave herself up to a happy collaboration with Miss Sugden. The two women, with the most valuable assistance of Dr. Hodge, made 'the Jubilee Hospital' a true home of healing for hundreds of women. But in 1893 Miss Sugden returned to England, and during her furlough she married the Rev. G. Owen, of the London Missionary Society. On their return to China she went with her husband to his station in the province of Szechuan, where she at once took up medical work again. But the hardships endured on the journey, and the difficulties and anxieties caused during a time of anti-foreign riots, proved too great a strain, and when her twin sons were born, in a moment she was gone. Her body was laid to rest with those of her children. So the first woman who came to bring healing to China's women laid down her life in pledge of a service which was to continue for many years.

The burden of the work in the Hankow hospital was bravely borne by Mrs. Bell. Happily Dr. Hodge was always near and always ready to help. When the time came for Mrs. Bell to

¹ See p. 473.

retire she was followed by Miss Lister, a fully trained nurse, and in 1896 the first fully qualified lady doctor arrived in the person of Dr. Ethel Gough. After a breakdown which necessitated a short visit to England, Dr. Gough came back to Hankow accompanied by Miss Pomeroy, who had accepted the position of matron in the hospital. During the next six years a work was accomplished which we cannot attempt to describe, and when Dr. Gough married the Rev. William Rowley she still continued to serve in the hospital until she and her husband returned to England for furlough. Of the service they rendered in Anlu after they returned to China we have spoken already. By that time Miss Booth had succeeded Miss Pomeroy, who had become Mrs. C. S. Champness, as matron in the hospital, and presently she was joined by Dr. Yo, who after serving as a nurse in the hospital had obtained a medical diploma in Canton. Some improvement in the buildings and a reinforcement of the staff are necessary if the work is to meet the enormous demands made upon those who work in this department.

In the city of Wuchang a dispensary had been opened by Dr. Porter Smith¹ in 1866, and weekly visits had been paid by doctors working in the Hankow hospital. Mrs. Barber and Mrs. North, too, had rendered such service as was possible under existing limitations. But it soon became clear that nothing short of a hospital is really effective in China, where the bandages placed upon the wounded limb might be removed to bind up the feet of some other member of the family, and where the dressings applied to wound or ulcer might be taken off that some noisome poultice, recommended by the Native practitioner, might be added. During Mrs. Owen's furlough in England her description of medical work in China had led Miss Margaret Bennett to offer her service in the same cause. In due course she obtained her diploma, and arrived with full credentials in 1899. It was not until 1903 that the hospital in Wuchang, made possible by her own gifts and the generosity of her friends in England, was opened, but long before that time she had found opportunities for the use of her skill by visiting out-patients. In February of the year mentioned Miss Shillington joined her as matron in the newly-opened hospital, and it seemed as if Dr. Margaret Bennett had at last

¹ See pp. 466, 510.

realized the conditions necessary to a great and successful ministry among the suffering women of Wuchang. But in October of that year she sickened, and the dysentery, so often fatal in China, quickly ran its course. The service, so full of the brightest promise, was closed almost before it was begun. 'I am glad I came to China' was one of her last messages to her friends in England. 'Glad'; for had she not given the fullest pledge of her consecration to the service of her Lord? The alabaster box was broken. What matter? The fragrance filled the house, and the Master said, 'She hath wrought a good work on Me.' The hospital now bears her name as a worthy memorial, and in 1906 Dr. Helen Randall Vickers arrived to fill the vacancy and to carry on the blessed service which blesses him that gives and him that takes.¹

¹In later years the shortage of women doctors compelled the closing of this hospital, and the buildings have for some years been used as a Bible-women's training school, the medical needs of the women of Wuchang being partly met by hospitals of the L.M.S. and the American Church Mission.

VI

MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL WORK IN CHINA

The Year 1905 in China—A Serious Deficit—The Indigenous Ministry—Wesley College, Wuchang—Boarding Schools—Work among Women—Education in the Canton District.

THE year 1905 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of China, and, indeed, of the whole of Asia. The humiliation of defeat by Japan in 1895 had led to the reactionary efforts of 1900. Those efforts proved to be futile, and had resulted in a further revelation to the Chinese of their impotence in asserting themselves against other nationalities. But when this was followed by the victory of Japan in her war with Russia, it became clear to China that she could not afford to close her eyes to the learning of the West, and that it was time for her to follow the example of her island neighbour and secure whatever of power European science could confer. The sleeping giant of the East awoke at last ; and, to the bewilderment of those who thought the sleep of centuries would never be broken, China began to adapt herself to the life of the world. It was painfully new to her. All but drowned in mephitic slumber, it was only through agony that she could regain anything like a consciousness of her individuality and use her power. That agony is not yet ended, but in 1906 it was evident enough that China would one day be a power to be reckoned with, and no longer the helpless victim of other nations. The new movement showed itself in feverish activity in things military. Arsenals were planned on an extensive scale ; barracks were built for the new soldiery, and military colleges were established. Economic changes were not less drastic. Railways were surveyed and lines laid down. On the river the steamboat lay side by side with junks of immemorial construction, and cotton mills gave notice to Lancashire of approaching competition in trade. The most

striking change, and that which most directly affected missionary enterprise, was found in the sphere of education. This was made, not, it is to be feared, for the sake of knowledge in itself, but as the means to political power. But even thus it was an amazing reversal of time-honoured and deeply-venerated tradition, and it brought with it a startling challenge to the Christian Church. The old system of verbal acquaintance with classical authorities was swept away. Temples were commandeered for schools, and in Wuchang the Viceroy proposed to purchase from our Missionary Society the whole block of buildings obtained after such painfully protracted negotiations, as he wished to erect upon the site a great central University for China. The Committee was not unwilling to agree, on condition that suitable sites were granted elsewhere, and compensation allowed for the buildings to be removed. These particulars give but the slightest indication of the educational movement throughout the Empire. To realize the true measure of the movement we should have to multiply them a thousandfold. The amazing ferment brought to all Missionaries much searching of heart. If the Christian Church in China had been in a position to claim for Christ the direction of the movement it might within a few years have become the controlling factor in the new life so suddenly aroused ; but, with the exception of those Missions which were connected with American Churches, the Societies had neglected to develop this branch of the work, if indeed it had ever been properly established. In 1899 the only English Mission School that aimed at anything beyond the curriculum of an elementary school throughout the whole of the Yangtse valley was the Wesleyan High School in Wuchang, and this was hopelessly inadequate. In 1906 it provided boarding accommodation for thirty-six students, and there was no science apparatus whatever in the school. In the elementary schools there was a complete lack of trained teachers, and only in the year mentioned was there any attempt to provide them. The provision then made was rudimentary, and still further restricted the accommodation of the high school.¹

Missionary education has a twofold object. It aims at bringing within the reach of all the enlightenment of mind

¹ In 1899 when the Rev. E. F. Gedye attended the triennial meeting of the Educational Association, amidst representatives from all over the Empire, he was the only English teacher representing an English Missionary School.

which is characteristic of the Christian faith. It is a true philanthropy which breaks the fetters of superstition and ignorance, and the effect of doing this in the name of Christ has led to some of His greatest victories over the human heart. But though never a convert were to be found as the result of such service, the Church is bound to educate, as it is bound to bring whatever other blessing Christ offers to mankind. But beyond all this the very growth and efficiency of the Church itself depends upon the educational service. For the aim of the Church is to secure an indigenous Christianity among the people whom it sets out to evangelize, and this implies an indigenous Ministry, fully equipped and furnished unto every good work. Nor is this object sought that the local Church may relieve an overtaxed Society elsewhere. It is sought in order that the Church thus formed may make its own contribution to the interpretation of Christ. Not until all nations have brought their several and peculiar contributions to that high end will the final manifestation of our Divine Lord be complete.

From this point of view the comparative failure of missionary education in China during the first fifty years of our work in that country was deplorable. In 1899, after thirty-eight years of work in Central China, during which period the membership of the Church had reached the number of thirteen hundred and eighty, there was only one Chinese Minister—the Rev. Chu Sao Ngan—with one assistant Minister—the Rev. Lo Yu Shan—on the staff of workers. It must be confessed that this result was disappointing, and the feeling of disappointment is intensified by the fact that even fifteen years after a scheme of educational work had been outlined by Dr. Barber in 1885 the department of ministerial training was still in abeyance. It was not until 1901 that theological training was begun in Wuchang, ‘in a tentative way, with a three months’ course of study!’

There were several causes of this delay. As Dr. Barber found, the official opposition to the obtaining of land by Missionaries was secret, persistent, and baffling. But the Mission had been in existence twenty-two years when that attempt was made, and in 1876 Dr. Jenkins, reporting his visit to the East, had called attention to the fact that there was no provision for the training of workers, and had urged

that it should be made. The need was acknowledged on the field as well as recorded in England, but the years passed and the necessary provision was not made. It is difficult to see how this department could have been set up in the work as at first planned in the Wuchang District, unless by the definite and binding appointment of a Missionary for the purpose. For the central character of that work was the itinerant evangelist. In spite of all opposition he made his way into the inland towns and villages. His infinite patience and kindly words disarmed hostility and won the hearts of his hearers. He carried with him the Christian Scriptures, and the good seed was sown broadcast among a people who identified in the printed page the character of the man who had brought it to them. Results began to appear; the method of work proved effective. It became recognized by all Societies as the readiest way of securing adherents, converts, and at length a Christian nucleus in the community. But the itinerating evangelist cannot at the same time carry on the continuous work of the school and the college. One or the other was bound to become secondary, and in China the joy of bringing men to Christ obscured the vision of the needs of such men after they had been brought. The Committee in England was unable for many years to send out men for both departments of service, and education gave way to evangelization. There was undoubtedly an immediate and a satisfying result, but the Church of the future would have been the stronger if the one service had gone with the other.

Another feature of the Central China Mission which had something to do with this apparent neglect is to be found in the supply of an unordained Ministry in the Church. No other Mission field had so large, or so efficient, an auxiliary as was to be found in the Laymen's Mission and the *Joyful News* organization, and the presence on the field of able and devoted men to some extent diminished the pressure which might have compelled the formation of a Native Ministry. But the service of these men from England was foreign, limited, and precarious. It could never have taken the place of a Chinese Ministry, and towards the close of the century this became more clearly seen. Even so pronounced an evangelist as the Rev. Griffith John came to see that a measure of educational work and ministerial training was necessary if the rapidly increasing

Church was itself to be evangelistic. In 1904 he wrote¹ to the effect that

Ten years ago the increasing number of converts, and the changing aspect of the times, led him to think the education question should now be faced. A scheme was formulated, and in 1899 the high school was opened, and the divinity school in the same year. Then followed the normal school and the medical school. With regard to all of them he was enthusiastic, and yet bated not a jot of his evangelistic fervour. It was because he was an evangelist first that he had now become an educationalist.

Exactly so; it is the evangelistic work which makes the educational work imperative.

It must not be thought that our Missionaries were blind to the necessity of education in the Christian Church. They saw it clearly from the first, and elementary schools in the towns occupied were soon in evidence. The setting apart of a Missionary for educational work was part of the original scheme outlined by Josiah Cox. In 1869 we find Scarborough working hard to secure a more distinctly Christian character in the curriculum of Mission schools. Of David Hill's attitude to this question we have already written, and in a letter written in 1886 to Dr. Jenkins, in which he describes certain opportunities for evangelistic work, he goes on to say :

But the equally pressing need of able and educated Native Missionaries weighs on me more and more, and I often recall your vigorous exhortations with regard to them. The comparative illiterateness of three-fourths of our Native helpers demonstrates the need we stand in of more highly educated men as co-workers with us.

Ten years before the writing of that letter Dr. Jenkins had paid an official visit to the Mission stations in China, and his views may be cited as representing the feeling of the Secretaries on this matter. In a letter dated February 15, 1876, he says :

It is too evident that in this country Christian Missions have not as yet taken hold of the people. Christianity, with one or two exceptions, has scarcely touched the middle and higher classes. I think if Missionaries gave more attention to the education of the Natives it would open their way into influential paths of labour now absolutely closed to them. If, for example, we could establish an institution in Wuchang, it would give our Central China Mission a status among the

¹ *Griffith John*, by R. Wardlaw Thompson, p. 532.

people which, I am afraid, we are not likely to win under our present system. Our brethren are preaching, and preaching ably; and in the course of a year many thousands hear the word. But, so far as I can learn, there is no effectual provision for following up impressions and hoarding results. We have a few members, and one or two small schools, but unless we somewhat enlarge our policy I confess I do not see for the future a more satisfactory proportion of success than we have had in the past.

Yet it was not until ten years after this that Dr. Barber came to Wuchang. Of the attempt made by him we have already written. With the appointment of the Rev. E. F. Gedye in 1893 a new chapter in the history of this branch of our work happily opened. In 1906 the High School was removed from its position in the city of Wuchang to a fine site, affording room for expansion, outside the city walls. It was high time for seeking enlarged facilities. It would have been possible to multiply the number of scholars in the school threefold if suitable premises had been secured from the first. When the change made in 1906 took place, not only did it become possible to accommodate a larger number of students in the high school department, but both the normal school and the theological college were at last established upon a satisfactory basis. With reference to the former of these, proposals had been made by other Societies at work in the area that it should take the form of a school to which each should contribute while the management remained in our hands, and that students from all the contributing Societies should have the advantage of the training given. In 1909 the Rev. G. L. Pullan was in charge of the twofold institution. The work was at first of the most elementary character, some of the students having only just begun to write. But, elementary though the work was, the significant fact was that the tide had turned, and the training of workers had begun on a basis which was to make it an increasing factor in the work of building up the Christian Church in Central China. Development was rapid. Four years later the normal school department was separated from that of the theological institution. The former was closely connected with Wesley College, as the high school was now called. The teaching staff was the same in both, and financial resources and the use of premises were shared. The Principal of the normal school department was one of our Lay Missionaries, Mr. A. J. Harker, and there were

twenty students in residence. The theological department was under the care of the Rev. H. B. Rattenbury. There were six students in residence, taking a three years' course, and one of these was a graduate of Wesley College who was able to receive special preparation, studying both Greek and Hebrew. In the Centenary year the Rev. E. F. Gedye was still the principal of Wesley College, and he had as assistants the Revs. A. G. Simon and B. Burgoyne Chapman. These three made up a staff of which other similar institutions in the East might well be envious. The fruit of many years of service in which effort often seemed to be without result came at last, and in 1911 we find Gedye rejoicing with the joy of harvest. There were then a hundred and fifty students in residence. Of these twenty-four belonged to the normal school department, and ten others were taking a college course. The college was visited by a Presbyterian Minister, and under his ministry a gracious influence came upon the students. At the close of a series of services thirty-five of the students rose, and in great humility, with many confessions of sin and unworthiness, declared their intention of giving their lives to the work of evangelizing their countrymen. The hearts of their teachers were filled with unutterable joy. Years were to pass before that promise could be fulfilled, and some who made it may not redeem it at all ; but that act of self-consecration remains the harvest of years of labour, and the earnest of a still greater harvest in the years to come.

In the elementary schools much still remained to be done. In 1902 the Rev. G. A. Clayton describes his first duty on returning from the Synod of that year. This was to give notice to the teachers in the three schools of his Circuit that at the close of the year the schools would be closed by order of the Synod. 'The grants would not pay for both evangelists and education.' Even when the normal school had been set up an adequate supply of trained teachers would only gradually become available. Meantime Government schools had sprung up in every direction. Every town of any size had its school admirably housed and furnished with modern educational appliances. In the very field in which the Missionary had been the pioneer he now found himself hopelessly outclassed. The balance was still more heavily weighted against him ; for the Government also restricted scholastic degrees to those who

had passed through its own schools, and the best teachers were secured by the offer of salaries such as the Mission schools could not afford. Our school buildings, too, formed a sorry contrast with those of the Government. Dr. Ritson describes the Hankow schools in words as terse as they are scathing: 'They are dirty, and cannot be made clean; they are insanitary, and cannot be made sanitary.' The inevitable result was that our schools began to decline. As Mr. Rattenbury wrote in a letter quoted by his colleague, Mr. Rowley: 'It is simply deplorable. Our second generation is being lost to us.' If the Government schools had been such as Christian students might attend without injury to faith or morals, much might have been said in favour of allowing Christian boys to attend them. But they were pronouncedly anti-Christian; many of the teachers were men of notoriously bad character, and all students were expected to prostrate themselves twice a month before the Confucian tablet. It is to the honour of most of the Chinese Christians that they preferred to send their sons to the Christian school, with all its disqualifications, rather than allow them to be exposed to the moral and religious perils of the Government school. But the handicap thus put upon the children of Christian parents was a heavy one, and should never have been allowed.

There were two boarding schools in the District, one at Teian and the other at Tayeh. In 1913 two other similar schools were in existence, one in Wuchang and the other in Anlu. It is almost incredible, but the fact remains that in 1908 there were no such Wesleyan schools in either of the three central cities, the population of which, in the aggregate, amounted to over a million, and with a Church membership of more than six hundred adults. Well might Rattenbury declare that it was 'simply deplorable.'

Educational work among girls has for the most part been carried on by the Missionaries sent out by the Women's Auxiliary. The womanhood of the Methodist Church has been worthily represented by those thus appointed. They have done their work with both skill and devotion, and the schools for girls in China, as elsewhere, have enjoyed this advantage over the schools for boys—that their teachers have been specially selected with a view to educational work, many of them having had previous training and experience in this

department in England, while most Missionaries have had to acquire their knowledge of method by going on with an unfamiliar work. But the work of the women has suffered from a lack of continuity in the work of particular teachers. Not only were these subject to failure in health, as were their brothers in the service, but it often happened that a lady, after a few years' service in the schools, married; and though in many instances she still retained a perfectly loyal interest in the work, and kept up a measure of service, yet the work in the school passed necessarily into the hands of the one who followed her, and who would have to acquire the use of the language and experience of Chinese thought and life before she could become equal in efficiency to her predecessor. These two causes have resulted in this, that comparatively few have been able to give more than five years to school work, and when the difficulty of acquiring the Chinese language is considered, that period of service is all too short. To these women, however, belongs the honour of opening the first Mission boarding school for girls in Central China. This was in Hanyang, and after the death of David Hill the school was dedicated to his memory. The first lady Principal of the school was Miss B. H. Eacott, who began the work in 1898, and afterwards became Mrs. Entwistle. She was joined by Mrs. Bell, whose name has been so frequently before us.¹ This lady, after she withdrew from the arduous work of the Hankow hospital, found a deep and holy joy in ministering to the girls in the Hanyang School. She died in 1905, after twenty years of service in China—a woman of a most loving heart, and completely surrendered to the service of Christ. The school in Hanyang was quickly filled, and many workers have found it to be a sphere of peculiarly happy service. Nor were they without such fruit as they desired. Many a girl found her way to Christ in this school, and its pupils have afterwards served as nurses in the hospitals of the District, or have gone out as teachers in Government schools, and in the Mission schools in Hupelh and Hunan. Even if this provision of trained workers were not forthcoming, the value of this school would fully justify its existence; for the influence of Christian wives and mothers is bound to tell increasingly upon both Church and State. Day schools for girls are also conducted

¹ See pp. 473, 523.

in the larger towns and cities, but, though these are by no means negligible in bringing the womanhood of China to Christ, nothing can compare for Christian influence with the boarding school.

Another institution which is under the direction and management of the Women's Auxiliary is to be found in the Bible school for training women in Christian work. This is to be found in Wuchang, and it is a necessary adjunct of every Mission in the East. Of the work of 'Bible-women' we have already written in connexion with the work done through this agency in India, and we need not say more here than that this particular agency finds an ample opportunity in China, where the special difficulties created by caste do not exist, and where women enjoy a larger measure of freedom in moving among the homes of people belonging to every social grade. This work is bound to develop considerably in days to come. It represents, on the woman's side, the indigenous Ministry of the Christian Church, and Missionary Societies will be wise if they develop this special agency a hundredfold.

In 1912 the only missionary provision for higher education in Canton was to be found in two small schools, each school containing about fifty boys, drawn for the most part from the class of traders. Mr. Bridie concludes a letter to the Secretaries with the words :

A unique and unparalleled opportunity lies before us. It will soon pass away if we do not avail ourselves of this great and open door. Secular schools and colleges will take the place which, if the Church is wise, she will occupy at once. God forbid that we should fail in our manifest duty to go forward in the name of our Lord.

In spite of this earnest pleading it appears from the Report of 1912 that 'our South China Mission is lamentably under-equipped on its educational side.' That the case was not overstated appears from the table of statistics in the same Report, from which it appears that in the city in which work had been begun in 1852 there was, sixty years afterwards, only one elementary school, with twenty-six scholars on the rolls. The Report goes on to speak of the project of building a college at Fatshan, and to express the hope that 'we shall soon be taking a worthier share in the training of young China according to Christian ideals.' But if that had been done, as it might

have been, fifty years before, the ranks of the Native Christian Ministry would have been full, teachers for elementary day schools would have been forthcoming, and an instructed laity would have given strength to an indigenous Church. Missionary education might well be advocated on this last ground alone, but when we consider the question of ministerial supply for Churches springing up in all directions the failure of the past is seen to be deplorable. Prior to the attempt made by Hargreaves in 1890 the method followed was for any individual Missionary to select young men from those under his pastoral care, and to employ them as colporteurs or evangelists, giving them time for reading and study. When considered fit for trial they were introduced to the District Synod and examined. If successful, they were admitted to the third grade of Catechists. At least two years were passed in this grade, during which time the Catechist was employed in preaching, while the Missionary prepared him for examination at the close of each year. If he succeeded in passing this test he was admitted to the second grade, in which he would remain for three years, until finally he arrived at the status of an ordained Minister. This method was open to serious objection. The supervision of the Missionary, fully occupied as he was with Church administration and the work of preaching many times in the week, was necessarily spasmodic and superficial; while the candidate missed the stimulus and formative influence which come from association with his fellow students. Here and there a man was found whose force of character was strong enough to enable him to overcome these disadvantages, but many another might have become an efficient Minister of the Gospel if he had received specific and continuous training. The effort made by Hargreaves to introduce a better method was furthered by a Chinese gentleman who contributed four hundred dollars towards the cost of the institution. A few students were gathered together, and good work was done on their behalf by Bone and Bridie, who successively took up this work in Canton after Hargreaves was appointed to the task of establishing self-supporting Native Churches. Another training centre was opened and put under the charge of a Chinese teacher at Om Shan, in the North River Mission District, but this centre was soon abandoned. From year to year students were sent into the ranks of the Catechists, and during the Secretarial

visit of the Rev. Marshall Hartley in 1899 two Chinese Probationers were ordained to the work of the Ministry. Bridie continued to serve in the Theological Institution for eight years, broken by a furlough. He was followed by the Rev. S. G. Tope, and in 1909 the work was entrusted to the Rev. E. Dewstoe. When the project of higher educational work in Fatshan was put forward, the desirability of associating with it this work of ministerial training at once suggested itself. The accommodation in Canton was insufficient, and the repeated attacks of the disease known as 'beri-beri' indicate that there was something lacking on the side of sanitation; but the advantage of bringing all higher educational work into one centre, and of thus securing for ministerial training the greater probability of continuity, was too obvious to be missed. The Fatshan College was afterwards chosen as a memorial of the Rev. Henry Haigh. In 1914 it was reported as approaching completion.¹

Educational work among women and girls in Canton has been limited by lack of facilities, and it has been interrupted in its course when these were forthcoming. It began when Mrs. Piercy joined her husband, and owes its inception to nothing less than the love of a woman's heart for her suffering sisters. Few wives of Missionaries have been able to turn away from the silent yet crying need of womanhood for that which they find only in Christ, and in every field they have added some form of work for women to that which the management of their own homes imposed upon them. In scores of instances they have laid life itself upon the altar of sacrifice. Mrs. Piercy was specially qualified for educational work, inasmuch as she had been trained in Westminster College, and some years before the formation of the Women's Auxiliary she determined to move. She won the honour of opening the first boarding school for girls in China. The difficulty already sufficiently described of securing suitable premises was overcome by admitting the girls to her own home. This was not the least of the many sacrifices entailed. It meant unceasing noise when quiet was necessary for exhausted nerves. It meant that the strain of oversight was never relaxed, and it entailed additional and peculiar responsibilities in a country

¹ Ministerial training is now (1923) carried on at the Union Theological College in Canton.

in which such work was regarded with the greatest suspicion. But the sacrifice was willingly made, and presently two of her first girls were brought to understand and to accept the love of Christ. That school was opened in 1854, and when the news of the formation of the Women's Auxiliary reached her Mrs. Piercy wrote and urged the needs of the women of Canton. This was in 1859, by which time there were eighteen girls in the school. The Methodist women of England responded to her appeal, and Miss Mary Gunson was sent out to take charge of the school. She arrived in 1862, but within eight months her health failed and she returned to England to die.

Miss E. Broxholme was at once sent out to fill the vacant post, but after five years of service she retired from the work. Miss Jane Radcliffe, who followed her, was able to remain at work for twelve years, a comparatively long period of service in the China field. In 1873 a memorial from the Catechists and other agents at work in Canton was sent to the Committee in England praying for an increased number of women who would be Missionaries to the women of China. The memorialists pointed out that Chinese women could not easily come to public meetings, nor could male Missionaries or Pastors visit them in their homes, and so the conclusion, inevitable throughout Asia, was reached that only the woman could evangelize the secluded women of the East. In response to this appeal Miss Jane Rowe was sent out as an additional worker, and in 1875 there were no less than four representatives of the Women's Auxiliary at work in Canton. Yet in 1878 all four had withdrawn, and no workers took their places until 1885, when Miss Annie Wood was sent out. Difficulties had arisen with reference to the residence of women workers. It was not always easy or possible for a lady to find accommodation in one of the Mission houses. It might, for instance, be occupied by an unmarried Missionary, or the resident Missionary and his family might have no room to spare for the lady worker. It was urged that the solution of the problem that thus arose was to be found in the provision of a hostel entirely reserved for women workers, but this would have entailed an expense which the Women's Auxiliary could not meet. The deplorable result was that the work among women in Canton was abandoned for seven years. Finally arrangements were made convenient to all parties, and Miss Annie Wood was able to

serve from 1885 until 1904. A boarding school was built within that time, the cost of which was met from funds collected by the Rev. G. and Mrs. Hargreaves during their visit to Australia in 1888-1889, together with gifts added by Chinese friends to such work. Other workers followed, and the schools in Canton became more efficient and more in favour with the people. But the locality in which the school was placed was not suitable to its purpose, and when it was decided to make Fatshan the educational centre of the District the proposal was made to transfer the girls' school to that city. Provision could then be made for four hundred girls, and a curriculum drawn up which would give opportunity to girls who might wish to graduate in the Canton University. Here, then, we have for the Canton District an adequate scheme of education. Its possibilities can scarcely be measured, and it is to be hoped—for the buildings are not yet completed—that this school will not be starved either on the side of accommodation or on that of the staff. We are assured that such a school will not lack 'the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ,' and the Fatshan school may easily become a great centre of Christian life and power in South China.

VII

THE LAYMEN'S MISSION

Origin of the Mission—*Joyful News* Evangelists—A great Service worthily rendered.

IN our record reference has been frequently made to the work of unordained Missionaries in Central China, but something more explicit should be said of this great characteristic of the Methodist Church in that area. In 1873 the Missionaries in Hankow were cheered by the arrival of Mr. C. W. Mitchil, who came out as a volunteer Lay Missionary. Although at first it was not apparent, Mr. Mitchil was the forerunner of a goodly company who were to become a distinctive feature of this Mission, and who have contributed not a little to its success. During his visits to different Circuits in England David Hill was led to urge men and women to accept service in China, either wholly or in part at their own expense, and his appeals moved many hearts. The first to respond was Mr. George Miles, who had been working for some time with the Rev. George Piercy among the Chinese in London. He arrived at Hankow in June, 1885, and was at once associated with Mr. Mitchil in evangelistic work. He continued to serve with simple fidelity until his death in 1921. The next to follow was Dr. Arthur Morley, of whose able and most fruitful work in the hospitals we have written elsewhere. Others came, but after a few years retired from the work. Mr. T. Protheroe, however, was able to fulfil his course and to see much fruit to his ministry. He was at one time a local preacher in the City Road Circuit, but attached himself to the American Episcopal Mission and served in that Mission as an unordained Missionary for some years. In April, 1888, he decided to return to his original communion, and offered his services in connexion with the Laymen's Mission in Central China. His offer was gladly

accepted, and Mr. Protheroe continued to serve as a lay evangelist until 1899, when he was ordained. He continued at work until his death in 1908. An indefatigable worker, he spent himself freely in the service of his Master. He was a great preacher, and could command the attention of a Chinese congregation as few men have been able to do. The Tayeh Circuit is one of many memorials of an unstinted service. His death was due to exposure while administering relief to the famine-stricken people of Kiangpeh. At the beginning of 1888 the Laymen's Mission had become a distinct organization. Its representatives in England were distinguished men. Mr. J. R. Hill, of York, was the Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. Moulton—as true a Missionary as any who served on the field—was the Secretary. In 1889 a moving appeal, prepared by David Hill and William H. Watson, was sent to the younger Ministers and to ministerial students in England urging the claims of China, and seeking to enlist their sympathy and, if possible, their service in the cause so dear to their hearts. Shortly after this Mr. J. L. Dowson, from the Bishop Auckland Circuit, and Mr. P. T. Fortune from New Zealand, joined the other laymen in the District. Neither of these, however, continued to serve for any length of time. Mr. Dowson became a Minister in America, and Mr. Fortune returned to New Zealand, where he entered the Ministry of the Anglican Church.

In 1891 the Laymen's Mission reached what was perhaps the highest point of its development, in spite of the unrest and rioting which culminated in the martyrdoms of Wusueh. The administrative Committee in England was made up of some of the most influential men among both the Ministers and the laity, while on the field all the members of the Mission, with the exception of C. W. Mitchil, who was that year visiting England, were at work. At Anlu, a town on the river Han, distant from Hankow about two hundred miles, George Miles and James Rowe were assisted by two Chinese evangelists—Lo Yu San and Li Wen Tsen—and there was every indication that much fruit would one day be gathered in that corner of the vineyard. In 1901 there were thirty-eight Church members with forty-five others on probation in that Circuit. Thomas Protheroe remained at Wusueh, though his wife had been seriously injured in the riot that took place there, and had been

obliged in consequence to return to England. P. T. Fortune—the representative of New Zealand Methodism—was at Hanyang, and Frederick Poole was associated with Dr. Arthur Morley at Teian. In all these centres the work of evangelizing the people was done with the utmost devotion, and it was destined to bear much fruit in after years. The only blank in the appointments appears in connexion with the school for the blind in Hankow, for which a Superintendent was not yet found. It seemed as if this element in the service of the Church was likely to be as permanent as it was efficient. But in the course of time the Missionary Society obtained powers to employ unordained men, thereby securing for such workers a place in the Synods. When this was done the *raison d'être* of a separate organization ceased, and though for several years afterwards the home organization of the Laymen's Mission continued to send out subscriptions for this branch of the work, it gradually became merged in the general administration of the Society. After the death of Dr. Moulton the office of Secretary was filled by Dr. Barber, and the Treasurer, Mr. J. R. Hill, was followed on his death by Mr. Basil Hill.

The story of these unordained Ministers of Jesus Christ will never be fully told. We may record the names of Missionaries who came and served and returned, or haply died before their course was well begun. Developments in organization, the erection of buildings in which to provide a home for the growing Church, or the abandonment of work that once promised to be fruitful—all these may be noted, but who shall speak of the work itself? Who will be able fully to describe such men as Mitchil and Miles, strong by the very simplicity of their faith, tramping along the dreary causeways which do duty for roads in China, enduring every imaginable physical discomfort, and receiving for welcome, when the day's march was ended, only an outpoured flood of vile abuse which might easily pass into violence, and sometimes did so; continuing in this service for many days together, never disarmed of their steadfast patience and forbearance, always ready with a genuine sympathy for the distressed, and eager to unfold to the glazing eyes of apathy or despair the vision of hope, always ready to declare the Gospel of the grace of God in Christ Jesus? The service of such men presents us with one of the most impressive pictures that human eyes can look upon. It comes nearest

of all to that of their own Master and Lord. The Church in the West has never realized the amazing expression of such devotion. If in some splendid moment it were to do so, then in that vision of Christ in His servants the Church would pour all its wealth into the service which had helped it to see its Lord, and fresh and beautiful as the dew of the morning would be the youth of the Church consecrating itself to the same Christlike Ministry.

There was yet another organization of an unordained Ministry parallel with the above and equally beautiful in the spirit of its consecration. We have seen how Thomas Champness was led to form what became known as 'The *Joyful News Mission*,¹ and we have duly noted the appearance of his evangelists in Africa and in India. In no part of the Mission Field did greater success follow upon the movement inaugurated by that whole-hearted Missionary-evangelist than in China. This is the more surprising because many of those who went out to work under this system were older than those who were usually sent out from college, and the difficulty of acquiring the Chinese language would in their case be accordingly increased. But partly because the very difficulty of this field would suggest the sending out of the best men available, and partly because in no other field has the itinerant evangelist been so immediately and so markedly successful, the system, as devised and followed, worked with the happiest results. Of all those who joined the Central China Mission as '*Joyful News Evangelists*' only one can be held to have failed, and most have been conspicuous for the Christlike character of their service, and for their success in bringing men to Christ. The Mission was fortunate indeed in securing an agency so efficient and so devoted. In the course of time some of those sent out returned to England for one reason or another. Others took up some form of employment in China, but it is significant that all of them still accept some form or other of missionary service as the expression of a devotion which has never grown cold.

The first two of these evangelists were Messrs. S. J. Hudson and A. E. Tollerton, and they left England in the autumn of 1888. The former came to China too late in life to become a really fluent speaker in Chinese, but the latter showed signs

¹ See Vol. i., p. 141, and Vol. iv., p. 225.

of attaining great skill in the use of that language, and a career of usefulness seemed to be opening before him, when he was attacked by small-pox and died at Lungping in 1891. Hudson was able to complete his first term of service, but died during his furlough in 1894 from the effects of dysentery contracted while on the field. The next two were sent out in 1890. William Argent, whose death at Wusueh we have already described, was a man of gentle and winning disposition, and though he, too, was older than most men when they enter the Mission Field, he was not without promise as a preacher in Chinese. His companion was Mr. Ernest Cooper, who has had a distinguished career. On his return to England for furlough he was ordained to the full work of the Ministry in 1901, and then returned to China. He was the first Missionary to enter the long-sealed province of Hunan, and both as lay evangelist and as ordained Minister he gave full proof of his ministry. He retired from the full work of the Ministry in 1916, but remained in China, where, on the hill station of Kuling, he continues to render most fruitful service.

After the fatal riots at Wusueh four men were sent out, the increased number being made possible by the action of the widowed mother of William Argent in devoting the amount allowed by the Chinese Government as 'compensation' to the service in which her son had laid down his life. Of these four Mr. J. W. Pell decided to take up medical work, and graduated at Edinburgh in 1904. On his return to China in 1905 he took charge of the hospital at Tayeh.¹

In 1892 four more were sent to China, and of these the name of Mr. C. S. Champness, the son of a much-beloved father, at once arrests attention. Mr. Champness entered enthusiastically into the scheme of service inaugurated by his father, and was ordained in China in 1912. He continued to serve at Yiyang, in the Hunan District, and was still at his station in 1913. In 1920 his health broke down, and this necessitated his return to the work in England. Two others of his original companions were also ordained—Mr. P. T. Dempsey and Mr. W. A. Tatchell. The former is still on the staff of the Wuchang District; the latter, after fully qualifying in medicine and surgery, returned to the field as a medical Missionary, and has

¹ Dr. Pell served in the R.A.M.C. throughout the whole course of the war of 1914-1918. He is now in charge of the hospital in Hankow.

rendered excellent service in the hospitals of Tayeh and Hankow. In 1909 he published a work entitled *Medical Missions in China in Connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church*. Of this excellent account we have made frequent use in the chapter on medical work.

All these and others have fully justified the scheme propounded by Thomas Champness. The earnest desire of the men to fulfil their vocation helped them to overcome the difficulty of acquiring the language, and many of them became fluent speakers. They entered into the lives of the common folk with ready sympathy, and were greatly beloved. Most of them rendered a service which fell short in nothing of that rendered by their ordained brethren, and it is to be regretted that this part of the District organization was discontinued. But it had within itself elements which made against permanency. The personality of its founder, and the relation to him of the men sent out, had much to do with securing the allegiance of the men under difficult circumstances. When he died the bond that held them together was removed, and the double ministerial order could not be maintained. For that was really the condition of things while this agency existed. To all intents and purposes the agents of the *Joyful News* Mission were doing precisely the same things as the ordained Missionary. They, too, were wholly set apart for the preaching of the Gospel. Yet the Missionary Society at home could only act through those who were directly under its control. Whether the order and form of Synods could have been so modified as to allow the two orders to act together in equal responsibility and control is not a matter which can be discussed in these pages. The historian is only concerned with the fact that the compromise effected satisfied neither those who belonged to the one order nor those who belonged to the other, and the ordained men felt the irksomeness of the anomalous conditions more than did the others. At first these conditions were not insuperable, though even then the ultimate issue was seen to be inevitable. But after a few years of service the *Joyful News* agents were experienced and efficient. They had acquired the language of the people, and in some instances their influence was very great. Yet under the inexorable law of ministerial orders such men might find themselves under the superintendence of young men who had but recently arrived in the country,

and who were inferior in weight of judgement and inefficient by reason of their ignorance—for the time—of the Chinese language. The situation was rapidly approaching that which existed in Canada between the local preachers and the ordained Ministers,¹ and it became easier to carry on the administration of the Church when ministerial orders became simplified by the cessation of this particular agency. But this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the *Joyful News Mission* rendered invaluable service at a time when it was difficult to increase the number of Christian workers, and that almost without exception its agents proved themselves worthy of their calling. They won the respect and affection of their colleagues, and gathered abundant fruit into the garner of the Church.

¹ See Vol. i., p. 427 ff.

SUPPLEMENT

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN CHINA IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY¹

SOME 1,900 years ago a little man might have been seen travelling over the roads of the Roman Empire. Generally accompanied by a friend or two, he entered cities and preached a strange doctrine. In dress and speech there was nothing much to distinguish him from many other travellers of those days. Though a man of culture, he was poor, and rarely had more than enough money for his own needs. He had a regular plan of campaign. In most cities, already, was to be found a group of his own countrymen, doing business there but not neglectful of religion. To them he first proclaimed the good news, and if they rejected him, as often they did, those foreigners who had been attracted by the Jewish religion would generally give him a patient hearing, and through them he touched the world around.

It was not his practice to stay long in a place. Nor did there seem to be need. It is quite wonderful how this little man went along as a lamplighter, leaving lights shining in his wake. He was 'poor, yet making many rich.' He opened no schools or hospitals, though, like his Master, he was full of works of mercy, and many were the witnesses to the virtue that proceeded out of him in healing those that were sick and in distress. Self-support was the order of the day. No one thought of anything else. A paid ministry was not anticipated; even the apostle often worked for his living. The veriest beginners in the Christian way could be appointed elders. The members were often richer in this world's goods than those who ministered to them, and, so far from being financially dependent on the Jerusalem church, at quite an early stage

¹ This chapter was written by the Rev. H. B. Rattenbury, B.A., Chairman of the Wuchang District.

they were raising a famine fund to help the needy Christians in Judaea.

Such were the conditions under which St. Paul did his work, such the immediate results, and it is impossible to have read so far in the story of our Church in China without realizing how different has been the experience of those who in that land have tried to follow in the footsteps of the great apostle. Through all the pages of this History there has been nothing quite parallel to the story of the Church in China. The place that Wesleyan Methodism holds in the great Christian movement in that land is, comparatively speaking, not a prominent one. The area is so vast, the task so immense, that with all her other commitments it was hardly to be expected that our Church should have strength to cope with more than a small portion.

It becomes, therefore, the more needful to relate the Methodist Church to the Christian movement as a whole, and to show her among the great movements, Christian and non-Christian, that through the years have been gathering momentum and of which the end is as yet hard to foretell.

The history of Protestant Missions in China splits itself up quite naturally into three main periods of varying lengths but of quite clearly marked characteristics, and the fourth period is beginning. Even at the risk of some repetition it will be to our purpose to pursue our way down this stream of history, taking note of certain things as we go ; for the present is born of the past, and the future of the present, and it is by taking note of what is and what has been that it is possible, with some degree of confidence, to see through the mists that hide the future the dim outline of that to which we are coming.

THE EARLY DAYS

From the days of Robert Morison, China was a closed land whose door was being gradually thrust open by the mailed fist. A most rabid resistance to everything, as well as to every one, foreign, culminated in the terrible doings of the Boxer year and may be said to have ended then.

The story has been told in these pages of the hardships that missionary life at first entailed. In the lives of David Hill and Hudson Taylor, in the records of the China Inland Mission, and in scores of biographies, there is evidence enough that the

apostles of those days had often to resist 'unto blood.' The whole country was bitterly hostile and suspicious. There was no nucleus of fellow countrymen who had already in some sort laid foundations for an Apostle Paul. Language, habits, physiognomy, clothing—all emphasized the distinction between the preachers of this foreign religion and those to whom they ministered. The 'church in the house' was well-nigh impossible. There was no welcome. There were no proselytes, half-way to Christ. From Emperor to the poorest of the poor there was nothing but suspicion. People who, allured by the money that they might gain, ventured to rent or sell property to the Missionaries, not infrequently found themselves in prison, and neither threats of Consuls nor persuasions of other folk availed to secure their release. They had had dealings with the foreigners; that was their condemnation. Again and again the Christian world shuddered at the stories of massacre. The Chinese are a good-humoured, reasonable, and able race of men. These massacres bear their own witness to the way in which the mass of the people were wrought upon by the leaders of the day, determined to stop at no lengths in ridding themselves of these preachers of the Gospel who had come unbidden and unwanted. Christianity, as a good many other things, was being thrust upon a people who did not want it and would not even take the trouble to examine it. To go into the causes of this state of mind is not needful here; it is sufficient to state the fact.

These were the days of pioneering, but not like St. Paul's. Roman citizenship would have been of little use to him in China. He would have found, perhaps, when once suspicions had been broken down, a kindly welcome in the countryside; later on he might have been shy of even kindness, for he would have discovered that this welcome that he thought was for the Gospel was really just a cloak to get his aid (for gradually it had dawned on China that foreign powers were strong) in beating an opponent in a court of law. The officials, who, St. Luke is always eager to show, were tolerant to St. Paul and his doctrine, in China he would have found ranged alongside the whole body of the *litterati*, his deadliest enemies and most determined opponents.

These were the conditions in which the earliest Missionaries of all Societies worked. Opposed by officialdom and the

leaders of thought and public opinion, objects of amusement to the comfortable burgher who from his open shop watched them being jostled in the street, believed to be capable of unnameable cruelties and indecencies by the rank and file of the populace, whose passions could on occasion be excited to frenzy by skilful innuendo of highly placed men, thought to be spies in collusion with their Governments by all, is it any wonder that they saw no easy prospect for the Church of God? The only wonder is that they bore it, lived it down, and won.

Those were the days of itinerating, not that the need for it has gone ; but, then, there was nothing to be done but talk of Jesus in public and in private as opportunity occurred and to push out into the country and the homes to which the townsmen at their New Year festival returned. There was no Church to shepherd ; the sheep were all astray ; and as these shepherds went in search of the sheep that were lost they took their lives in their hands. They never knew what reception they would get in any town or city ; they had to spend long days and nights in Chinese inns or on boats ; there were few of them who had not strange tales to tell of hardships and perils of the way, and of wonderful deliverances. They sowed in tears and with hard toil, and they passed away with little sign of harvest.

THE MIDDLE DAYS

That period finally closed at the end of the last century, which for the young Chinese Church went down in blood. Even then change had long been in the air. The door had been pushed open ever so little, but really open, and the atmosphere was changing. In the nineties reform even tried to take hold of the Government, but everyone knows the end of that story. In 1894 little, upstart, Westernized Japan brought China all in a moment to her knees, and the door went wider open, and with the utter overthrow of the Boxer movement the door was broken off its hinges, never to be used again. New life began to manifest itself everywhere. In Peking edict after edict emerged, giving proof—if proof were needed—of the change that had transpired.

Railways, newspapers, an efficient Customs Service, an Imperial postal service, all came, and came to stay. The time-honoured system of examinations for the degrees that led to office was replaced by a new system, only on paper at first, of

Government education from the infant school to the university. In conjunction with the Western Powers opium was abolished. It became fashionable to learn a foreign language, especially English, for was that not an 'open sesame' to positions in Customs and postal and other Government services, and to clerkships in the foreign ports, which were developing beyond all previous dreams in the opening years of the twentieth century?

The progressive Viceroy, Chang Chih Tung, wrote a book called *China's Only Hope*, which hope consisted in taking up without delay the education of the West. He and others opened mines and mills and started modern industrial life; so, fraught with good and evil, Westernization really set in.

For the Church, quick to seize her opportunity, this was a period of tremendous expansion, especially in educational work. American Missions, ever ready to lavish expenditure, in China as at home, upon the education of the young, poured their wealth into what were struggling private schools, and made them into flourishing colleges commanding universal respect. Our own Wesley College in Wuchang, which, when Dr. Barber left it in the nineties, was a mere handful of students who could with difficulty be persuaded to sit in a Christian school, had by the end of the period developed into a decent-sized Grammar School, and only the lack of adequate support from England hindered it from indefinite expansion and wider usefulness. In the same period, with more substantial funds at its disposal, the neighbouring Boone College of the American Church Mission had from a small boarding school of fifty boys developed into the Boone University, with several hundreds of students, and was easily the most imposing and best-known educational institution, private or Government, within the four central provinces of Honan, Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi. This sort of thing is typical of the change that came in all the eighteen provinces. Chinese animus against all foreign nations is deep-seated and not unnatural. The Boxer year made no foreign nation popular; the chastisement that followed even left a deep-seated resentment that smoulders on. A proud and self-conscious nation with a mighty past does not take kindly to being made the happy hunting-ground for foreigners, be they political, commercial, or religious; yet there is no doubt where the judgement of the nation had led them. It was

necessary to sit at the feet of foreign teachers and learn their language and their lore ; it was preferable to study abroad and to seek this foreign instruction at its source. The period saw thousands of Chinese students in Japanese colleges and universities, hundreds, thanks mainly to the Indemnity College in Peking, in America, and scores in other lands. Their less-favoured brothers at home were beginning to wear foreign clothing, smoke foreign tobacco, drink foreign wine, speak foreign languages, attend foreign schools, and incidentally to put themselves in the way of excelling foreigners in their own scholarship. Though they were not attracted to Christianity as such, this new attitude to all things Western included even religion in its scope, and, though not convinced that a land that held Confucius could need any other teacher, at least there began to be a willingness to listen and to learn.

The process of Westernization had even gone so far that the worn-out Manchu Dynasty was beginning to play with the idea of a constitutional monarchy and a popularly elected parliament. Edicts were issued about these important matters, and then, on October 10, 1911, a bomb burst in the Russian Concession, Hankow, and the Revolution had begun. The slumbering giant who had been turning uneasily in his sleep was violently shaken awake, and this land of changelessness had become a place in which it is difficult to keep up to date. All in a few short months a change had been made, on paper, from absolute domination by the Manchu foreign power to a full-blown Chinese Republic that proudly compared itself with America and with France.

The years that intervened between 1911 and 1922 have been full of political turmoil and disorganization. There has been almost incessant fighting between rival factions, in which there is more than a suspicion that foreign intriguers have once and again been at work. For a considerable portion of the time there have been two separate parliaments, each claiming to be the legally elected and constitutional mouthpiece of the nation. The people have been the constant prey of soldiers and bandits, and many have sighed for the flesh-pots of Egypt. Yet under all the turmoil and in spite of all the bloodshed there has been no turning back. The country has lived for long bankrupt in all but name, but has not lost its hopefulness. Pessimists abound within and without, but those who look

beneath the surface are amazed at the radical reforms that in spite of all have taken place. Long ago a keen observer prophesied that China would never advance till she had discarded her cloth shoes and adopted an easier system of writing. Her footwear, he declared, was only possible in fine weather, and her complicated system of writing handicapped her sons several years in the race for knowledge. These signs of progress have at last arrived ; every one who can afford them wears foreign shoes, and China no longer stays at home on a rainy day, whilst an earnest band of educational reformers in Peking has established a system of national phonetic script with a view to unifying the language.

To say that the door is open is to use language altogether too poor for what has happened. The door is off its hinges, the windows are shattered, the roof is off, and even the foundations are shaken. From Peking chiefly there issues a stream of criticism on everything in heaven and earth that can only be paralleled in the most radical centres in the West. Politics, society, industrial and international relationships, marriage, the family, religion, and philosophy, are all subjects being seriously discussed by the leaders of Chinese modern thought. What is most remarkable of all is that the vehicle for the discussion of these radical questions is the plain speech of the market-place. A new literary style is being produced, the old essays in classical style that only a scholar could understand, much more appreciate, are gone, and serious matters are being written in the language of the people for the people.

The Christian movement has been influenced by the times and has influenced them. With the Revolution has come liberty, if not licence. The certainty of the universal and eternal significance of Confucius has for the time being gone. The old order has changed in religion, as in society. Young men now may, and do, in the more advanced centres, choose their own wives, and in turn are chosen or rejected by those whom they desire as helpmeets. In the sacred matter of religion also increasing liberty of action is allowed. It is the coming of liberty for which this middle period is mainly significant. The earlier days were the days of tradition ; these later days have been those in which liberty has been seen and followed.

THE PRESENT DAYS

The present days are the continuation of those that have just preceded. Enough has been said by way of background, and it now becomes possible to depict the whole Church of Christ in China in these new and stirring times. No mere perusal of the fullest story of what it is possible to write of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in China could give anything like a true impression of the Christian movement as a whole. To give a true picture of Methodism it is necessary not only to see it in its political and social environment, but in its relation to other Christian communions and the whole movement of the Church of Christ. This task must now be attempted.

Let us take the year 1922, and try to estimate at that date the significance of Protestant Christianity in China. It may be well to begin at the circumference and work in to the centre.

In all but the most remote and inaccessible parts of the outlying provinces there are probably very few who do not know of the existence of the Church. In millions of cases men's knowledge goes no farther than that, with the added fact that the Christians worship Jesus and God. Tens of millions could give no account of what is meant by these names, but they are conscious of a great new society, with ramifications everywhere, which has a new worship. Millions have still never seen the face of a Missionary. Hundreds of thousands have never passed the door of a Christian church. Yet, somehow, there is a general consciousness that this new Society means well and stands for helpfulness. In the welter of blood and political chaos this foreign Church has stood like a rock, unshaken. Whilst all else was in flux and uncertainty the Church has been ever occupying new centres. In the carnage of civil conflict both parties have respected the Church and both parties have sought sanctuary there. In country and town alike church premises have been little havens of safety and peace in the midst of a sea of trouble.

Plague, pestilence, flood, and famine have been added to social and political unrest, and in facing all these awful chastisements Christians, Chinese and foreign, have been in the forefront of the forces of relief. Huge sums of money contributed in America, Great Britain, and other Western countries have been administered by Chinese and foreign joint committees

on which Missionaries have always been fully represented, and when it came to disbursements, road-making, dyke-making, ameliorative and preventive measures, the actual hands that handled the moneys, and the actual oversight, have been generally those of the Missionary. He has often been torn by a conflict of duties, but, seeing the multitude as sheep without a shepherd, he has had compassion, and though his ordinary Church activities have had to be laid aside, he has come to stand for something in society that mere ministering in chapels would not have brought him to for many years. In times like these Chinese business men turn naturally to the Missionary for help. They know nothing of his gods, and care less; but they appreciate his personal integrity, and they know a good and faithful servant when they see one.

The Revolution has had effects something like those caused by a volcano in eruption. Things from below have been thrown on the surface and what was on the surface has been buried beneath the streams of lava. Thus it has come to pass that long ere Christian leaders dreamed of it they have been found in the highest places. Already China has had a Christian Premier and twice a Christian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Men whose names figure in the world-press, like Wellington Koo and Alfred Sze, are graduates of Mission colleges. In these days of party warfare promotion for men of worth is rapid, and the Christian General Feng is one of the men who count in the nation, and his model army has perhaps done as much to recommend Christianity to the common people as any other single event in China. The wonderful thing about that influence is that it is a matter of less than ten years.

As a link between China and the Church the influence of the Y.M.C.A. is hard to exaggerate. There are many different estimates of the religious value of this organization, but it has to be said that its leaders give forth no uncertain sound, and they have established an organization that is capable of increasing directly Christian effort which will in the future count for much in the aggressive forces of the Church. For the moment this organization is easily the most popular thing of foreign origin in the country. It is bringing Christians and non-Christians together on a social basis. It has introduced prominent and successful evangelists from the West and brought them into living contact with scholar and

official, as well as other classes. It has given another instance of the social benefits that flow from Christ, and as the years go by it will be increasingly evident that it has popularized Christianity among the thinking and spending classes.

In the new Chinese Civil Services, in the development of industrial life, in the far-flung line of Western commerce, it would be impossible to proceed without the results of Church schools and colleges. For the moment, and until Government schools catch up, the key to the whole of this modern forward-moving life is in the hands of the Church. Men and women are passing each year from Church schools out into the world, and go immediately to positions of responsibility and trust on which the whole movement depends. The majority are not Christians, but they can never be as those who have not had daily contact for a number of years, at the most impressionable period of life, with the Church of God.

The influence of Mission hospitals has been hardly less. The great medical schools of the country are all Christian. Even the famous Rockefeller foundation at Peking would have been impossible without Christian co-operation. Last, but not least, the influence of the Church on the new status given to women is incalculable.

It is for these and other reasons that the Church of Christ at the present day is powerful out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Only one person out of every thousand is a Protestant Christian, yet in the discussions in Parliament on the question of religious liberty, this one-thousandth was able to put up a tremendous and sustained fight.

Christianity is by no means of equal strength in all areas. Speaking generally, the coast provinces, that have been longer in contact with Christianity and the outer world, are greatly in advance of the inland provinces, whilst the remoter areas, such as Yunnan in the south, and Mongolia in the north, are only beginning to see the Light of the World.

In thus reviewing the influence of Christianity in China at the present day it is necessary to keep a true perspective and not to put a weight on facts greater than they can bear. As an educational, social, philanthropic, and even political force the Christian Church is of very great significance. Read in the light of the history of a hundred years, this is a tremendous statement to make. Read in the light that streams from the

Cross, where values alter and things are seen as they are, it is possible to be much too sanguine on the meaning of these things. This influence is the influence of a very small body spread out very thinly over an immense area, and whilst it is pleasanter in these days than in the past to be a Christian worker in China, he would be a simple man who failed to realize that in all that has been written it was as easy to read the Westernizing as the Christianizing work of the Church.

That institution itself has at length seen the day when the ordained Chinese clergy of all communions are to be found in slightly greater numbers than the ordained foreign Missionaries. Self-support, which was taken for granted in the early Church, is, speaking generally, not within sight in any communion in China. There are men and women of outstanding intellectual ability and spiritual gifts, but they are rather the exception and prophecy of what shall be than the rule, and it cannot be said as yet that Christianity has rooted itself in the mind and heart of the country as the earlier foreign religion, Buddhism, has done. To the present day Christianity is still, in the eyes of the average man and woman, the foreign religion, and as long as it is that there is no place for easy optimism.

In bringing about the success already achieved, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, and Anglicans, as well as an innumerable host of smaller communions, have been working side by side. Numerical results of the greater Protestant bodies are in the order given, but of the Methodist body our English Wesleyans are only a fraction of the whole. In the newly elected National Christian Council, chosen in proportion to the memberships of the various communions, only one out of nine Methodist representatives is a Wesleyan Methodist. That gives the ratio of the proportionate strength of our American cousins ; it does not mean that to the Church of the present and of the future we have no contribution to make. When religion is the subject under discussion, and hearts have to be considered as well as heads, it is well to remember that great streams have often issued from tiny springs. It is not for nought our founder claimed, 'The world is my parish.'

THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

The late Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 will probably take its place in years to come among the few epoch-making councils of the Church. For the first time since the modern missionary movement began there were assembled together representatives of all the main Protestant communions to think and pray together over the common task. One outcome of that conference was a series of smaller conferences on all the great Mission Fields, presided over by the same missionary statesman, John R. Mott. Such conferences, sectional and national, met in China in 1913. Once more all the main Protestant bodies were represented, once more they were set to face the task together. By special design, Chinese as well as missionary leaders were assembled in large numbers. Much has issued from those conferences, but nothing was of so much moment as this—that the missionary leaders were suddenly shocked into the knowledge that something was wrong.

In the modern Church no other part has been called to face martyrdom as the Chinese communions have. Chinese and Missionaries have suffered and died together. The average foreigner had never realized that there could be anything galling in his relationship with his Chinese colleagues or subordinates. Yet the story of conference after conference was the same. Given the opportunity for self-expression, the men with whom the Missionary had imagined his relationships as of the most cordial nature expressed their sense of bondage and oppression in no uncertain terms. There were more sore heads and sad hearts in that year than at any time before or since, and people began to think.

The reader who will take the trouble to re-read the story of this chapter will find on second thoughts that it is all the story of missionary progress—the progress and performance of men sent out from other lands. This book is a history of a great Missionary Society, and the English Methodist rejoices in the story of the achievements of his Church. Were he a Chinese and not an Englishman he would doubtless rejoice, but with a difference.

St. Paul was never tempted to found a Jewish Church in Greece or Rome. He was poor and they were rich. He was

always on the wing, and never really settled for long. Conditions in China have been very different. Educational and medical work has involved expensive plant and up-to-date equipment. Evangelistic work has had to be undertaken in a new continent, weeks, and months at first, away from the home base. Comparatively to China's social and economic conditions, Christian missionary organizations from the West rank as wealthy corporations. Hence it was not to be wondered at if imperceptibly, and without altogether understanding what had happened, the Church had established a very expensive and complicated machine that seemed to need the foreign hand for its control, and it was coming to be regarded as inevitable that the day of handing all this precious and carefully constructed organization over to the Chinese would be only after many years.

In apostolic days, with little or no machinery, a place of equality or independence would have been easily won by the Chinese Christians. In these modern days it has been long coming, and at last, in the Mott conference of 1913, the truth was out. Not only in the eyes of the outsiders, but by those of its own household, was the Church seen to be a foreign thing. In the recent 1922 conference of the Chinese Church there were other illustrations. A survey of the Christian occupation of China had revealed the fact that there were one hundred and thirty separate Protestant Societies propagating Christianity in China, each with its own home board and organization, and its own denominational affinities and loyalties. It is arguable that at the present day there is still room for the greater ecclesiastical points of view, represented by Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians; but what is there to be said, for example, for a 'Methodist Church, North,' and a 'Methodist Church, South,' perpetuating in China a division of the American Civil War? At Edinburgh Dr. Cheng Ching Yi had cried, 'We are not interested in *your* divisions,' and in that cry he uttered the heart of the Chinese Church. These multitudinous divisions are not the stigmata of Jesus, but the marks of a foreign Church. The Chinese Christian conscience will have none of them. This is what the desire for union means amongst Chinese Christians. Disunion they believe, not to be of God, but of man, and that man a foreigner. Movements have for long

been on foot for union in two directions—first, in the direction of linking in a sort of federation the Churches in a given area or province ; and second, the binding together of all the branches of the same original family into one. Though the two processes seem to be mutually destructive, a good deal of progress in both directions has been made. All the Anglicans, whatever the country of their origin, have organized one common Synod for China. Lutherans have been getting together ; Presbyterians of all brands have long had some sort of common organization, and the Methodists are making similar plans. On the other hand, Congregationalists and Presbyterians are busy organizing themselves, through local federations, into one body, which they have ventured to call 'The Chinese Christian Church.' It is probable that the ultimate solution will be by a combination of the two movements. Such a combination does not appeal to the logical mind, but the Chinese will not be worried overmuch by logic. The danger of the first movement is that it might end in a merely national unity ; the danger of the second that it might belt the globe with strips of catholicity without securing unity in any single locality. In spite of all dangers the Chinese Church will tend to unity ; it is even possible that the last shall be first, and China show Europe and America the way.

The second aim of the Chinese is to deforeignize the Church. The situation is very complicated. On the one hand, China needs all the help foreign Churches can pour in in money and men for many years to come ; on the other hand, there is no future for a Christianity that is not indigenous. As long as the outsider believes, and the insider admits, that Christianity is a foreign thing, Christ cannot come to His own in China. The solution appears to lie in what may be called the parish churches.

All over China have grown up in strategic places comparatively large Mission compounds. On these are placed universities, colleges, hospitals, and other institutions, as well as foreign residences. They bear to the average church something of the relationship that the old abbeys bore to the parishes. These compounds do not need less but more support, and yet the more they are helped from other lands the further does self-support and self-government seem to vanish away. For apart from a national landslide towards

Christianity it will be long years before the Chinese Church as such can take them over.

It would be all to the good if these compounds were henceforward regarded as abbeys. Some will do their work and fall into ruin, others will be taken over by the Chinese Church as it is able, still others may be merged in some wider local movement, but the problem of self-support and deforeignization does not lie here. It rather lies in the regular Church in town and country among the people. There it is that Chinese leadership is counting for most ; there it is that Chinese leaders can in the almost immediate future come to their own, and make men realize that Christianity is the religion of China.

A third aim of the Chinese Church is the evangelization of its own people. A Chinese Home Missionary Society has come into existence which has stations already established in needy Yunnan and needier Mongolia. This society aims to give expression to the missionary consciousness of the whole Protestant Church of China. It is constantly extending its appeal and finding support wherever Chinese are formed into Churches. It enshrines its own ideals of unity and of national consciousness, and it is far from unlikely that, in the greater freedom from non-Chinese direction, experiments may be made and successes achieved that will bring rich reward and renewed inspiration to the older established Churches. Movements of this nature are by no means new within the spheres of influence of separate Churches. In our own Church in Central China an early Missionary into Hunan was sent by the gifts of his Chinese brethren, and ever since that day there has been a local missionary society in operation. The new features of the Chinese Home Missionary Society are that it is a united effort, entirely independent of the Missionaries of all Societies, a spontaneous effort of the united Chinese Churches to save their own people.

In theology, so far, China has produced nothing new, unless it be the spirit of mutual toleration. There are folk, not Chinese, in China as in England, who feel it their duty to divide the Church into two theological camps. Perhaps the Chinese are too little speculative. Perhaps they might with advantage be keener searchers for the truth. There, is however, another grace of equal or greater value in the sight of God, and that is love. Our Western contribution to the faith

is truth, and in the interests of truth we have first split the Western Church in two and then gone on splitting the parts that remained, until in the year of our Lord 1922 it can be recorded that there are one hundred and thirty separate organizations preaching the truth in China. The only theological contribution of note made to the recent Shanghai conference was given by Dr. Timothy Liu, of Peking. Whether he is a Congregationalist or a Methodist no one really minds ; he has had connexions with both branches of the Church, as also with the China Inland Mission. Probably if he were asked he would reply he did not mind much what communion he served as long as he served his Lord and was true to China. From his lips there fell a phrase that may well be China's answer to the blunt, hasty, truth-seeking, church-splitting Christians of the West : ' Let us agree to differ, but resolve to love.'

These, then, are some of the notes of the Chinese Church of to-day and to-morrow—*unity, liberty, evangelism* ; and *in loyalty to our common Lord, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, the best of all His gifts, the grace of charity.*

It is not desirable that the old divisions of the Western Church should continue for long in China. Methodism as such, as all the other communions, should probably cease to be, but into the great United Chinese Church of the future it will have poured its riches and live again. Its genius for using laymen in all the activities of the Church, its evangelistic zeal, its toleration of opinions, its insistence on religious experience as the basis of the Christian life, will have a deeper meaning and a wider usefulness in the day when all the separated children of God shall have been gathered into one.

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- 1761 Moravian Mission opened in Antigua (ii. 3).
- 1768 Captain Cook explored New Zealand and E. Australia
- 1775 American War of Independence began (i. 221).
- 1776 Declaration of American Independence.
- 1779 First Kafir War began.
- 1785 Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

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|------|--|-------------------|
| 1786 | Coke visited West Indies | ii. 2-29
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| 1787 | Societies formed at St. Vincent, St. Kitts, St. Eustatius, West Indies | ii. 56 |
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| | Captain Mackie requested a Missionary for Bermudas | ii. 240 |
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| 1790 | Third visit of Coke to West Indies. A Conference held | ii. 49-53 |
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| 1800 | First Methodist Society in Montreal | i. 364 |
| | Bahama Mission started | ii. 225 |
| 1803 | Nathan Bangs first preached to Canadian Indians | i. 365 |

- 1786 Death of Frederick the Great.
Wilberforce began his work for slaves.
- 1787 Blacks transported to Sierra Leone from London.
- 1788 Sydney made a convict station.
- 1789 Wilberforce's first speech in Parliament against slave trade.
French Revolution began.
Second Kafir War.
- 1792 Carey founded Baptist Missionary Society.
The Monarchy abolished in France.
Moravian Mission began work in South Africa.
Freetown settlement founded.
- 1793 Louis XVI. executed. Reign of Terror in France.
Carey arrived in Bengal.
Surrender of Cape Colony to England.
- 1795 London Missionary Society founded.
New French Constitution formed.
Final Partition of Poland.
Mungo Park explored the Niger.
Vaccination discovered.
- 1796 Napoleon Bonaparte put in command of French Army.
- 1797 The Netherlands ceded to France.
- 1798 Battle of Nile. Bonaparte occupied Egypt.
- 1799 Church Missionary Society founded.
Napoleon became ' First Consul ' of France.
- 1800 Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
Malta ceded to British.
Treaty of Amiens assigned Ceylon to Britain (v. 21).
- 1803 Restoration of Cape Colony to Dutch.

- 1803 Work begun in Demerara. Frustrated ii. 274
- 1804 Barbara Heck, mother of American Methodism,
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- 1806 District organization introduced into West Indies ii. 174
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- 1807 Morant Bay Chapel built, West Indies ii. 93
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- 1808 Joshua Marsden opened work at St. George's,
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- 1811 Bahamas District formed ii. 133
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- 1813 Inaugural meeting of Missionary Society held in
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- 1814 John Bass Strong sent to Montreal by English
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- 1815 Newfoundland made a separate District from
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- 1803
1804 Bible Society founded.
Napoleon became Emperor of France and King of Italy.
L.M.S. sent German Missionaries to Ceylon.
- 1805 Battle of Trafalgar.
- 1806 Cape Colony again ceded to Britain.
- 1807 British Slave trade abolished.
Peninsular War began.
- 1809 Massacre of the crew of the *Boyd* by Maoris.
- 1812 War began with United States.
Baptist Missionaries arrived in Ceylon (v. 22).
- 1813 Germany's revolt against Napoleon. Battle of Leipzig.
Peninsular War ended.
Australian explorers cross Blue Mountains.
East India Charter renewed. Door open to Missions in India
(v 144).
- 1814 Napoleon abdicated and retired to Elba.
Treaty of Vienna.
Acquisition of Ceylon.
End of War with United States.
- 1815 Waterloo. Napoleon banished to St. Helena.

1815	First chapel built at St. John's	i. 276	
	Th. Hodge, freedman, began preaching at Anguilla	ii. 168	
	Haiti first occupied (irregularly)	ii. 133	
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J. Lynch arrived in Madras; preached at Negapatam	v. 177		

- 1815 Congress of Vienna adjusts European boundaries. Br. Guiana, Ceylon, C. Colony, Mauritius, Trinidad, Tobago and Malta ceded to Gr. Britain
'Holy Alliance' formed
- 1816 C.M.S. Mission opened in Travancore.
Elizabeth Fry began her Prison work.
American Bible Society founded.
English harvest failed. Riots and distress.
- 1817 Marathi War in India.
Act passed for West Indies regularizing slave marriages in Church of England.
American Board of Missions began work in Turkish Empire and Palestine.
C.M.S. opened Mission in Benares.

- 1818 Conference adopted settled Constitution of W.M.M.S., and added third Secretary to staff . . . i. 73-77
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 First Maori grammar published by T. Kendal iii. 170
 Charles Cook arrived in France iv. 446
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- 1819 Missionary again appointed to St. Martin, West Indies. Chapel built ii. 171
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- 1820 Partition of Upper and Lower Canada between M.E. Church and W.M.S. i. 387
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 Robert Newstead completed Portuguese version of New Testament v. 69
- 1821 Turk's Island occupied, West Indies ii. 233

- 1818 S.P.G. re-organized.
Ross and Parry started on Arctic exploration voyage.
C.M.S. entered Ceylon.
- 1819 Birth of Queen Victoria.
Singapore seized for British.
- 1820 Cape Colony opened to immigrants.
Five thousand settlers arrived in Algoa Bay
George IV. became King
C.M.S. opened Tinnevely Mission, and began work in Bombay.
L.M.S. entered Madagascar, and started work in Bangalore.
M.E. Church began a Mission to North American Indians.
- 1821 Trial of Queen Caroline.

1821	W. Walker appointed to Mission among Black Natives in Australia	iii. 149
	Leigh returned with wife to proceed to New Zealand, and two others	iii. 34
	Work started in Van Diemen's Land	iii. 66
	W. Shaw settled in Assagai Valley (Salem); built chapel	iv. 250
	Yellow Chapel, Grahamstown, built	iv. 250
	Mandarenee, Gambia, opened by J. Morgan	iv. 123
	Elijah Hoole and J. Mowat sent to start Mission in Mysore	v. 181
	Bangalore and Seringapatam visited; Mission suspended, 1822	v. 181
	Charles Cook settled near Nimes	iv. 446
1822	Torry set apart as Missionary to Red Indians	i. 449
	First Missionary stationed at St. Ann's, West Indies	ii. 108
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	W. Threlfall arrived in South Africa, and joined W. Shaw at Salem	iv. 246-7
	Baker invalided home from West Africa; W. Bell arrived and died	iv. 79
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	Leigh established first Methodist settlement New Zealand—'Wesleydale'	iii. 178
	Leigh's health failed; he sailed for Australia; was wrecked	iii. 182-4
	Australian R.T.S. started	iii. 28
	W. Shaw toured in Kaffraria; 'Wesleyville' settlement started	iv. 255-6
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	Piggott and Harte arrive: Harte died	iv. 80
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	First chapel built at Scarborough, in Tobago	ii. 222
	Marriage of slaves legalized in the Bahamas	ii. 235
	Two school-chapels opened in Wesleydale, New Zealand	iii. 185
	W. Walker withdrawn from Australian Mission to Blacks	iii. 149
	Morgan began work in Macarthy's Island, West Africa	iv. 127
	Ceylon and India severed in administration	v. 186
	James Lynch returned to Ireland	v. 186

- 1821 War of Greek Independence (1821-9).
Gambia became British colony.
Mexico declared independent.
- 1822 George Canning, Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1822-7).
First female C.M.S. school opened in India.
Zulu Wars of Extermination.
Maori Wars (1822-7).
- 1823 Emigration of 1,000 Blacks from Tortola to Trinidad.
Slave rising in Demerara.
Reginald Heber made Bishop of Calcutta.
British Society formed for Abolition of Slavery.
'Jamaican Resolutions' created agitation (ii. 86-7).
Henry Williams, C.M.S., arrived in New Zealand (iii. 170)
- 1824 L.M.S. Missionary, J. Smith, died under imprisonment in
Demerara (ii. 282).
Erection of first lighthouse on South African Coast.
First Burmese War.
Church of Scotland begins Foreign Missions work.

- 1825 Canadian Missionary Society formed i. 412
 Honduras Mission began. T. Wilkinson sent out ii. 133, 291
 Launceston, Tasmania, occupied iii. 70
 First Maori adult conversion reported in Bay of
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 Keeling to Malta iv. 422-3
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- 1827 Ed. Fraser, coloured Preacher, appointed to
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- 1828 *The Christian Guardian* first published as official
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 re-opened work in Haiti ii. 266-9

- 1825 Commercial panic in England.
House of Commons passed judgement against rioters at Bridgetown.
First C.M.S. Native clergyman ordained in India.
- 1826 C.M.S. began work in Egypt and West Indies.
Annexation of Assam.
First public meeting of S.P.G.
- 1827 Battle of Navarino.
First Protestant Missionaries landed in China.
- 1828 Trial by jury introduced into Cape Colony.
Test and Corporation Acts repealed.
Duke of Wellington, Premier.
Robert Peel leads Commons.

- 1828 Wesleyan Chaplain appointed to Macquarie Harbour, Tasmania iii. 69
 King Tubou attended Christian worship iii. 288-9
 Six Missionaries died at Sierra Leone within the year iv. 83
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- 1829 Bridgetown Chapel rebuilt ii. 210
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 First Maori baptism at Manyungu iii. 202
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- 1830 Methodist emigrants landed at Swan River; preached at Perth iii. 121
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- 1831 First Maori Class-meeting; Native Agency begun iii. 203
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- 1832 Slave rebellion and persecution in West Indies; Lamont died in prison ii. 96-116
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1828

1829 Passing of Catholic Emancipation Bill.
Sati abolished in India by Lord Bentinck (v. 146).
Duff sailed for Calcutta.

1830 Accession of William IV. Earl Grey Premier.
Opening of Manchester and Liverpool Railway.
Kingdom of Greece proclaimed.
C.M.S. ordained first Indian clergyman.
C.M.S. began work in Smyrna and Abyssinia.
American Missionaries entered China.
Aborigines of Tasmania deported (iii. 156).
' July Revolution ' in Paris. Louis Philippe made King of
France. France acquired Algiers coast.
Revolt in Netherlands. Belgium seceded from Holland.

1831 Exeter Hall opened.
Reform Bill introduced. Political agitation.
Garrison began Anti-Slavery movement in U.S.A.
Polish insurrection. Russia absorbed Poland.

1832 Reform Bill passed.

1833 Death of Wilberforce.
Slavery Abolition Bill passed.
Mazzini formed ' Young Italy ' party.
Tractarian Movement began.

- 1833 W. B. Boyce published first Kafir grammar iv. 259
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 Basutoland iv. 266
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- 1834 Four Missionary Secretaries appointed i. 167
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 Jos. Dunwell sent to Cape Coast Castle iv. 151-2
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 Vaudois District visited, thirteen Societies formed iv. 448
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- 1835 Parliamentary grants made to West Indies
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- 1836 Development of Alderville as industrial centre for
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 arrived at Gold Coast. All died iv. 153
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- 1837 Home Missionary Society formed in Newfoundland i. 343-4
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 Society formed at Samana, Haiti ii. 49

1833

1834 Slavery ceased in West Indies on August 3.
Emancipation of slaves in Cape Colony.
Kafir Wars.

1835 Five American Medical Missionaries landed in China

1836 C.M.S. opened Mission in Travancore.

1837 Accession of Queen Victoria.
Rebellion among Red Indians (i. 462).
Flight of the Matabele to country north of Limpopo.

1837	Two converts martyred in Friendly Isles	iii. 208
	War with heathen chiefs in Tonga	iii. 314
	The Island of Eua evangelized	iii. 315
	Society formed at Melbourne	iii. 85-6
	Colonists landed in South Australia, and formed Society	iii. 103
	Societies formed at Bathurst, Cape Coast and Macarthy's Island	iv. 87
	Barnabas Shaw returned to England for six years	iv. 260
	W. Shaw visited Fingos and established Mission stations at Newtondale, Healdtown, Kamastone and Durban	iv. 284
	T. L. Hodgson became chairman, Cape Town	iv. 313
	Jonathan Crowther appointed General Superinten- dent for India and Ceylon	v. 193
	T. Hodson occupied Gubbi, Mysore	v. 205
1838	Hunt and Calvert landed in Fiji, December 22	iii. 390
	Swan River stationed, West Australia	iii. 56
	First Chapel built at Melbourne	iii. 86
	Mission to aborigines begun at Buntingdale, South Australia	iii. 86
	First Chapel built at Adelaide	iii. 104
	W. Longbottom wrecked near Adelaide; retained as minister	iii. 106
	Gambia and Gold Coast Districts separated	iv. 94
	Thomas Birch Freeman and wife arrived Cape Coast Castle, and built first Chapel there	iv. 153
	Benj. Clough, chairman South Ceylon, invalided home, died 1839	v. 74
	Miss Twiddy sent out to Jaffna	v. 36
1839	J. Waterhouse sent out as General Superintendent of Missions in Polynesia and Australia	iii. 217
	Fiji constituted separate District	iii. 380
	Gospel and Catechism preached in Fijian	iii. 395
	Freeman started for Kumasi and received by the King	iv. 155
	Vaudois made into separate Circuit	iv. 448
1840	Hudson Bay Company invited Methodist Mission- aries to evangelize Hudson Bay Territory. J. Evans and three others appointed	i. 467
	Canadian Conference separated from British	i. 439
	First Negro candidate sent to Richmond College Freeman visited England, returning with rein- forcements	iv. 91
	Methodist Society formed at Lausanne	iv. 155
	Methodist Society formed at Lausanne	iv. 450
	Mission Press set up in Bangalore, under Garrett Squarebridge died of cholera at Kunigal, the Mysore	v. 209
		v. 208

1837 C.M.S. began Zulu Mission.

1838 First steamship crossed the Atlantic;
Colonial Church Society established.

1839 Aden occupied by British.
Chartist rising began.
'New Zealand' Company sent out settlers (iii. 231).
King George of Tonga issued Code of Laws (iii. 326)
First British Medical Missionaries landed in China.

1840 War in Tonga-land (iii. 316).
Treaty of Waitanga made Maoris British subjects (iii. 232).
Queen Victoria married Prince Albert.
Penny Post instituted.
First China war.

- 1841 Opening of 'Centenary Hall,' Bishopsgate i. 101-2
 Jas. Evans invented a Syllabary for Red Indians i. 468
 Coke Memorial Chapel opened in Jamaica ii. 336
 Institution for training agents opened at Vavau iii. 319
 New Zealand District divided into north and south iii. 222
 Freeman re-visited Kumasi with Brooking iv. 157
 Industrial undenominational Mission founded at
 Lovedale, South Africa iv. 320
 Dr. Andrew Kessen sent to Colombo v. 78
 Girls' school opened in Galle. Miss Douglas sent
 out v. 78
- 1842 Theological training began in Canada, at Victoria
 College i. 484
 Training work began at Accra iv. 157
 Freeman welcomed to Abeokuta by chief iv. 158
 Work among English opened in Durban, and
 chapel built iv. 292
 Dr. Scott recalled from Stockholm and Mission
 abandoned iv. 426
- 1843 Millerite agitation in New England i. 337
 Rob. Young visited West Indies as deputation ii. 351
 Wairoa Valley affray iii. 234
 Cloudy Bay Mission dispersed, New Zealand iii. 236
 Hunt became chairman of Fiji District iii. 409
 First two Australian probationers stationed iii. 59
 Training school opened at King Tom's Point,
 West Africa iv. 91
 Freeman visited King of Dahomey, and Togoland v. 160
 T. Hodson returned to England from the Mysore v. 209
- 1844 Largest church in Canada opened in Montreal i. 401
 Turk's Island included in Bahamas District ii. 499
 Caen, Switzerland, occupied iv. 452
 Great meeting in Mysore to promote English school v. 270
- 1845 Ruatan Island, West Indies, first visited by
 Edney ii. 431
 King Tubou died, Tonga iii. 328
 Rotuma Island occupied by Native Agent (Fiji) iii. 468
 Political disturbances in Switzerland affected
 Mission iv. 450-1
- 1846 Revival in Tonga-land iii. 329
 First Missionary stationed in Ono iii. 415
 First edition of Kafir New Testament published iv. 259
 Work began in Swaziland iv. 296
 C. Cook and M. Ogier obliged to leave Switzerland iv. 451
- 1847 Canadian Conference and British Missionary
 Society re-united i. 492
 First chapel opened at Burra-Burra, South
 Australia iii. 112
 Somosomo abandoned for Mbua, Fiji iii. 409

- 1841 Local self-government granted to Canada.
Niger expedition organized.
Livingstone sent to South Africa (L.M.S.).
Bishop Selwyn, C.M.S., went to New Zealand (iii. 224).
Treaty of London concluded.
New Zealand became a Crown colony.
- 1842 Treaty of Nanking, cession of Hong Kong and opening of
five ports.
British force occupied Natal.
- 1843 Afghanistan entered and Kabul taken.
Rewa Wars in Fiji (iii. 403-4).
Spanish Haiti became independent (ii. 406)
- 1844 The Mormons settled at Great Salt Lake.
C.M.S. first sent Missionaries to China.
Rebellion in New Zealand, under Hone Heke (iii. 237)
- 1845 Sir John Franklin's Arctic Expedition.
- 1846 Repeal of Corn Laws.
End of First Sikh War.
Adoption of Free Trade by England (ii. 356).
- 1847 'Reform' Agitation in England (1847-54) (ii. 360)

- 1848 Dr. Beecham addressed Colonial Secretary on behalf of Maoris iii. 240
 Opening of College at Three Kings, Auckland, for Maori youths iii. 246
 Lyth and Calvert made first Missionary voyage round Fiji Isles iii. 449
 W. Shaw visited Thaba Nchu, Basutoland iv. 267
 John Hunt died iii. 390
- 1849 *The Wesleyan*, weekly paper, started in Nova Scotia i. 335
 Mount Elgin Institution for Red Indians opened in Hudson Bay Territory i. 473
 'Canterbury Pilgrims' landed at Christchurch, New Zealand iii. 251
 King of Lakemba baptized iii. 420
 Jos. Roberts, Chairman of Madras, died at Palaveram v. 199
 Mysore became separate District (except Tamil Circuit) v. 212
- 1850 Bermudas attached to Nova Scotia District ii. 252
 Wesleyan Emigrant Friend Society formed at Melbourne iii. 91
 Third chapel opened at Surrey Hills, Sydney iii. 131
 Tungii, chief at Mua, baptized iii. 330
 First Missionary meeting at Mbau, Fiji iii. 450
 George Piercy sailed for Hong Kong v. 432
- 1851 Cholera epidemic in West Indies ii. 357
 Melbourne constituted a separate Synod iii. 90
 Emile F. Cook appointed to Cevennes iv. 452
 Piercy entered Canton v. 433
 Percival, Chairman North Ceylon, returned to England; succeeded by R. D. Griffith v. 39
 Richmond Hill property, Galle, secured v. 79
 William Arthur became Missionary Secretary (1851-68) v. 208
 Work began among Tamil coolies of Demerara ii. 378
- 1852 Robert Young visited Australia as deputation iii. 135-7
 Mr. and Mrs. Collis, lay educational workers, appointed to Lakemba, Fiji iii. 422
 Webb, of Tonga, died. War on heathen chiefs iii. 332-4
 First French Conference held iv. 452-3
 John Kilner arrived in Ceylon v. 38
 Thos. Cryer died from cholera in Madras v. 214
 Mr. L. Garthwaite, of Westminster College, appointed to Bangalore educational work v. 270
- 1853 Eastern Haiti transferred to Bahamas District ii. 501
 Last cannibal feast, Fiji. Elijah Varani murdered iii. 456-7
 King George of Tonga visited Sydney and Fiji iii. 336

- 1848 Soulouque proclaimed himself Emperor of Haiti (ii. 500).
British sovereignty proclaimed between Orange and Vaal Rivers.
Suppression of Chartist rising in London.
End of Second Sikh War. The Panjab annexed.
Second French Republic constituted.
Free constitution granted to Germany.
Mazzini and Garibaldi set up a republic.
Gold discovered in California.
Austria and Hungary united under Emperor Francis Joseph.
- 1849 M.E. Church began work in Bremen (iv. 462).
Repeal of Navigation Acts.
Local self-government granted to Australian colonies.
- 1850 Fugitive Slave Law passed in U.S.A.
Garibaldi defeated. The Pope re-instated in Rome.
First Red Indian clergyman ordained by C.M.S.
Tribal Wars in Fiji (1850-52).
- 1851 Gold discovered in New South Wales (iii. 133).
First Basuto War began.
Great Exhibition in London.
Louis Napoleon seized absolute power.
Palestine Mission begun by C.M.S.
- 1852 Second Burmese War, ceding seaboard to British.
Louis Napoleon proclaimed Napoleon III.
The 'Sand' Convention acknowledged S.A. Republic.
Gold-diggers flocked to Australia.
Treaty of British Government with King of Lagos (iv. 162).
- 1853 First railway train run in India.
Russia invaded Turkey.
Fijian Wars.

- 1853 Müller retired from active work. Steinlen succeeded him iv. 463
 Josiah Cox and W. R. Beach sent to China v. 434
 First Synod in Canton v. 435
 Bangalore Tamil Circuit attached to Mysore District v. 268
- 1854 Affiliated Conference of Australasia, Canada, and Eastern British America formed i. 192
 Hudson Bay Mission transferred to care of Canadian Conference i. 475
 Lay representation begun in Synod Committees v. 240
 King Thakombau of Mbau embraced Christianity iii. 459
 South Australia constituted separate District iii. 118
 British Conference formulated plan for separate Australian Conference iii. 138
 First chapel built in Tembuland iv. 305
 China breakfast meeting inaugurated v. 440
 Mrs. Piercy opened girls' boarding school in her house v. 537
 Educational work for Veddahs (Ceylon) abandoned v. 38
 T. Hodson returned to the Mysore as Chairman v. 272
- 1855 East and West Canada united under one Affiliated Conference i. 507
 New Conference of Eastern British America formed i. 351
 Essequibo and Berbice Circuits formed, West Indies ii. 377
 Fijian Old Testament completed by Hazelwood iii. 444
 Australian Conference constituted; D. J. Draper, Chairman iii. 99, 140
 Horton College opened at Ross, Tasmania iii. 77-80
 Fiji and Tonga Missions committed to Australian Missionary Society iii. 140
 J. S. Thomas killed in a raid, Pondoland iv. 285
 Mrs. William Shaw died iv. 298
 Natal constituted a separate District iv. 294
 R. D. Griffith appointed to chair of Madras. Invalided home and died v. 215
- 1856 Daniel West sent to Gold Coast as deputation from Mission House; W. West appointed Financial Secretary of Mission on Gold Coast iv. 163
 Kafir Old Testament completed by W. B. Boyce iv. 259
 25,000 Kafirs died of starvation iv. 286
 William Shaw returned to England iv. 298
 Canton vacated during war v. 438
 Dr. Kessen returned to England v. 78
- 1857 King Thakombau baptized, Mbau iii. 464
 W. West became Chairman of Gold Coast. Freeman retired iv. 164
 Barnabas Shaw died iv. 256

- 1853 Elected House of Representatives constituted, New Zealand
(iii. 240).
Land League formed by Maoris (iii. 241).
- 1854 Crimean War began.
Florence Nightingale went out to Scutari.
Representative legislation introduced in Cape Colony.
Orange River government given over to Boers (iv. 280).
First American Treaty with Japan.
C.M.S. began Peshawar Mission.
Second Niger Expedition.
- 1855 Responsible government given to Newfoundland
(i. 345).
Fall of Sebastopol.
- 1856 Treaty of Paris concluded Crimean War.
War with China (1856-60).
- 1857 Indian Mutiny broke out (i. 113).
Strangers' Home for Asiatics opened.
Niger Mission begun by C.M.S.

- 1857 Chief Molema built chapel and founded a Society at Mafeking iv. 335
 Daniel West died at Gambia iv. 164
 Baptism of Subramanyam Iyer in Madras v. 218
- 1858 Ladies' Committee formed in London for 'the Amelioration of the Condition of Women in Heathen Lands' iv. 20-22
 Müller died. W. B. Pope and W. B. Boyce sent out to inspect work in Germany. John Lyth appointed to take charge iv. 463-4
 Dr. Cook died iv. 454
 War in Fiji. Nandi Mission House burned iii. 445
 Piercy visited Fatshan v. 439
 Madras Mission House wrecked by mob v. 219
 E. J. Hardey died from cholera in the Mysore v. 273
 British soldiers at Karachi asked for a Minister v. 376
- 1859 Labrador Mission re-opened i. 480
 Miss Beal, first Missionary sent out by Ladies' Committee to Belize iv. 24
 First number of *Occasional Paper* issued by Ladies' Committee iv. 21
 J. Kilner appointed to chair of North Ceylon v. 41
 Tumkur (Mysore) first stationed with European Missionary v. 275
 D. Pearson sent as Chaplain to Barrackpur, Calcutta v. 350
- 1860 Ladies' Committee sent a teacher to Fiji iv. 24
 Training College for teachers opened at Demerara, Demerara and St. Vincent Districts divided ii. 380-3
 Ruatan, Honduras District, first occupied by Missionary ii. 431
 Fletcher translated three Gospels and Catechism in Maya ii. 434
 Theological Training College opened at Lausanne iv. 457
 Richard Green sent to investigate prospects in Italy iv. 478
 Dr. Jobson visited Ceylon v. 80
 Miss Wildish and Miss Churchward, first Women's Auxiliary Missionaries, sent to the Mysore v. 275
 Miss Mary Scott appointed to Negapatam v. 275
- 1861 Ladies' Committee sent Miss Eacott to Jaffna Boarding School iv. 25, v. 44
 William Arthur visited our German Mission iv. 465
 Josiah Cox made great appeal for China v. 460
 R. Green and H. J. Piggott appointed to Italy
 Benedetto Lissolo, Italian Minister, accepted on trial } i. 115 & iv. 478-9
The Harvest Field first issued from Mysore Press v. 276
 S. Cocking died in the Mysore v. 277
 Broadbent and Highfield sent to Calcutta v. 350

1857

1858 Indian Mutiny suppressed and government of India transferred to British Crown.

Treaty of Yeddo opened Japan to British commerce.

Fenian Movement began in Ireland.

Treaty of Tientsin.

Speke and Burton discovered Lake Tanganyika.

Universities' Mission to Central Africa started.

Christian Literature Society founded (v. 218).

1859 American Missionaries began work in Japan.

War between Austria and France.

English Volunteer Force formed.

' John Brown's Raid ' in Virginia.

1860 Abraham Lincoln elected President, U.S.A.

South Carolina and other States seceded from Union.

Maori Wars.

War with China. Peking taken.

Indian coolies introduced into Natal.

Kingdom of Italy established (i. 127).

1861 Death of Prince Consort.

American Secession War, 1861-65.

Cotton Famine Fund opened for distress in Lancashire.

Alexander II emancipated forty million serfs in Russia.

Lagos became British possession.

Opening of the first Italian Parliament (iv. 499).

Count Cavour, Italian patriot, died.

Griffith John (L.M.S.) entered Hankow.

1862	Negro rising in St. Vincent	ii. 388
	British Guiana made a separate District	ii. 411
	King George revised Tongan Code	iii. 336
	W. West visited Kumasi	iv. 167-8
	Miss Mary Gunson sent to Canton	iv. 31, v. 538
	Rue Roquepine chapel opened by Morley Punshon in Paris	iv. 447
	Piggott moved from Ivrea to Milan	iv. 481
	Ralph Stott appointed to minister to Hindus in Natal	iv. 303
	D. J. Gogerly, Chairman South Ceylon, died. R. Spence Hardy succeeded	v. 80
1863	Missionary Jubilee Fund raised	i. 122
	Richmond College purchased for missionary training	i. 123
	First English service held in Potchefstroom	iv. 328
	Ladies' Committee sent a teacher to Italy	iv. 29
	R. Green invalidated home from Naples	iv. 481
	T. W. Smith Jones sent to Italy. He proceeded to Naples	iv. 488-94
	Work opened in Shimoga, Mysore, by J. S. Banks	v. 276
	W. O. Simpson introduced Christian Lyric singing in Madras	v. 221
	Theological training begun in Madras	v. 221
	Karur, Negapatam District, first stationed with European Missionary	v. 222
1864	First Convert baptized in Hankow	v. 466
	Theological Institution and Normal School opened in Galle	v. 79
	Ebenezer Jenkins and W. O. Simpson returned to England	v. 222
	Tiruvalur, Madras, first occupied	v. 220
1865	Calvert visited Rotuma, and appointed W. Fletcher there	iii. 468
	Lyth retired from Germany. J. C. Barratt succeeded him	iv. 465
	Orange River Free State made separate District	iv. 311
	W. Shaw became President of Conference	iv. 298
	Hankow made separate District	v. 443
	David Hill and W. Scarborough arrived in China	v. 466
1866	Centre of North Italian Mission moved to Padua Miss Annie Hay sent to boarding school, Milan	iv. 490-1
	Graaf Reinnet occupied	iv. 304
	Kandy, Ceylon, re-stationed	v. 82
	First hospital erected in Hankow	v. 510
	Sudder Street Chapel, Calcutta, opened	v. 351
	Military and English work begun in Lucknow	v. 351
1867	Training institution at Healdtown, South Africa, established	iv. 319

- 1862 Appeal of Government officials to C.M.S. for Mission in Kashmir.
Speke and Grant (C.M.S.) discover source of Nile.
- 1863 Liberation of slaves in Dutch colonies.
First Chinese clergyman ordained.
Madagascar Mission begun by C.M.S.
The Prince of Wales married Princess Alexandra of Denmark.
Britain ceded Ionian Isles to Greece.
Prince George of Denmark accepted throne of Greece.
Rebellion in Poland (i. 127).
- 1864 John Lawrence, Viceroy of India (1864-69).
Denmark ceded Schleswig-Holstein to Germany.
Gordon captured Nanking.(v. 438).
- 1865 American Secession War ended.
Lord Palmerston died.
- 1866 China Inland Mission began work.
First electric cable laid across Atlantic.
'Seven Weeks' War' between Prussia and Austria.
'Barletta Massacre' of Protestants near Naples (iv. 494).
- 1867 C.M.S. began work in Madras.
Fenian outrages in Ireland.

- 1867 Samuel Mathabathe converted, and founded
' Good Hope Mission ' iv. 337-9
- 1868 W.T. Brown appointed lay Missionary at Barcelona iv. 429
Two colporteurs appointed in Shiuchou v. 444
R. Spence Hardy, Chairman South Ceylon, died
in England v. 83
- 1869 G. Sargeant returned to Jamaica as Chairman ii. 394-5
Ladies' Committee sent out Miss C. E. Beauchamp
to South Africa iv. 309
J. Whiteley shot during Maori raid iii. 243
Miss Cartwright sent to Ceylon; Miss Scott to
Colombo v. 101
Home Committee voted £1,000 for premises at
Kandy, Ceylon v. 82
G. T. Perks and William Gibson visited Italy
officially. Six Italian Ministers received from
' Free Italian Church ' iv. 492
Annual Synods inaugurated iv. 496
Girls' school opened in Fort, Mysore City v. 278
Theological training begun in the Mysore v. 281
- 1870 Barbados legislation affected grants to Mission ii. 407
Dan. Thorpe, schoolmaster, entered Native
Ministry at Freetown iv. 104
Vienna became a station iv. 466
Dr. E. P. Hardey joined Dr. Porter Smith in China v. 511
- 1871 Provincial Synods established in South Africa iv. 321
Charles Pamla, African evangelist, ordained iv. 291
Work initiated in Rome by Francesco Sciarelli iv. 500
J. Kilner visited South Ceylon District v. 84
Anti-foreign outbreak in Fatshan. Dr. Wenyon
began medical work v. 511
First grant sent to Calcutta by Ladies' Committee iv. 34
B. S. H. Impey appointed to Kimberley diamond
fields iv. 312
Bankura, Calcutta, first appeared in stations v. 352
- 1872 W. Shaw died in England iv. 299
B. Tregaskis, Chairman Sierra Leone, secured
repeal of Land Tax iv. 100
Manaar, South Ceylon, stationed by Tamil
Minister v. 43
Training institution opened at Waiblingen,
Germany iv. 466
Head quarters of Italian Mission moved to Rome iv. 501
- 1873 Mission to Tamils begun in Colombo v. 86
Collegiate school opened in Colombo v. 84
Kalmunai occupied by Ceylonese Minister v. 43
Mr. C. W. Mitchil, Laymen's Mission, arrived in
Hankow v. 540

- 1867 Dominion of Canada constituted.
Household suffrage passed (i. 128).
- 1868 Insurrection in Spain.
Revolution in Japan. Mikado became sole Emperor.
Basutoland annexed to British Empire.
Mr. Gladstone became Premier.
Abyssinian Expedition.
- 1869 Suez Canal completed.
Pacific Railway, New York to San Francisco, opened.
First English Missionary landed in Japan (C.M.S.).
- 1870 Diamonds discovered at Kimberley (i. 132).
End of Maori War.
Franco-German War began (i. 127).
Italians re-possessed Rome, and Bible Society's agent entered
the city (iv. 500).
- 1871 Parliamentary Committee on East African Slave Trade.
Siege of Paris.
Treaty of Frankfort terminated Franco-German War.
- 1872 Vote by ballot adopted in parliamentary and municipal elections.
Introduction of responsible government in Cape Colony.
- 1873 Ashanti War. Kumasi taken by Wolseley (1874).
Death of Livingstone.
Carlist insurrections in Spain. Republic declared.

- 1873 Work began in Kwangtsi v. 470
M.E. Mission, Wusueh, handed over work to W.M.S. v. 470
Girls' school started in Lucknow by Ladies' Com-
mittee iv. 38
- 1874 ' Wesleyan Native Home Mission ' originated in
Natal iv. 298
G. Blencowe went to minister to miners at Pilgrim's
Rest, Transvaal iv. 331
' Ladies' Committee ' became ' Ladies' Auxiliary
for Female Education ' iv. 41
Church built at Naples iv. 499
Mission Press established at Batticaloa, Ceylon . v. 49
Wesley College, Colombo, opened v. 84
Josiah Cox returned to England through ill-health v. 470
- 1875 Union of Canadian Conference with Methodist New
Connexion i. 509
Nassau high school raised to a college under H.
Rivers ii. 479-80
York Castle high school and theological college
opened, Jamaica ii. 395
Country of Apollonia first visited, West Africa . iv. 174
J. Kilner returned to England, succeeded by Ed.
Rigg (Ceylon) v. 46
Sergeant Goodwin, Methodist, went out to
Secunderabad v. 311
- 1876 Dr. Kessen arrived in Jamaica, broke down, and
returned to England ii. 397
High school opened at Cape Coast iv. 185
Rev. G. T. Perks visited South Africa officially . iv. 322
High school built at Galle v. 84
J. Kilner appointed Missionary Secretary . . . v. 45
Miss Eastwood arrived for girls' school, Galle . v. 92
First Chinese Minister stationed v. 464
Famine orphanages opened in South India . . . v. 229
- 1877 Fifty new stations reported opened in West Africa,
1874-77 iv. 177
Church opened in Rome iv. 499
Robert Foster went to Italy to assist Piggott . iv. 510
T. G. Selby began work in North River District,
China v. 447
H. Little's industrial schools, Karur, started . v. 230
Ebenezer Jenkins became Missionary Secretary . v. 222
- 1878 Marmaduke Osborn visited West Indian Districts . ii. 412
Mrs. Wiseman became Secretary of Women's
Auxiliary iv. 43
Boarding and training school for girls opened at
Point Pedro, Ceylon v. 47

1873

1874 Disraeli became Premier.
Fiji Isles ceded to Britain (iii. 466).

1875 Restoration of Bourbon dynasty in Spain (iv. 429).
Prince of Wales paid a State visit to India.
Britain purchased shares in Suez Canal from Khedive.
Annexation of Transvaal.
Insurrections in Slav States against Turkey.
Mr. Moody's Mission in London.
First Keswick Convention.
Persia Mission adopted by C.M.S.
Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union began.

1876 Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.
Russo-Turkish War (i. 126).
Nyanza Expedition started.

1877 Turkish Army surrendered to Russia.

1878 Second Afghan War began.
Treaty of Berlin (i. 126).
Cyprus ceded to Britain.
Transvaal political disturbances (iv. 332).
Second Lambeth Pan-Anglican Conference.

- 1878 Women's Auxiliary workers withdrawn from China until 1885 v. 538
 Brewer, Nightingale, and David Hill injured in riots v. 472
 Work for Telugus begun in Madras by Burgess and B. Wesley v. 231
 W. Burgess and H. Little visited Haidarabad v. 312
 Calcutta District separated from Lucknow and Benares v. 363
 Tumkur boys' orphanage built, the Mysore v. 283
- 1879 W. T. Brown ordained and appointed to Minorca Training Department added to Jaffna institution iv. 429
 Anglo-vernacular school for girls built at Galle v. 47
 New 'Metropolitan Church' opened at Cape Town iv. 315
 Girls' high school, Lagos, opened iv. 230-1
- 1880 John Kilner visited South Africa officially iv. 322
 Owen Watkins made Chairman of Transvaal and Swaziland iv. 330
 Work carried to borders of Lower Soudan. Little Popo occupied iv. 204
 Mrs. Godman formed girls' school company, Sierra Leone iv. 101
 'Busy Bees' inaugurated by Mrs. Wiseman iv. 48
 Central China Tract Society formed v. 472
 Haidarabad first appeared in stations v. 312
- 1881 Nevis, West Indies, became entirely self-supporting ii. 422
 Women's Auxiliary first Annual Report published iv. 48
 Madras North witnessed first community movement v. 232
 First Chinese Minister ordained v. 464
 Central China Prayer Union formed v. 475
 Benares first stationed v. 364
- 1882 Daniel Msimang, convert, re-opened work in Swaziland iv. 297
 W. H. Maude returned as Chairman to Sierra Leone iv. 106
 Book depôt opened at Cape Coast by W. M. Cannell iv. 184
 Local District Committees of Women's Auxiliary formed in Bolton, Bristol, Leeds, and Manchester iv. 50
 Girls' boarding school opened in Kalmunai, Ceylon v. 47
 Dispensary for women opened at Wusueh v. 523
 Work begun among Gonds v. 366
- 1883 West Indian Conference instituted, with ten Districts ii. 453-7

1878

- 1879 Zulu War began (i. 132).
Nihilists active in Russia.
Mass Movement in Ongole, B.M.S. 3,500 baptisms.
- 1880 Lord Roberts' success terminated Afghan War.
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society founded.
- 1881 Boer Republic established after Majuba (i. 132).
Alexander II. of Russia assassinated.
President Garfield, U.S.A., assassinated.
Anti-Semitic League formed at Berlin.
War in the Soudan between the Mahdi and Egyptian forces.
Congo Free State formed, financed by Belgium.
St. Gothard railway tunnel opened between Italy and Switzerland.
- 1882 Rendition of Mysore State to Native Prince (v. 289).
Occupation of Egypt. Battle of Tel-el-Kebir (i. 131).
Second Mission begun in Egypt by C.M.S.
First Missionary Exhibition at Cambridge (C.M.S.).
Korea opened to foreign intercourse (i. 136).
Boers occupy Bechuanaland (iv. 344).
- 1883 Baghdad occupied by C.M.S.
Paul Kruger elected President of South African Republic.

- 1883 New church built for coloured people in Cape Town iv. 315
 Easter offerings for Women's Auxiliary introduced iv. 49
 J. T. F. Halligey became Chairman of Lagos District, and developed work in Yoruba country iv. 209-11
 South African Conference formed (excluding Transvaal and Bechuanaland) iv. 324
 Riots in Canton closed hospital temporarily v. 513
 First Kanarese Minister, Theophilus Luke, ordained in Bangalore v. 289
 Normal school opened at Shimoga, the Mysore v. 287
 J. Milton Brown transferred to chair of Calcutta, from Ceylon v. 354
 Chapels built at Secunderabad and Trimulgherry. Mission house purchased at Chadarghat v. 317
- 1884 M.E. Church of Canada, Primitive Methodist, and Bible Christian joined the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America i. 509
 King Thakombau of Fiji died
 Gambia District left in charge of African Ministers until 1894 iv. 142
 5,000 acres of land purchased at Pretoria; called Kilmerton iv. 363
 Miss Agnes Palmer appointed as first medical worker, Madras iv. 52
 J. G. Wheatcroft Brown sent to Barcelona. Madrid visited iv. 430-1
 Mrs. Scarborough and A. W. Nightingale died in China v. 473
 New high school building erected in Mysore City v. 290
 Girls' boarding school built at Secunderabad v. 317
 Karim Nagar occupied. Mrs. Benjamin Pratt began medical work v. 321
 Ebenezer Jenkins visited India officially v. 322
 Royapetta school, Madras, raised to second grade college v. 233
- 1885 Christian marriage laws enacted for West Africa iv. 180
 Owen Watkins met Daniel Msimang at Mahamba, Swaziland iv. 339-40
 R. F. Appelbe began ministry in Mafeking. New chapel built iv. 344-5
 Medical women workers sent to Secunderabad and Hankow iv. 52
 First May Missionary Meeting of Women's Auxiliary iv. 50
 Galle and Kandy Districts separated; under Nicholson and Langdon v. 87
 Mission to Uva, Ceylon, opened by W. H. Rigby v. 93

- 1883 The Mahdi annihilated Egyptian Army under Hicks Pasha.
First Women's Union started for C.M.S.
- 1884 Third Reform Bill passed, giving household suffrage to counties.
General Gordon hemmed in by Mahdists at Khartoum.
British force sent to Gordon's relief.
German colony founded in the Cameroons, West Africa.
British and German Protectorates established in New Guinea.
China and France at war (v. 514).
- 1885 Development of gold-mining in the Transvaal (i. 132).
Colonization of Mashonaland began (iv. 380).
British South Africa Company formed (iv. 380).
Gordon perished at Khartoum, January 26.
Upper Burma annexed.
Bechuanaland made British Colony.
British Protectorate proclaimed in Somaliland.
King Leopold of Belgium proclaimed sovereign of Congo Free State.
Mission opened at Aden (C.M.S.).
Bishop Hannington murdered in Uganda.
C.M.S. started Gordon Memorial Mission Fund.

- 1885 Mr. G. Miles, of Laymen's Mission, joined Mitchil
at Hankow v. 541
Mission premises at Shuichau wrecked v. 448
Negapatam became a separate District, under
H. Little v. 253
First Bengali Minister ordained v. 354
S. Rahator converted at Igatpuri v. 325
Haidarabad became separate District v. 322
Disturbances over street preaching in Haidarabad
District v. 323
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- 1886 Gold Coast and Lagos Districts separated iv. 177
Wesley Church, Kimberley, erected. Work in
'compounds' begun iv. 312-3
Owen Watkins and D. Msimang toured in Zululand iv. 343
Organized opposition experienced in Bohemia iv. 469
Dr. Morley began medical work at Teian v. 519
Chamrajnagar, Mysore, first occupied v. 294
G. W. Clutterbuck appointed to Bombay; erected
Byculla chapel v. 376
Burma visited by W. R. Winston with J. Milton
Brown v. 382
Winston appointed to Upper Burma v. 382
Missionary Controversy began (1887-9) i. 142
- 1887 Order of Deaconesses founded in Germany by
Ekert iv. 472
F. J. Briscoe stationed at Johannesburg, and built
first chapel iv. 341
Wellawatte, Ceylon, developed by industrial
schools v. 85
Wuchang high school opened v. 476
Dr. Hodge re-opened medical work in Hankow v. 517
Work opened in Madrid iv. 431
First copy of *Vrittanta Patrike* brought out in
Mysore v. 292
Great ingathering of Sudras at Karim Nagar v. 322
- 1888 Medical work begun at Tiruvalur, Negapatam v. 258
Hankow Women's Hospital erected iv. 53
Mrs. Wiseman visited India and Ceylon iv. 53
Franklyn Smith sent to Balearic Isles iv. 431
Bryan Roe developed the work in Togoland,
West Africa iv. 214
Miss Fanny Cooke appointed to Badulla, Ceylon v. 94
Two *Joyful News* Evangelists appointed to China v. 543
David Hill started school for the blind, Hankow v. 489
Baptism of first Hindu caste woman convert in
Bangalore v. 290
James Cooling became Chairman of Madras v. 243

- 1885 'Cambridge Seven,' C.I.M., sail for China.
- 1886 Gold discovered at Witwatersrand.
Gladstone's Home Rule Bill rejected.
Canadian Pacific Railway opened from Montreal to Vancouver.
German East African Company formed.
Student Volunteer Movement started in America.
China Inland Mission attempted to enter Hunan Province,
China.
Forty Shan States in Burma annexed (v. 389).
- 1887 Queen Victoria's Jubilee.
Zululand annexed.
Johannesburg founded.
Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy.
- 1888 British East Africa Company formed.
Local Government Act created County Councils.
Death of two Emperors of Germany. William I. and Frederick
II.
Revolution in Uganda. C.M.S. Missionaries expelled.
Political trouble in Haiti (ii. 514).
First European Missionary stationed at Hong Kong.

1888	William Goudie went to live at Tiruvallur	v. 233
	Pakokku, Burma, occupied. School opened	v. 384
1889	Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin crossed the Limpopo	iv. 346
	' The Forward Movement ' in Mysore City initiated	v. 292
	W. B. Simpson opened work at Madurantakam	v. 234
	Children's Home opened in Ikkadu (Madras)	v. 235
	Medak first occupied by Missionary (W. H. Soper)	v. 322
	J. H. Bateson appointed Secretary of R.A.T.A. in India	v. 380
	H. Little toured in Kongo-nad; opened up to Dharapuram (Negapatam)	v. 255
1890	Owen Watkins invalidated home. G. Weavind became Chairman	iv. 347
	Lagos high school put in charge of African minister	iv. 230
	Orphanage opened at Wellawatte	v. 86
	' Sisters of Uva ' started Uva Mission	iv. 60
	Grainger Hargreaves opened Catechists' Training College, Canton.	v. 450
	Two more <i>Joyful News</i> Evangelists sent to China	v. 544
	First ward of leper asylum opened at Mandalay	v. 385
1891	George Lester lent by British Conference as Chairman of Bahamas	ii. 475
	Salisbury and Epworth settlements founded, South Africa	iv. 382
	Industrial school opened at Kallar by Sheldon Knapp	v. 49
	Tollerton, <i>Joyful News</i> Evangelist, died of small- pox at Lung-ping	v. 543
	William Argent and Mr. Green, H.I.M. Customs, martyred	v. 479
	Aler occupied, Haidarabad	v. 323
	Siddipett opened up by C. H. Winters (Haidarabad)	v. 323
	Baptism of Santals at Sarenga	v. 405
1892	Work opened in Andros and Key West	ii. 476-7
	Haiti staff reinforced from United States	ii. 515
	Dennis Kemp started industrial school at Cape Coast	iv. 182
	German Mission co-operated with W.M.S. in Dahomey	iv. 217
	Ijibu Remo, north of Lagos, visited, and Mission opened	iv. 220
	Barratt of Germany died suddenly. E. Rigg succeeded him	iv. 471
	Badulla first stationed by W.M.S.	v. 93

1888

- 1889 Charter granted Cecil Rhodes (British South Africa Company) to develop district north of Transvaal (Rhodesia).
 Revolution in Brazil. Republic formed.
 Nine hundred slaves ransomed by British East Africa Company.
 New Constitution in Japan.
 Victory of Christians in Uganda.

1890 Treaties between European powers defining spheres of influence in Africa.

- Uganda placed itself under British protection.
 Zanzibar left to British by Germany, who received Heligoland.
 British South Africa Company occupied Mashona and Matabeleland.
 Death of Count von Moltke.
 William III. of Holland succeeded by his daughter Wilhelmina.
 Railway completed from Delagoa Bay into the Transvaal.
 First Japanese Parliament (with President a Christian).
 Shanghai Missionary Conference.
 Moravian 'Marpoon' Mission started in York Peninsula, Australia (iii. 159).

- 1891 Great earthquake in Japan.
 British Central Africa formed into Protectorate.

1892 British South-west Africa Company formed to develop Damaraland.

- Khedive of Egypt died. His son succeeded.
 Fighting in Uganda between pro-French and pro-English.
 Centenary of Baptist Missionary Society.

1892	Canton Church became self-supporting . . .	v. 450
	Medical work begun at Ikkadu, Madras . . .	v. 236
	H. Little retired. W. H. Findlay became Chairman of Negapatam	v. 257
	Hardwicke College, Mysore City, opened . . .	v. 292
	Work begun in Kundi, Haidarabad	v. 323
	Mrs. W. Burgess and child, and Rev. J. E. Malkin, drowned in the <i>Roumania</i>	v. 325
	Orphanage opened at Raniganj, Bengal . . .	v. 357
	Colaba Chapel, Bombay, opened. S. Rahator ordained	v. 376
	Australian Government asked for Missionary for Fiji coolies	v. 372
1893	'Bird College' for girls established at Port au Prince	ii. 515
	Weavind visited Lorenzo Marques and met Robert Mashaba	iv. 348
	Methodist Society discovered at Ermelo, Swaziland Anti-Protestant riots in Balearic Isles. One chapel closed	iv. 372
	G. W. Olver visited Ceylon officially	v. 51
	Hunan entered by Chinese Christians	v. 482
	Jubilee Hospital for women erected at Hankow .	v. 523
	Medical work transferred from Tiruvallur (Nega- patam) to Manargudi	v. 259
	Leper asylum founded at Raniganj by F. Ambery Smith	v. 357
	Lucknow District divided into three sections . .	v. 363
	Memorial sent to Government on Indian Native Christian disabilities	v. 149
1894	Miss Jackson went out to Aburi for school work .	iv. 183
	Matabeleland entered. First sermon preached in Buluwayo	iv. 383
	Mashona District separated. I. Shimmin made Chairman	iv. 390
	F. W. Macdonald visited Italy officially . . .	iv. 510
	Tayeh (Laymen's Mission) amalgamated with Wusueh	v. 483
	Lace industry developed at Ikkadu	v. 248
	Girls' boarding school built at Mandalay . . .	v. 385
1895	Printing-press purchased for Cape Coast . . .	iv. 185
	Miss Ellenburger began work in girls' school, Aburi	iv. 188
	R. Mashaba deported by Portuguese Government for six years	iv. 349
	First fully qualified woman medical missionary sent to China	iv. 61
	Medical work begun in Ikkadu and Wellimade	v. 101, 247
	Medical work in West Africa	iv. 60

1892

- 1893 Dr. Nansen's Arctic Expedition set out on the *Fram*.
Seal fishing dispute in the Behring Sea with U.S. settled by arbitration.
Defeat of Matabele by British South Africa Company. Their country annexed.
Introduction of responsible government in Natal.
Royal Commission on opium traffic.
Livingstone College opened.
- 1894 Mr. Gladstone retired. Lord Rosebery Prime Minister.
British Protectorate established over Uganda.
Pondoland annexed to Cape Colony (iv. 309).
Death of Czar Alexander. Succeeded by Nicholas II.
President Carnot assassinated in France.
Japan invaded Korea and Manchuria. War followed with China.
Treaty with Belgium defining limits of Congo Free State.
C.M.S. began work in Moab.
- 1895 Government took over British East Africa Company's territory.
Jameson Raid.
Insurrections in Cuba.
Peace concluded between Japan and China. Korea made independent of China.
Massacres of Europeans in China.
Queen of Madagascar compelled to submit to French suzerainty.
C.M.S. sent first women Missionaries to Uganda.

- 1895 Ceylon Synod issued first annual address to Methodists in Ceylon v. 51
 J. West transferred from Ceylon to chairmanship of Negapatam v. 52
- 1896 Centenary Fund raised in Sierra Leone iv. 108
 Kumasi repopulated. Chapel and Mission House built iv. 192
 Lydenberg section occupied. Miners' chapel built at Pilgrim's Rest, Transvaal iv. 368
 Martyrdom of James Anta and M. Molele in Mashonaland iv. 386
 Bryan Roe died in West Africa. Sutcliffe succeeded as Chairman iv. 217-19
 German Mission handed over to M.E. Church iv. 473-4
 Puttur, Ceylon, occupied by Wesley Deaconess v. 50
 Death of David Hill on April 18 v. 484
 W. Burgess returned to England. B. Pratt became Chairman of Haidarabad v. 327
 Miss Posnett and Miss Harris went out to Medak. Medical work started v. 328
- 1897 West Indian Conference appealed to Mission House for help ii. 463-5
 Girls' school opened at Cape Coast by Mrs. Ellis iv. 188
 North India famine. Orphanages opened Jabalpur and Medak iv. 59
 Medical work started at Wuchow v. 505
- 1898 W. R. Winston and Major Smith sent as deputation to West Indies ii. 468
 Outbreak of savagery on West Coast of Africa; 200 members killed iv. 109
 Six Matabeles baptized iv. 389
 Two Wesley Deaconesses sent to Johannesburg iv. 362
 Training institution opened at Nengubo iv. 389
 Ilesha visited, and work opened iv. 220
 Luigi Capellini, Italy's soldier-evangelist, died iv. 503
 Miss B. H. Eacott appointed to Hanyang boarding school v. 534
 Kuling sanatorium established, China v. 488
 Mission invited by officials to occupy Indur (Nizamabad). v. 333
 Negapatam College removed to Manargudi v. 262
 One hundred and twenty persons baptized at Porethakudi, Negapatam v. 260
 W. H. Findlay elected Missionary Secretary v. 257
- 1899 Chief of Bandajuma, West Africa, invited Missionaries to open work iv. 110

- 1895 Centenary of London Missionary Society.
Boundaries of Sierra Leone Hinterland arranged between France and England
- 1896 British Protectorate established in Ashanti.
Assassination of the Shah of Persia.
Great earthquake in Japan ; 25,000 perished.
Famine in Central China and in India.
Kitchener started campaign against the Khalifa.
First knighthood granted to negro, Sir Samuel Lewis (iv. 108).
Matabele and Mashona revolt pacified by Cecil Rhodes (iv. 386).
J. R. Mott began Mission to students in Far East.
Missionary settlement for University women started in Bombay.
Insurrections at Johannesburg and in Rhodesia.
Distress in South Africa from drought and locusts and rinderpest.
- 1897 Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.
Chitral Expedition and Tirah Expedition.
Gold discovered in the Klondyke and Yukon districts, North America.
Treaty between Russia and Japan to preserve the independence of Korea under joint protection.
Wreck of the *Aden* at Socotra. C.M.S. Missionaries lost.
C.M.S. opened Peshawar Medical Mission.
- 1898 Battle of Omdurman.
German Navy League founded.
Death of Bismarck.
Spain and U.S. at war *re* Cuba.
China gave Russia a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur.
Empress of Austria assassinated.
Bi-centenary of S.P.C.K.
- 1899 Boer War began.
The Khalifa defeated and slain.

1899	Death of Mrs. Appelbe in Mafeking	iv. 353
	First Portuguese Minister ordained. Work opened in Lisbon	iv. 441
	First baptisms at Wuchow	v. 515
	Hunan Mission opened	v. 498
	Dr. Margaret Bennett appointed to Wuchang	v. 524
	Mr. Protheroe, Laymen's Mission, China, ordained	v. 541
	Two Chinese pastors ordained by Marshall Hartley	v. 537
	First woman Missionary sent to Burma	iv. 62
	Jos. West appointed Chairman of Negapatam	v. 265
	Movement began among Namadaris, Mysore	v. 295
	Karunapura settlement founded in Mysore City	v. 300
	Marshall Hartley visited India officially. Great camp-meeting in Haidarabad	v. 336
1900	Centenary of Bahamas Mission. Dr. Waller visited officially	ii. 480
	W. Perkins, Missionary Secretary, visited Honduras	ii. 486
	David Hill Memorial Hospital opened in Teian	v. 519
	2,125 persons admitted into the Church at Medak	v. 331
1901	W. H. Findlay visited West Africa officially	iv. 112-3
	W. T. Balmer sent out to Richmond College, Sierra Leone	iv. 114
	Fingoes settlement sprang up near Buluwayo	iv. 391
	The Four Gospels and Acts translated into Mashona	iv. 390
	Miss Wykes sent to open girls' school in Barcelona	iv. 434
	F. W. Macdonald and Williamson Lamplough visited Italy officially	iv. 511
	Theological training began in Wuchang	v. 528
	Changsha, Hunan, occupied	v. 498
	Mr. Cooper, <i>Joyful News</i> Evangelist, ordained in China	v. 544
	Soldiers' and Sailors' Home opened in Hong Kong	v. 455
	Work among students at Triplicane developed by Kellett and Cocks	v. 238
	Theological training and normal school combined in Mysore City	v. 281
	Marathi Orphanage opened at Mahin, Bombay	v. 378
	Kyaukse, Burma, occupied	v. 388
1902	Government offered grant for industrial school at Bathurst	iv. 144
	Women's Hospital opened at Indur	iv. 62
	William Burgess appointed General Superintendent in Italy	iv. 511
	Boys' 'Southern Cross' school built in Ikkadu	v. 249
	Both Madras Circuits became self-supporting	v. 240
	Decennial Conference of Missionaries in India, Burma, Ceylon, held in Madras	v. 240

- 1899 Peace made between Spain and U.S. Cuba and Philippines ceded to U.S. for twenty million dollars indemnity.
International Peace Conference at the Hague.
Dreyfus case re-tried in France.
Centenary of C.M.S. and R.T.S.
Griffith John (L.M.S.) developed educational work in China.
- 1900 British Protectorate established in Nigeria.
Massacres by Boxers in China. Peking Legations besieged.
King of Italy assassinated.
- 1901 Death of Queen Victoria, January 22. Accession of Edward VII.
Proclamation of Australian Commonwealth, January 1.
Assassination of President McKinley.
Roosevelt became President U.S.
Constitution of Hague Arbitration Court settled.
- 1902 Coronation of King Edward VII.
Boxer rising in China.
Boer War terminated.
Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded.
Death of Cecil Rhodes.
Education Act passed.
80,000 perished in volcanic eruption at Martinique.

- 1902 Re-constitution of Foreign Synods. Institution of Local Committees i. 165
- 1903 West Indian Districts reverted to charge of W.M.S. Committee ii. 472
- A. T. R. Bartrop returned to Gold Coast as Chairman iv. 193-4
- Marshall Hartley visited South Africa officially iv. 356
- Amos Burnet sent out as Chairman of the Transvaal iv. 358
- J. White became Chairman of Mashona District iv. 394
- Wilks invalidated home from Lisbon. J. A. Simpson succeeded him iv. 442
- Wuchang women's hospital opened v. 524
- Lo Yu Shan baptized first three converts in Hunan v. 499
- Normal school for women opened in Bangalore City v. 302
- First Namadari baptism, Mysore District v. 297
- Leper home opened at Bankura, Bengal. College department added to high school v. 357
- 1904 First Wesley Deaconess arrived at Cape Coast. School opened at Accra iv. 189
- Sekhukhuniland Circuit formed in Transvaal iv. 370
- F. J. Briscoe appointed to Kilnerton training institution iv. 364
- First Christian marriage took place in Mashonaland iv. 401
- Three Native Ministers ordained in Mashonaland iv. 401
- Work opened at Kwenda and Gambo, Mashonaland iv. 404
- Mr. J. Bond (J.N.E.) began medical work at Igbora iv. 226
- Mrs. Griffin opened medical work at Oyo (Lagos). European Missionary appointed to Lorenzo Marques iv. 349
- Hudson Memorial Church opened in Bangalore City v. 303
- Mr. R. A. Stott appointed to industrial school, Tumkur (Mysore) v. 162
- Missionary appointed to Tamil work on Kolar gold-fields v. 289
- 1905 Translation of New Testament completed in Mashona iv. 403
- Society formed at Selukwe, Mashona iv. 397
- Two more Wesley Deaconesses sent to Johannesburg iv. 362
- Training institution opened at Ibadan, Lagos iv. 229
- Pioneer work in Blaubergh, Transvaal iv. 368-9
- Three South Ceylon Districts re-united v. 96
- Ping-Kiang first occupied (Hunan) v. 501
- Two Mission Houses burned in Shiuchow v. 457
- Twenty baptisms among Doms of Bengal v. 368
- Mary Calvert Holdsworth Memorial Hospital opened in Mysore City v. 301

1902

- 1903 Tariff Reform League instituted.
Kano and Sokoto, West Africa, taken by English.
King of Serbia and his wife assassinated.
Disturbances in Macedonia.
Alaska Boundary Commission.
Korea drawn under Russian influence. Japan and Russia
Governments in conflict.

- 1904 War opened between Japan and Russia.
Dervish risings in Somaliland.
Anglo-French agreement signed in April, relating to New-
foundland, West Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Siam, Madagascar,
and New Hebrides.
Treaty with Thibet carried through by Col. Younghusband.

- 1905 Fall of Port Arthur. Great Japanese victories.
Peace signed between Russia and Japan, Korea being left to
Japanese protection, Manchuria evacuated by Russians, and
the peninsula ceded by them to Japan.

1905	Jubilee Home for Women opened in Bangalore City	v. 302
	143 Santals baptized, Bengal	v. 406
1906	West Indian fund of £30,000 raised to discharge debts	ii. 473
	Cape Coast Collegiate School and Mfantshipim School amalgamated and affiliated with London University, 1912	iv. 187
	Second Minister appointed to Mafeking railway centre	iv. 366
	Lisbon station abandoned	iv. 442
	Extension Fund raised by Ceylon Church	v. 103
	W. H. Findlay visited India officially	v. 390
	Dr. Roderick Macdonald murdered by Chinese pirates	v. 515
	Wuchang high school rebuilt. Normal school and theological college developed	v. 531
	Hunan made a separate District	v. 500
	Medical work began in Pao King Fu	v. 502
	Margaret Bennett Hospital opened	v. 525
	Redfern Memorial Hospital opened in Hassan, Mysore	v. 299
1907	Training provision made for girls at Kilnerton, Transvaal	iv. 365
	Financial crisis in Transvaal Mission. Million Shillings Fund raised	iv. 360
	Church built at Epworth, Mashonaland	iv. 388
	New buildings for Wesley College, Colombo, opened	v. 99
	Dr. Tatchell began medical work at Tayeh, China 'The Methodist Eleven' sailed for China	v. 520
	Medical work began in Anlu and in Yung Chow Fu	v. 519
	Benj. Pratt invalidated home; F. Lamb succeeded to chair of Haidarabad	v. 338
	Mrs. Kerr began medical work among lepers at Dichpalli	v. 345
	Chapel built for Europeans at Madhupur	v. 360
1908	Death of W. Comber Burgess, pioneer North of Zambesi	iv. 409-10
	W. J. Bird, first European Missionary appointed to Manaar	v. 50
	New hospital opened at Fatshan	v. 516
	Thirty-eight baptisms in Chamrajanagar District, Mysore	v. 294
	District evangelist set apart for the Mysore	v. 305
	Marathi chapel built at Parel, Bombay	v. 378
	Dispensary built at Nagari, Madras District	v. 249
1909	Jubilee Fund of Women's Auxiliary raised, £27,200	iv. 64
	Theological Institution opened at Changsha, Hunan	v. 502

1905

1906 International Conference at Algeciras to settle Moroccan questions.

1907 Self-government granted to Transvaal and Orange River Colony.
Anglo-Russian Convention respecting Persia and Afghanistan.
Great floods in Canton.
Missionary Conference at Shanghai.

1908 The Sultan of Turkey conceded a constitution with parliamentary representation.

1909 Great fire at Port au Prince, Haiti.
Revolution in Turkey. Sultan Abdul Hamid II deposed.

- 1909 Training school for women opened at Yiyang v. 501
 Rioting in Manargudi ; chapel burnt v. 263
 Movement among Chamars, Akbarpur v. 406
 Movement began in Dharapuram, Negapatam v. 255
 Press set up at Medak v. 338
 Divinity school opened at Chadarghat, Haidara-
 bad v. 340
- 1910 New Zealand Conference became separated iii. 144
 Missionary appointed to Gatooma Mining Station,
 South Africa iv. 411
 Riots in Changsha. Mission property looted v. 503
 Wood Memorial Hospital opened at Nizamabad v. 345
 New college buildings erected for high school,
 Bankura v. 359
- 1911 Union Medical College opened in Hankow v. 522
- 1912 Sectional committees appointed, Eastern, Western,
 and African i. 168
 Medical work begun at Ilesha, Lagos, by Dr.
 Stephens, Wesley Guild Missionary iv. 225
 Lagos girls' high school re-organized under Wesley
 Deaconess iv. 231
 Porto Novo, Lagos, celebrated its jubilee ; 727
 members iv. 232
 White crossed the Zambesi, established stations
 at Chekemi and Broken Hill mine iv. 409
 Medical work begun in Rhodesia by Dr. S. Osborn iv. 411
 Industrial department added to Nengubo institu-
 tion iv. 412
 Dr. Haigh visited China officially v. 458
 Chinese Government appealed for prayer v. 449
 Miss Frances Campbell opened medical work
 among Namadaris v. 297
 Normal school for men opened in Tumkur v. 302
 Hostels added to Bankura College v. 359
- 1913 Native Land Bill proposed by South African
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 Hospital for women opened at Anlu v. 520
 Theological Institution at Changsha became a
 Union Institution. Christian University
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 Boarding school for girls opened at Yiyang v. 503
 Burmese Minister appointed to Upper Chindwin
 District v. 389
 Centenary celebrations on the field v. 309
 Hostel opened for Ceylon Deaconesses at Puttur v. 50

1909

- 1910 Death of King Edward. Accession of King George V.
Revolution in Portugal. Republic established.
Duke of Connaught opened first Union Parliament of South Africa.
Edinburgh Missionary Conference (i. 168).
- 1911 Chinese Revolution. Republic set up (v. 494).
Delhi Durbar. Delhi made Capital of India.
Duke of Connaught became Governor-General of Canada.
War between Italy and Turkey.
Political crisis between France and Germany *re* Morocco.
- 1912 Peace signed between Italy and Turkey.
Balkan States declare war on Turkey.
Peace Conference in London, attended by Balkan and Turkish delegates.
- 1913 Turks refused peace terms of Conference.
Second Peace Conference held in London ; peace concluded by Treaty of London, May 30.
War in Balkans. Peace signed at Bucharest on August 11.

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CORRIGENDA IN PRECEDING VOLUMES

VOLUME I

Page	96	Line	17	For ' years ' read ' year.'
"	136	"	4	Read ' race and religion.'
"	158	"	36	For ' was ' read ' were.'
"	280	"	24	Read ' Louisburg.'
"	303	"	9	Read ' 1791.'
"	340	"	9	' Of those . . . laboured.' Transpose to after ' poverty.'
"	365	"	6	For ' Primitive ' read ' primitive.'
"	380	"	15	For ' Rebellion ' read ' war.'
"	413	"	32	For ' in 1883 ' read ' after 1883.'
"	493	"	15	For ' vote ' read ' veto.'
"	503	"	27	For ' Conference ' read ' Conferences.'

VOLUME II

Page	21	Line	36	For ' 20,000 ' ' read 26,000.'
"	5	"	5	For ' negro slavery ' read ' the negro slave- trade.'
"	66	"	5	For ' 1882 ' read ' 1832.'
"	145	Note	1	For ' Matton ' read ' Malton.'
"	167	Line	12	For ' 54 ' read ' 540.'
"	187	"	18	For ' 1820 ' read ' 1824.'
"	199	"	34	' Monday ' delete.
"	263	"	8	For ' élève ' read ' élève.'
"	267	"	7	For ' 1825 ' read ' 1828.'
"	302	"	30	For ' forty ' read ' fifty.'
"	313	Note	3	For ' hitherto ' read ' Until 1824.'
"	332	Line	12	For ' 1834 ' read ' 1835.'
"	342	"	22	For ' uncleanliness ' read ' uncleanness.'
"	452	"	18	For ' diversions ' read ' divisions.'
"	473	"	30	For ' 96 ' read ' 98.'

VOLUME III

Page	13	Line	28	For ' 1899 ' read ' 1869.'
"	33	"	21	' May ' add ' 1821.'
"	34	"	13	For ' 1825 ' read ' 1829.'
"	132	"	34	For ' Chairman of ' read ' Chairman or.'
"	158	"	36	For ' so ' read ' no.'
"	198	"	19	For ' now that ' read ' and after.'
"	413	"	5	For ' Colosse ' read ' Colossae.'
"	445	"	18	' And of which ' delete ' and.'
"	460	"	36	For ' save ' read ' safe.'

VOLUME IV

Page 101	Line 40	For ' Miss ' read ' Mrs.'
" 170	" 26 and 29	For ' Aggery ' read ' Aggrey.'
" 194	" 37	For ' H. A. Bethel ' read ' W. A. Bethel.'
" 205	" 22	' Before 1880 . . . but,' delete.
" 205	" 25	For ' that year ' read ' In 1880.'
" 208	" 7	' And was buried,' delete.
" 210	" 23	For ' Isseyin ' read ' Iseyin.' Also p. 211.
" 214	" 2	' C. R. Johnson (1899),' delete.
" 214	" 2	For ' J. Gifford ' read ' S. Gifford.'
" 214	" 3	' and H. Arnett (1907),' delete.
" 217	" 11	' begin work in,' delete.
" 217	" 18	' when he died,' delete.
" 218	" 33	For ' shortly after they ' read ' they afterwards.'
" 219	" 27	For ' several ' Circuits ' read ' Abeokuta.'
" 219	" 31	For ' 1908 ' read ' 1907.'
" 221	" 23	' whole,' delete
" 223	" 25	For ' The Treasury, &c.' read ' They are to be found in.'
" 223	" 27	' Are efficiently managed by Africans,' delete.
" 224	" 20	' A few Christians of Lagos,' read ' an African Minister.'
" 224	" 24	' The Rev. F. J. Martin,' delete.
" 230	" 17	For ' E. W. Williams ' read ' E. E. Williams.'
" 231	" 11	For ' had ' read ' called for.'
" 329	" 17	For ' Moselikatse ' read ' Umzilikazi,' so also in Index, p. 526.



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